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JOURNAL
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Editorial

WITH this issue the *Journal of Indian History* enters on its tenth volume. The journal has managed successfully to tide over the difficulties incidental to this early stage of its existence, and has maintained the high standard that it had set before itself as a journal devoted to historical research. This is testified to by a competent judge, who has been at the pains to read some of the more recent issues of the journal carefully through, and states it as his opinion :

'I can assure you that I have far more than glanced through it. I have read it with the care and attention it deserves. I think you keep up a wonderfully high standard.'

It cannot yet be said to have achieved financial success, however, and the Editor hopes that it will meet with a much larger support than it actually does from those interested in the progress of Studies in Indian History at the Universities, and among the people generally. The study of Indian History which the journal has undertaken to promote is best done, and that in a permanent form by a rise in the number subscribing for it and contributing to it. In both branches of its work fresh accession would be quite welcome, and the Editor hopes that the assistance will be forthcoming.

The first issue of the new volume has delayed much beyond its due date owing to adverse circumstances, which could not very well have been avoided. Proofs that had to be sent great distances delayed owing to inconveniences to the authors, and the passing of the press under a new management also contributed somewhat towards this. It is hoped that the further issues of the journal will appear in time and such mishaps avoided for the future.

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The Prince of Wales Museum Inscription of Jayakeśi III, the Kadamba King of Goa

BY

B. C. S. SHARMA, M.A.

Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay

THIS inscription is one of the several that are lying in the Gallery of Inscriptions in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. So far as I could ascertain, they are all unedited. I record here my gratitude to the authorities of the Museum for their generous permission to me to publish them all.

The stone on which the following record is engraved is five feet tall and three feet wide. It bears at the top the usual symbolism of the Kadamba family, viz., a *linga* in the middle and a worshipper and a resting *Nandi* on the left side. The Kanarese script used here belongs to the 12th century A.D. It is perfectly clear except where the surface is indented.

The inscription in question belongs to the twelfth regnal year of Jayakeśi III, a Kadamba king who ruled from Goa for about 25 years from 1187–88 A.D. So the date of this record would be 1200 A.D., and it precedes by three years the earliest grant so far known of this Jayakeśi. The name of the king is spelt variously here—Jayakeśi, Jekeśi, Vîra Jayakeśi, Vijaya-keśi. He is, as a vassal under the Chālukya Emperor Tribhuvanamalladeva, said to have governed Banavāsi, Konkaṇ 900, Halasige 12,000. His capital was Goa. The district of Halasige, of which there is a poetic description, has retained its name even now, and the Eleya Pūrvaḷḷi, E—Pūrvadavaḷḷi, or E—Purbbaḷḷi of the grant is, no doubt, the modern Hubli. Three other places are mentioned; Navilūr, Chaugāum, and Uṇukel. The grant states that at the expense of the Kuriba Seṇiga tribe a school was built inside the temple of Seṇigeśvara and a piece of land was given to the God by the 200 mahājanas of Eleya Pūrvaḷḷi.

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TEXT

(There are places in the text where the meaning is not clear. They have been marked with an asterisk.)

Svasti

1. Namas-tunga śira (h) śchum (ga) bi chandra chammara chā (ra) ve | trayeḷōkyanagarārambha (m) mūlastambhāya sambhave ||

2. Nitya svatantra* sa (?) driśoh pra + yō + lo + rgṇānārṇṇava kāraṇām-ya mantrāksharāṇām

3. lōpi (?) chetasvarūpam sadāśivam tam praṇamāmi mūrddhini || Śivāya namah ||

4. Svasti samastabhuvanāśraya Srî Prithvîvallabham mahārājādhirājam parameśvaram paramabhaṭṭārakam

5. Satyāśrayakuḷatiḷakam Chāḷukyārjunanum Chāḷukyakanṭhîravanum Chāḷukyābha [ra] ṇanum

6. Sōmavana (?) mukhatiḷakanum Srî—ja Tribhuvanamalladevara Vijaya rājya (m) muttarō (ttarā)

7. bhivriddhi pravarddhamānamāchandrarka tārambaram sukha samkathā vinō (va) dadim rājyam gai

8. yuttamire || Tata pādapadmōpajîvi || Svasti samadhigatapanchamahāśabda mahāmanḍaḷesvaram Banavāsipu

9. ravarādhîśvaram Śrî Kādambabhujabaḷa Vîra Jayakesidevarasaru Konkaṇa Ombhainūruvam dushṭanigraha śishṭa.

10. pratipāḷanadim Halasige hannichchhāsira sahitavāḷdarasugaiyuttam Goveya nelevîḍinoḷu sukha

11. sankathā vinōdadim rājyam gaiyuttamire || Śrî ṛāmōrukuchadvayastvagita chanchatkumkumōdghrishṭa sa

12. premālam [kri] ta vaksha (?) kshyasukham kshîrābdhimadhyōdatastōmāśeśa susikarākshata lasatśrî mastakam

13. Keśavam bhūmîśam Jayakesidevangîgishṭa samsiddhiya || Śrî Kādamba kuḷābdhichandra

14. namaḷachchāḷukya dauhitrajam lōkabyāpi [ta] kîrti kāntanahitakshmā pāḷasāmrājyaśrîsvîkāram śa

15. raṇāga (ga) tārthijanatāsantāna Manvādiśāstrākāmkshyārthachāritranembudu jagam Jekeśibhū

16. pāḷana || *Pa — — da — rtthipraka — kke kalpakuja (?) vāma — ntavam baṇḍa — Harirājam śaraṇendavamgabhayadim

17. kāvam mahîpāḷabhāsuratejam Jayakeśidevanenipam Bhūlōkadoḷu varṇyanîśvarapādāmbujabhringanigaḷe (?) sevam kā —

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18. dam Kādamba bhūpāḷakam || vara Gangājaḷachandrachūḍanaga-jarddhāngasrujatpālanōttararūpam Śivanîśanādyanabhavam

19. Śrî Saptakōtîśanam stiravārādhisi nîchcha nîchcha varavam Jekeśi bhūpāḷanādaradi kaikoḷutippanembudu jagam māhê

20. śvarōrvîś(v)ana || Intu pogarttevaḍeda Jekeśi devanāḷva Halasigenāḍa byāvarṇanamenten [da] ḍe || vrittagaḍā ||

21. Halasigenāḍu nāḍe sogayippudu bhūvaḷayake śōbheyam taḷe-delevaḷḷi pūgiphaḷa māmara kōmaḷa mātuḷanga vā —

22. jaḷaruha śanḍa manḍita taṭākasunirjhara vāridhāreyim puḷina-menippudūrggaḷa bahirvana Vāsavanandanāspada ||

23. Nagaragrāma sukheḍa kharvaḍamahāmānyāgrahārangaḷim bag-edallalli * sabä (?) subā (?chā) śitamomattadūrggaḷoḷu rāgadim nagu —

24. väḷokipa hāḍuvāḍuvavarim śringāravārānganōjjugadindippudu sārvvkālavadarim raiyam tadurvîtaḷa ||

25. Ṭiḷigoḷanondanondi pariyuttiralā parinîranunḍu kattalipele-vaḷḷi pūgiphaḷa bāḷe rasōtkara vîle tengu māduphaḷam kariyikshu

26. danḍa kaḷado(?)tkara bhāradinoppi tōrutam beḷedu tadurvî tajjanake māḍe basantamanāvakālamu || Intî negattegam

27. pogarttegam neleyāgirdda Halasigenāḍoḷage Eleya Purvvaḷḷiya byāvarṇanamentendaḍe || Sasivaranondu tōṇ

28. ṭadoḷu pūgiphaḷangaḷa bhāradinda ondesegoragirddudonde-ḍeyoḷondeḍeyoḷu turugirdda gompalim sasina menippudom

29. [de] ḍeyoḷondeḍeyoḷu kone kempanāgi nālu desegesedippu-dondeḍeyolonde hālugoneyindaloppam

30. gū (?) Oledelevaḷḷiyāmaradināmarakoyyane kayya nîdi katta-lise tadandhakāradoḷagāvaranoyyane sônke sôn —

31. ki mattalevavarila vāyuvaśadimdulihāgire tônṭakāra bandele-yane koyidu * jarevamagāgaḷe māppudanai —

32. de māḍuva || Erehāḷu haraḷu tônṭada bariyoḷu kāluveyanumba gaddegalindam pirid-Eleya Pūrvavaḷḷiya

33. dhareyellam beḷasu kaḷasaviṭṭantirku || varaśāstrārthaviśāra-darssakaḷa vedānîka sampannaruttara tarkka prameya pramā —

34. ṇareredarggānandadindîvoḍam surabhūjôpamargaḷint—Eleya Pūrvaḷḷi dvijaśreshṭharam piridimnūrrvvaranagaḷum po

35. gaḷugum bhūlokavidvajjanā || Svasti yamaniyamasvādhyaya-dhyāna * dhā pāvaṇā (adhyāpana ?) nanushṭhānaparāyaṇar vidita

36. vedārtthavidyāpāragarssaṭkarmaniratarum saptasôma samsvā (?) vabhritāvagāhana pavitrîkṛi —

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37. taśarîraṟum dvātrimśatsameyāgraga(m) [nya] rum ekavākyarum dushṭanigraha śishṭapratipāḷanarum

38. Srî Mūrtti Nārāyaṇa devara labdhavaraprasādāsāditarumappa srìmadanādiyagrahāram E —

39. leya Pūrvvadavaḷḷiyūroḍeya pramukha mahajanangalinnūrvarum saviṭhaṇadalu mahāsabheyāgirddu Chaugāmveya

40. Nævilūra Kurumba Seṇigaru * ro (?) khyavāsameya sarohamgaḷa kaiyyalu (?) appaṇeyam koṇḍu ā Seṇigesvaradevara āgabhōga rangabhōga

41. kke chaitrapavitraka koṭṭa kramamentendaḍe || Svasti Kaliyuga samvatsaram 4288 sandandādiyāgi Śrî Kādambabhujabaḷa

42. Vijayakeśideva varśśada 12 neya kāḷāyukta samvatsarada Puśya ba || Ādityavāra Uttarāyaṇa samkramaṇa

43. dandu Śrimadaśeśa mahājanangaḷu koṭṭa keyya sthaḷa Uṇukella dāriya paḍuvalu Bra+[hmārga](1) puriya keyintenkala

44. sarvvanamasya sarva bādhāparihāravāgi koṭṭu mattarenṭu devara pauḷiyippattāru kaiya nîḷa yippattondu kaiya agaladoḷage

45. maṭha maneyāgi māḍidaḍam sarva bādheparihāravāgi mahājanangaḷu koṭṭaru || Ā Kuriba Seṇigakuḷavarṇanamanen—

46. daḍe || Kuribitiga* panchapuṭṭigavariteyoḷem puṭṭi Kuriba Seṇigarembî terana kulavāgi lôkada nere māmā (he ?) śvararenippa hesaram paḍeda

47. ru || Jagadoḷagelliyum Kuriba Seṇigaremba kulôttamarssadā bageyudu dharmma jîrṇṇa Śivagehada māṭa samasta vistaram migi—

48. lene kîrttiyampaḍeyuttam Śivadharmmamanāvakālamum bagegoḷutipparendu paratarssameyādigaḷeyde kîrttiparu || Antu kîrttisi ||

49. Mige sāhitya samasta śāstra vishaya byāpāradoḷu pêḷdaḍem Bhrigumindatyadhirkkaḷāsurige vinnāṇagaḷoḷu vîradoḷu hage sim—

50. hakkidirāge tāgi kolvarpāva (m)na [Na] vilānvayarmigilintoppe Kuriba Seṇigaridêm lôkakke vikhyātarō || Antenise ||

51. kanda || Navilūru Kuriba Seṇigaravarelam mukhyavāgi Chaugāveyavar tavatavage bandudam———rmo—vadimdī keyya

52. haḍedu devarggittaru | Dînānātharu bāḷvene kāninana terade kuḍuvarahitarvvaralabhimānamane sūregombar-mānisa Navilū [ra]

[1] These two letters inside the brackets are engraved all by themselves at the bottom of the inscription. The preceding *plus* mark puts them in place.

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53. [Ku]riba Seṇiga nivaha || Ī dharmmamanāvadara nirpôdhigaḷim kādavargge sukhasampada sūsādhita meniku vaḷipanigo

54. —narakābdhiyoḷage gaḷagaḷaniḷivaru || Svadattām paradattām vā yô hareti vasundharā | Śashṭivarśśa sahasrāṇi vishṭāyām jāyate krimi ||

TRANSLATION

Lines

1–3. Well, Salutation to that Śambhu who is beautiful on account of the fan-like moon kissing the head aloft ; to the pillar of commencement of the city of the Trilōkas. I salute God Sadāśiva who is ever free, who is the very essence of those hymns and letters which are the ocean of learning. A bow to Śiva.

4–7. While Tribhuvanamalla Chāḷukya (with the usual titles) was ruling the kingdom of the world, his dependant.

8–11. Vira Jayakeśi-deva, the strong arm of the Kadambas, the lord of the city of Banavāsi, the obtainer of the five great musical instruments, the great manḍalesvara, was ruling in happiness from his capital Goa, the Konkana district 900 and Halasige 12,000, putting down the wicked and protecting the virtuous.

11–13. May God Keśava who is immensely happy on account of having Lakshmi by his side and . . . . grant all the wishes of king Jayakeśi.

13–15. The world calls this king Jekeśi, a moon to the ocean the Kadamba family, the great-grandson of the pure Chāḷukyas, and his fame known all over the world, one who has acquired the kingdom of enemy kings, with a host of needy people seeking the shelter of his generosity, and one who has in life accomplished the ideal of the sacred sciences like that of Manu.

16–18. . . . . He extends protection to him who approaches the King with the cry 'O King, protect me!' Ardently devoted to the worship of Śiva is this King of the Kadambas.

18–20. The world says of him that he constantly worships Śrî Saptakoṭîśvara who is the First Cause, Beginningless, who has the Daughter of the Mountain by his side, and Gangā and the moon on his head, and he obtains from Him boons both high and low.

20. To describe Halasige nāḍ which is glorious and ruled by Jekeśi,

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21–23. The whole land of Halasige sparkles, an ornament of the entire world, and can, with its leaves and creepers, areca palms, mango trees, citron trees, ponds adorned with vast clusters of lotuses, streams and torrents, sandy banks and parks outside towns, be compared to the Nandana garden of Indra.

23–24. That part of the earth is wealthy and beautiful for having been replete with cities and villages, hamlets and market-towns; with people in the towns always laughing and sightseeing, singing and playing; and with beautiful and well-adorned courtesans.

25–26. A stream lost itself in the limpid waters of a pool and flowed on; feeding on its water grew, heavy with fruits and leaves hiding the sky, creepers, banana plants, betel plants, cocoanut palm, citron, sugarcane, and so on; with all these, that part of the earth had produced, for its inhabitants, perennial spring.

27. To describe Eleya Purbbaḷḷi in this Halasigenāḍ which was the home of so much plenitude and prosperity.

27–29. In a garden an areca palm inclined to a side from the weight of its fruits; here others looked level (with the ground) on account of the fruits crammed on them; there, a tree had shot its tendrils out in all directions; elsewhere tender bunches of pods decked other trees.

30–32. The leafy creeper had spread from tree to tree and spread darkness; one lost his way and reached the enclosure. Hearing his cry for help, carried afar by the wind, the gardener came, cut down the leaves and in a derisive attitude led him out.

32–33. With arable land, plots of castor plants, canals on one side, and rice fields, the whole place, the great Eleya Purvadavaḷḷi looks like a crown of light.

33–35. May the scholars the world over always praise the celebrated two hundred Brahmins of Eleya Purvaḷḷi who are well-versed in the sacred sciences, masters of the several Vedas, experts in the arguments of logic, comparable in their generosity to the celestial tree.

35–41. Well, the two hundred Mahājanas of the ancient Eleya Purvadavaḷḷi who adhere to the pious practice of self-control, discipline, etc., devoted to learning and its practical application, always occupied with the six karmas, whose body is purified by the bath taken at the conclusion of the (?) seven Soma sacrifices, who are, the devout followers of the 32,000 conventions, men carrying out their

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promises, punishers of evil and protectors of the good, and who have secured the grace of Śrî Moorty Nārāyaṇa, met in conclave in Saviṭhāṇa, sent for the Kurumba Seṇigas of Navilūr in Chaugaum, and with their consent made a grant to God Seṇigeśvara for various services (āgabhōga, rangabhōga, chaitrapavitra). Its details are :

41–45. On the occasion of the summer solstice on Sunday, the eleventh day of the dark fortnight of Pushya of Kāḷayukti Kaliyuga 4288, the twelfth year of Kadamba Vijayakēśi's reign, all the Mahājanas granted free of all imposts, a piece of land to the west of the road to Uṇukel and south of (?) Brahmārgapuri, and eight mattars, and a construction for school measuring twenty-six hands long and twenty-one hands broad, within the precincts of the temple.

To describe the tribe of these Kuriba Seṇigas :

46. Born, of a mother who was a Kuribiti by caste, of basket-makers, these Kuriba Seṇigas came to be known in the world by the name of Nere-māmā—(he ?) śvaras.

47–48. All over the world these Kuriba Seṇigas of that noble race have restored Śiva temples in all their details ; they have contemplated charity and the sacred creed of Śiva always ; they have shone by the adoption of the celebrated conventions.

49–50. Why describe all this with the flourish of language and the sciences ? How famous in the world are these Kuriba Seṇigas of the pure Navilūr family who kill enemies with bravery and skill and who surpass Bhrigu ?

51. All these Kuriba Seṇigas of Navilūr chiefly, and other people of Chaugaum came of their own accord and gave away to the God whatever they could give with a generous hand.

52. These Kuriba Seṇigas of Navilūr are the refuge of the needy, and they rob enemies of all their pride.

53–55. To those who protect this grant will easily accrue wealth and happiness. But those who destroy it descend to hell.

Usual imprecations.

EDITOR'S NOTE

This record is dated Sunday, 11th of the dark fortnight of the month Paushya of the year Kāḷayukti, Kaliyuga 4288, 12th year of Vijayakēśi's reign—Kaliyuga 4288 is year Plavanga, Kāḷayukti being year of Kali 4299, the 12th year as Indians count it from Plavanga.

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This provides the third instance of the error of 13 years which, according to Fleet, was a Teḷugu practice of counting the cycle of Jupiter beginning from the year 13th of the cycle, the year Pramādi. The two other instances noted by Fleet are Halsi Copper-plates of Siddhārti=Kali 4288, and the Kittoor inscription of Durmati=Kali 4289 (*J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, IX, 264). According to this record Kali 4288 is the 12th year of Jayakēśi. Jayakēśi then began to rule in Kali 4277. His father was ruling, according to Fleet, in 4275. He must have been succeeded by Jayakēśi in 4276 or 77. The grant was made in Makara Sankrānti which fell on Saturday, Bahula 10, both for Plavanga and for Kālayukta, according to Swamikkannu Pillai's Ephemeris, vol. iii.

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The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai (1736—1761)

BY

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A.

IX

I. DUPLEIX'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH NASIR JANG

NASIR Jang halted at Valudavur after his triumph where he received Murtaza Ali Khan of Vellore to whom he gave Arcot. Mir Asad was made the Diwan of the Nawab; and both agreed to pay the Nizam an annual tribute of 50 lakhs for the subah.[1] Wandiwash was to be given over to Mir Asad who suggested that if, Pondicherry were blockaded, Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang's mother who were there, would have to be given up and most of the sepoys would desert from the French side. Major Lawrence who was in Nasir Jang's camp is said to have written letters to Dupleix and D'Auteuil that he would arrange to effect a peace between the French and Nasir Jang. The Diarist's view was that the English could not remove from the mind of Nasir Jang his fear of the French, and as they could not attack Pondicherry directly and Nasir Jang insisted that he should not return without effecting something, 'they might have offered to make peace between us and him and have written to you.'[2] Nasir Jang was advised by his nobles like Sayyad Lashkar Khan and Sayyad Sharif Khan that the besieging of Pondicherry would prove a very arduous task and the English would not fight them as there was peace between them; they were of the opinion that the subah of Arcot should be given to Muzaffar Jang and peace should be made with the French; otherwise

[1] The Diarist tells us that Nawab Sadat-ullah Khan used to pay 12 lakhs a year; Anwar-ud-din agreed to pay 24 lakhs; and Mahfuz Khan 28 lakhs of rupees.

[2] Entry for April 12, 1750, p. 36 of vol. vii of the *Diary*.
The letter of the English and the reply of Dupleix are given in Martineau's *Dupleix et l'Inde Française* (1749-54), p. 121.

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Chanda Sahib would return with European aid and renew the struggle for the Nawabship of Arcot. This was all the more effective as Murari Rao, Sanoji Nimbalakar, Chandra Sen and other Maratha sardars in the Nizam's camp were preparing to depart. In reply to communications received from Nasir Jang and Shah Nawaz Khan Dupleix sent embassadors, including two of his Council, Mm. du Basset and Delarche.[1] Shah Nawaz Khan sympathized with the French; but apparently he was not able to persuade his master who demanded the surrender of Chanda Sahib and declined to give him the subah of Arcot. The envoys returned to Pondicherry with a letter from Shah Nawaz Khan explaining the situation, to which a veiled threat of war was sent as a reply. In fact, the envoys said that Shah Nawaz Khan and his Peshkar, Ramdas Pandit, told them secretly that if they departed without hesitation, marched again with troops and fell upon Nasir Jang's camp-guards by night, he would arrange to get Arcot for Chanda Sahib and restore his territory to Muzaffar Jang.[2]

[1] Orme states that the first letter of Dupleix to Nasir Jang was not replied to by that prince; but Dupleix made use of this pretext to continue the correspondence. The Diarist wrote for April 15th, that Dupleix observed to him that although six letters had been sent to the Nizam with the usual compliments, no reply had been received, the cause being that the letters were not couched in proper form. The letters from Nasir Jang and Shah Nawaz Khan were only received two days later.

One of the two French envoys spoke Persian with tolerable fluency. Du Basset had gone on an embassy to Nizam-ul-Mulk at Trichinopoly in 1743; according to their original instructions, they were to demand the restoration of Adoni for Muzaffar Jang, while Arcot might be given to Chanda Sahib or to the 'young prince', *i.e.*, the younger son of Safdar Ali who was then residing at Wandewash. Dupleix himself subsequently wrote to the envoys that Arcot was to go to Muzaffar Jang, and later turned and agreed that Muzaffar Jang might be kept in prison, provided Adoni was given to his family. Thus 'M. Cultru concludes with reason that Dupleix still had no policy except that of hiring his troops to the highest bidder'. 'With such ill-defined aims, the ambassadors could accomplish little beyond getting a general idea of the parties into which the court was divided. They also seem to have sought relations with the Pathan Nawabs of Cuddapah, Kurnool and Savanur, who were already discontented at their prolonged detention in the south'. (Dodwell's *Dupleix and Clive*, pp. 48-9).

Also Martineau's *Dupleix et l'Inde Française*, (*1749-54*), p. 122

[2] According to Orme (who, however, says that the French deputies remained in the Nizam's camp for 8 days) Dupleix obtained the real advantages intended from their visit, a knowledge of Nasir Jang's strength and of the state of parties at his court. He continues:—'Suspicions were entertained of the clandestine conduct of the French deputies, and Major Lawrence was informed that some design was carrying on in the camp against the Soubah (Nasir Jang) in which Shanawaze Khan, the prime minister, was the principal agent. The latter part

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The French attacked Nasir Jang's camp on the night of the 27th April, killed and wounded nearly 1,000 of the enemy as well as a large number of horse and cattle. A detachment under M. de La Touche as the captain of the attacking party, was sent out by D'Auteuil who had taken the command again and he took by surprise one of the quarters of the camp and penetrated more than a mile.[1]

II. Intrigues and Factions in Nasir Jang's Camp

Ramdas Pandit is stated by the Diarist to have offered terms of peace by which Trichinopoly was to be given to Chanda Sahib, as well as a *mansab* of 5,000 horse, a *jaghir* in the Arcot subah and permission to seize and plunder Tanjore.[2] It was also stated that Muhammad Ali had been promised Arcot and that the English had agreed to help him on receiving a *cowle* for the Poonamalle and a part of Devanampatnam country as *inam*. In the *darbar* of the Nizam, when the consent of the nobles was asked for the appointment of Muhammad Ali to the subah of Arcot, Shah Nawaz Khan[3] said that the subah should be given to Chanda Sahib who deserved favour. Sayyad Lashkar Khan said that he would very willingly consent to Muhammad Ali's appointment; but as the French were opposed to him, he thought it inadvisable. Muhammad Ali openly quarrelled with Sayyad Lashkar Khan for his remarks; and Nasir Jang dissolved the assembly without giving the dress of honour to Muhammad Ali. Dupleix was also told that Murari Rao wanted to make friends with him and believed that Nasir Jang had a wholesome fear of the French. This quieted the apprehension entertained at Pondicherry that Murari Rao would be given the right of *chauth* over the Arcot subah on condition of his staying in the country, as was reported.

of the report was not true; and the first could not be proved; however, the major, at an audience endeavoured to acquaint Nasir Jang with what he had heard. . .', vol. i, (4th edition, p. 145).

[1] It was the first of 'a score of such night-attacks made by both French and English, almost all of which were equally successful'.

[2] Purport of a letter written by the Pandit and brought by Chanda Sahib to the Governor (p. 89 of Vol. vii of the *Diary*). Ramdas Pandit was a partisan of Chanda Sahib and strove hard in his interest.

[3] Shah Nawaz Khan was always ill-disposed towards Anwar-ud-din and was opposed to his appointment to the subah of Arcot. MS. of Buran-ud-din's *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi*, Book I, translated by M. H. Nainar (of the Madras University). The Khan continued his enmity towards the son,

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Muzaffar Jang's captivity did not seem to have been harsh ; and he contrived easily to maintain correspondence with his mother, Dupleix and others at Pondicherry. He entreated Dupleix to send his mother to him ; but the latter refused to depart saying it would be unseemly to depart without repaying the Governor what she owed him.[1] She was hoping that if her debt was paid before Nasir Jang left the country, there would be a good chance of her son being released and treated well.

News meanwhile arrived that the English under Captain Cope took leave of Nasir Jang and departed for Fort St. David owing to the expected arrival of Portuguese ships,[2] which was strongly rumoured. Nasir Jang is said to have given an interview to Muzaffar Jang and to have relaxed the severity of his confinement, possibly as a result of the letter that the latter's mother wrote to him. On May 3rd, the Nizam held a *darbar* before marching at which besides Sayyad Lashkar Khan Shah Nawaz Khan, Sayyad Sharif Khan and his other diwans, were also present Nawab Abdul Nabi Khan of Cudapah, Himayat Bahadur Khan of Kurnool and other nobles. They all advised him to forgive Muzaffar Jang ; while Jamil Beg Khan, the subhadar of Berar, advised the Nizam to conciliate the French and win them over to his side ; and Sayyad Lashkar Khan and others offered the same advice as to Muzaffar Jang.[3] Nasir Jang began his return march north ; and the Diarist records that on May 5, he heard that Cope and Lawrence went to Nasir Jang's camp when he was about to commence

[1] Muzaffar Jang's mother was the half-sister of Nasir Jang and his elder brother Ghazi-ud-din Khan who were the sons of Nizam-ul-Mulk's second wife. The latter's first wife was the daughter of a Pathan noble ; and Muzaffar Jang's mother was her daughter. Nizam-ul-Mulk had six sons. There was no truth in the scandal recorded by the Diarist that Nasir Jang was the son of Nizam-ul-Mulk by a low woman.

[2] 'The despatch of ships from Goa for the recovery of San Thomé was expected as a result of Dupleix's intrigues with Goa. But there is no reason to suppose that the English feared at this time any Portuguese interference'. Dodwell in his note on. p. 102 of *Diary*, vol. vii.—*See* the writer's notes on the English Occupation of San Thomé by Boscawen, the letter of the Fort St. David Council to the Company justifying their action, the Portuguese Viceroy's letter of remonstrance to the English at Fort St. David, the latter's reply to him, May 4, 1750—the last two being quoted by Love in his *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. ii, pp. 400—1. The English possibly expected about this time a reply from the Portuguese Government at Goa (*Journal of Indian History*, voi. ix, pp. 341-45,)

[3] Haji Fazil Khan, the steward of Muzaffar Jang's household, related these happenings as he had seen them, to Dupleix. (Diarist's entry for May 4, 1750).

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his march, with the request that the Poonamallee, Mylapore and Devanampatnam countries should be given as an *inam* to the English, in return for their services; but they had to return unsuccessfully;[1] and Nasir Jang is said to have torn the letter of Lawrence, praised the services of the French to Muzaffar Jang and dismissed the English envoys with scant ceremony; and M. de La Touche also said he heard that the English had departed in great displeasure.[2] The French

[1] Dodwell says that the English ambassadors to Nasir Jang wrote on April 14, that a party was forming among the Nizam's ministers influencing him against them, at the instigation of the French; and they 'seem to intimate in their discourse that they hold the assistance we have given them in very little esteem.' On May 2, the ambassadors wrote, 'yesterday we got Nasir Jang's consent to our demands according to our former advices, and had our agreement reduced into writing in order for his signing it, that the *phirmaund* might be made out, but it s not yet perfected, and this day, his whole army has marched about six miles from us towards Arcot.' (Taken from the Orme *MSS*, India, volume ix, pp. 2175–7, containing the proceedings of the English embassy composed of Stringer Lawrence and Foss Westcott and accompanied by Captain Dalton, from March 24 to May 5, 1750). These contain letters from Dupleix to Lawrence and from the French Governor to Nasir Jang, asking him to reconcile himself to Muzaffar Jang.

The Fort St. David despatch to the Company, dated October 24, 1750, abstracted by Dodwell in *The Madras Despatches, 1744-55*, (pp. 112–8), says that Nasir Jang remained at Valudavur for about a month and then moved to Arcot; he desired the English to accompany him; but Lawrence etc., insisted on first receiving grants of the Poonamallee country, to which demand Nasir Jang returned no answer; and the English troops were recalled and reached Fort St. David, (April 22, May 3).

[2] The reception of the English by Nasir Jang was warm at first; a week after their arrival, they complained they had good reason to suspect that the French were tampering with some of the countries 'Indeed their services had not been such as to merit any considerable reward. They had proffered unwelcome military advice; they had refused to pursue the French in their flight; they had informed Nasir Jang that they could not enter the French bounds. Moreover, they were accompanied by a native agent, who, though long employed by the English, made no scruple about betraying their plans and letters to the French. On April 20, they refused to co-operate in an attack on Wandewash, unless their demands were granted. Again, they refused to join Nasir Jang in an expedition to raise tribute in Tanjore. On May 1, although Nasir Jang had agreed to their requests, 'this day the whole army had marched six miles from us towards Arcot.' So the ambassadors and their troops marched back to Fort St. David.' (Dodwell, p. 50).

Orme says of the English embassy as follows:—

'Meanwhile Major Lawrence . . . solicited Nasir Jang to confirm the grant, which Mahomed Ally, now esteemed Nabob of Arcot, had made to the East India Company, of a territory near Madrass, in return for the assistance of their troops. He had often promised to comply with this request; but his minister, Shah Nawaz Khan, regarded such accession as inconsistent with the majesty of the Mogul empire, and prevented the *phirmaund* or patent, from being issued from his

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hoisted their flag at Bahur; and they heard that Nasir Jang was perfectly willing that Tanjore and Trichinopoly be given to Chanda Sahib along with a *mansab* jaghir, but the latter would not agree and wanted Arcot as well, though he was persuaded to yield for the present and to seize Arcot as soon as Nasir Jang should have recrossed the Krishna. Chanda Sahib knew that Dupleix would not consent to a settlement, if Arcot were not given, and replied accordingly; he contrived that his demands should be made known to Nasir Jang, knowing that the chances of a settlement would be indefinitely prolonged, unless Shah Nawaz Khan and Ramdas Pandit were definitely won over to his side.

Nasir Jang's order that the French factory at Masulipatam should be captured, was carried out by the subahdar of that place. The soldiers in the factory at Yanam defended themselves, but had to yield. These factories were seized in order to compel Dupleix to better terms. But Dupleix was not daunted; he sent troops to capture the fort at Valudavur; but as it was too strong to be taken by Indian troops alone without European reinforcements, he resolved to wait till Nasir Jang should have passed Arcot; there was also trouble with the sepoys (see below) who refused to act without their pay; and for the time the troops returned to Villiyanallur. He had ambitions that he could easily send by sea munitions to Yanam and Masulipatam, from which they could be easily carried to Hyderabad and Aurangabad.[1]

office. Wearied with prevarication, Major Lawrence insisted on a peremptory answer, on which he was assured that he should be immediately satisfied, provided he would march with the battalion to Arcot . . . He did not think it prudent to comply with this proposal, lest the French and Chunda Saheb should take advantage of his absence and invade the English territory. He therefore endeavoured to divert the Soubah from this purpose, by representing that it would give the enemy an opportunity of recruiting their forces and recommencing hostilities; whereas by remaining near Pondicherry he might, by cutting off their communications with the country, reduce them to such distresses as would oblige them to accept of peace on his own terms. This reasoning producing no effect, the major returned with his battalion to Fort. St. David; . . ., (Vol. i, *Fourth Edition*, pp. 145-6).

[1] Dupleix contrived to have the following conveyed to Nasir Jang secretly:— 'Tell him secretly, that, if Masulipatam and the country be given to me, I will help Nazir Jang with all he needs to conquer the country as far as Delhi. I will send 4,000 soldiers to smite his enemies.'; also 'I will send munitions of war from here to Masulipatam and Yanam whence they can be easily carried to Hyderabad and Aurangabad; we of Pondicherry will conquer all who disobey

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Conflicting news reached Pondicherry from Nasir Jang's camp. Shah Nawaz Khan wrote on May 11th that he would be remaining at Arcot for four months, and, if in the meantime Chanda Sahib gave satisfaction, the Arcot subah would be given to him, while Trichinopoly and a *mansab* jaghir for Tanjore would be granted immediately. Dupleix insisted that the places mortgaged to the French by Chanda Sahib should be restored to their possession till the money was paid; and the French factories in the Northern Sarkars should not be interfered with. He even offered to guarantee that Muzaffar Jang did not draw the sword against his uncle, as the latter feared he might do, if he were released and joined the French as was very likely.[1] Nasir Jang, it was reported, could not easily make up his mind; and it was also believed that Muhammad Ali Khan had been given Arcot and he had sent for 500 sepoys from the English as an escort and arranged to pay five lakhs of rupees to Nasir Jang and had sent for the amount from Trichinopoly.[2] A letter received by Jayaram Pandit at Pondicherry informed that Muhammad Ali was given the subah of Arcot and a dress of honour on the 11th May, i.e. on the night of the fifth of Jamādi-ul-Ākhir. Delay ensued in the matter of the proposal to release Muzaffar Jang and invest him with authority, as Nasir Jang feared danger for himself through such a contingency.[3] Nasir Jang

him, and I will help him with all he needs to fulfil his desires.'—pp. 147 and 148—*Diary*, of the Vol. I. This offer was made in reply to the letter containing terms of settlement with Chanda Sahib received by Shah Nawaz Khan.

[1] Abdul Nabi Khan of Cuddapah urged Nasir Jang to release his nephew and give him his own country and Arcot, and then he would keep the French quiet and live at peace. Otherwise, he said, that if Muzaffar Jang should be carried away a prisoner, Nasir Jang should, for the sake of effecting perfect security, conquer the French, capture their fort, imprison Chanda Sahib and recover Muzaffar Jang's family who were at Pondicherry. The other nobles also advised Nasir Jang to the same effect; but one or two poisoned his mind with the fear, that, if Muzaffar Jang were released, he would win over the nobles and the army and bring about great trouble to Nasir Jang himself. (Entry for May 12, 1750).

[2] Dodwell points out that in a consultation held at Fort St. David on April 30, May 11, Flayer reported that Muhammad Ali had been appointed Nawab and desired that the sepoys in his service in the bounds of Fort St. David be sent over to him; and that, in consequence, it was resolved to advance their arrears amounting to 14,000 rupees and send them out. (Note on p. 154 of the *Diary*, vol. vii.)

[3] 'Shah Nawaz Khan, Khazi Dayem and Moro Pandit are on Nazir Jang's side . . . all tell him that if Muzaffar Jang were released, he would seize and imprison both him and themselves, that Saiyid Lashkar Khan, the mansabdars, jamadars and others would choose Muzaffar Jang as their leader, seize the

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continued to stay on for some days near Wandiwash, negotiating for the payment of a big sum of money to himself from Taqi Sahib who held the place, and was a son-in-law of Dost Ali. Once a storm of wind and rain beat down his tents; and in the confusion that ensued, a false rumour arose that Muzaffar Jang had escaped. The division of the Nizam's camp into the two parties respectively supporting the causes of Nasir Jang and his nephew, is seen more and more clearly in the entries of the Diarist. The latter's partisans like Sayyad Lashkar Khan, Jamil Beg Khan and the Nawabs of Cuddapah, Kurnool and Savanur are said to have resolved to overthrow Nasir Jang with their troops and to send Muzaffar Jang under a strong guard to Pondicherry for the sake of safety. Ramdas Pandit,[1] whom Grant-Duff calls 'the traitor Ramdass' was secretly in favour of Muzaffar Jang's elevation, pretended to seek Nasir Jang's interest alone and at the same time did all in his power to encourage Sayyad Lashkar Khan and Muzaffar Jang's party, communicating to them all that passed with Nasir Jang. It was only Shah Nawaz Khan and his adherents that were opposed to Muzaffar Jang; all the others wished Nasir Jang to be overthrown.[2] Dupleix even suggested that Muzaffar Jang might escape to Pondicherry by way of Alambarai where he would post some soldiers with boats and sloops, and from which he might go in a few hours to Kunimedu, Covelong or Pondicherry, whichever way the road should be clear, and arranged for some money being sent to him in pagodas as they would be easier to carry. The plot against Nasir Jang was expected to bear fruit in 15 or 20 days.

Meanwhile information was received that Shah Nawaz Khan had arranged that Trichinopoly and Tanjore should be leased out to Chanda Sahib, after being made over to Dupleix who could occupy them and then lease them to his protégé. Arcot was to be under

country. . . . That is why Nasir Jang has abandoned the idea of releasing Muzaffar Jang, now fearing that he will become an enemy and seek his death'—pp. 177–8 of vol. vii of the *Diary*.

[1] 'The fall of Nasir Jang was wrought by the intrigues of M. Dupleix. He gained a Brahmin, named Ramdas, a native of Sicacole, in the confidence of Nasir Jang, and through him raised seditions in the army, which Dupleix called into operation by an attack on the camp.' *History of the Mahrattas*—4th ed. Chap. xviii—Vol. I, pp. 525-6.

[2] Diarist's entry for May 22nd, 1750—p. 183 of vol. vii.

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Shah Nawaz Khan; and if Chanda Sahib should act for four or five months as he desired, and should pay the tribute due for Trichinopoly according to agreement, then he would receive Arcot. The amount owing to Dupleix from Muzaffar Jang should be paid by Chanda Sahib in return for the grant of Trichinopoly to him; and Muzaffar Jang's bond should be returned and his family sent away to him. Dupleix was assured by the envoy that the Mughals had made up their minds to seize Tanjore and grant it out; and though he expressed a fear that the Raja of Tanjore would apply to the English and the Dutch for help and promise them territory as against any French attack, still he was told that Shah Nawaz Khan desired to become the captor of the Tanjore fort, though the French should actually conquer it. Finally Dupleix agreed to be content with the grant of lands round Karikal equal to the cost of the expedition which would have to be sent to conquer Tanjore and to give an account of the total cost thereof[1]. Dupleix was further told that Muhammad Ali was hard pressed for money and unable to pay at once all the amount due for the Arcot subah; and his brother, Mahfuz Khan (who had been made prisoner at Ambur, subsequently released by promising to pay Muzaffar Jang 11 lakhs for the Trichinopoly country and had later oined Nasir Jang's camp) was greatly depressed by the scant attention paid to him and threatened to turn *faqir* and go on a pilgrimage to Mecca[2]. Sayyad Lashkar Khan, Sayyad Sharif Khan and others now departed with their contingents; while the Pathan Nawabs also sent their troops in advance; thus Nasir Jang could not stay long and must soon depart. He agreed to appoint Taqi Sahib of Wandiwash as the Diwan of Muhammad Ali, after which he proceeded to Arcot. Taqi Sahib also agreed to make Muhammad Ali Khan of Polur (Chanda Sahib's brother) swear to be friends with his namesake and gave plenty of trouble to Chanda Sahib's wife who was at Wandiwash and whom he now turned out of the fort.

[1] Conversation between Dupleix and Jayaram Pandit in the presence of Chanda Sahib and the Diarist, according to the latter's entry for May 26th.

[2] Shortly before Anwar-ud-din's death, Mahfuz Khan had been appointed as the deputy of his father at Arcot, by the diplomacy of his partisan Raja Sampat Rai. He had joined his father, before the struggle at Ambur (Burhan-ud-din's *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi*—Bk. I.)

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III. The Employment of Sepoys by the French

In the month of May when Dupleix presented medals to Abdul Rahman and Shaikh Hasan with commissions for them as captains of the sepoys and the Diarist entered this fact in his account, he gave an account of the origin of the sepoys in the French service, which is deemed by Dodwell to be a generally accurate account. In 1740, when war was threatened between England and France sepoys were first entertained; but it was not Dupleix that entertained them, as the Diarist says of the enlistment of Shaikh Hasan and others. 'They were first employed at Mahe in the war with Boyanore, 1739–40, when Dupleix was still at Chandernagore. Early in 1742 Dumas ordered three companies of them over to the Coromandel coast to assist in defending Karikal against the Tanjoreans. Two companies were sent back in 1743 and broke; but others again were obtained in 1746 at the request of La Bourdonnais, who had seen them in action at Mahe in 1741. It is interesting to note that whereas the English soon appointed European drill-sergeants and a European adjutant to their Sepoy-Corps, Dupleix left the command and discipline entirely in Indian hands, except when sepoys were co-operating with European troops.'[1] Ranga Pillai gives Dupleix the entire credit of the enlisting of sepoys. He says: 'Dupleix entertained in his service, Shaikh Hasan, Abdul Rahman and others who had formerly served in the troubles at Mahe on the coast of Malabar. After these troubles were over, Shaikh Hasan, Bikkan Khan, etc., came here with 200 sepoys. A year later Bikkan Khan and 100 sepoys were sent back; and Shaikh Hasan with his 100 sepoys was invited to stay. He did not receive enough even to buy *conjee* . . . . but news came of war being declared between England and France (September, 1744). Thereon Shaikh Hasan was summoned and directed to invite his elder brother (Abdul Rahman) (who was out of service in Malabar) with 500 or 600 sepoys. Abdul Rahman came accordingly. When . . . Dupleix seized Madras . . . Abdul Rahman and his brother seized palanqins, elephants, horses, etc., . . . and the Governor permitted all to keep their booty . . .

[1] Dodwell's note on the Diarist's account, in p. 168 of the *Diary*, vol. vii.
'The raising of actual native regiments was first undertaken by the French, and it was due to the coming struggle for mastery in Southern India, that we owe the first conception of a regular native army.' McMunn in *The Armies of India*, p. 4.

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When the English were attacked at Fort St. David and they attacked the French at Pondicherry, he brought some men under the pretence of enlisting them as sepoys. . . He made more money on the expedition against Anwar-ud-din Khan by telling Chanda Sahib that he had raised 2,000 horsemen and sepoys. . . . ' Ranga Pillai is angry that he should have had a free hand in making so much money by plunder, and thinks that he cared very little for his commission as captain from Europe or his present or medals and looked to the getting of a high mansab for himself from the Mughals. Another detail that the Dairist supplied was that the sepoys still wore their traditional clothing of coats, trousers and turbans and their native commandants supplied them with it.[1]

Shaikh Hasan and Abdur Rahman had frequently to suffer from the insubordination and mutinous spirit of the sepoys. The latter were usually in considerable arrears of pay. When Shaikh Hasan took Tiruvidi fort from its *killedar* in June, the sepoys actually refused to march without their pay. After the fort was captured, it was with great difficulty that they could be restrained from plundering ; Shaikh Hasan told Dupleix, according to the Diarist, that the sepoys abused him so violently that he feared for his life, and they declared that if they were not allowed to give back their muskets and be dismissed, they would become afraid for their lives and then kill their captain[2].

IV. French Capture of Masulipatam

On the first of June a sloop was despatched from Pondicherry to recover the Yanam factory which had been abandoned by its chief, Lenoir, on the approach of Khaja Namatullah Khan ; but the Diarist thought that it was intended to procure the release of M. Coquet, chief of the factory at Masulipatam. Nasir Jang gave orders that the two French factories of Yanam and Masulipatam should be seized ; the factories were easily taken possession of by Khaja Namatullah Khan, the subhadar of Ellore and Rajahmundry about whom mention has

[1] Diarist's entry for June 1, 1750, p. 219—of vol. vii of the *Diary*.

[2] Pages 265–66 of vol. vii of the *Diary*. Dodwell remarks that such mutinous episodes, due mainly to their pay being in arrears, were by no means uncommon among the French sepoys. ' The murder of Dewan Raghunath Das, a little later in the Deccan, shows that Shaikh Hasan's fears were not wholly imaginary. Bussy himself was at one time in apprehension for his life.' -*Ibid.*, footnote 1.

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been already made. He advanced on Yanam with 2,000 foot and 200 horse; and Lenoir, the chief of that factory had the trees surrounding it to be cut down and the ground levelled. Dupleix had tried in the course of his secret negotiations with Shah Nawaz Khan that Nasir Jang should direct that the French factories should not be interfered with and give a written order to that effect. Lenoir abandoned the Yanam factory, even before it was attacked by the enemy; he took shelter in one of the islands at the mouth of the river, situated to the north-east, where the French had taken refuge during the late Mahratta invasion. At Masulipatam two French factors were taken prisoners and M. Coquet, the chief of the French factory, was asked to pay 15,000 pagodas. Lenoir retired to the island with all the goods, men and a few guns[1]. Presently the Yanam factory was recovered; and Masulipatam was captured later. Dupleix knew of the defenceless condition of Masulipatam[2] and resolved to take it by assault, regarding it as an acquisition essential for the realization of his future views.

On July 9, 1750, two large vessels with a boat were despatched with 200 soldiers, 150 sepoys and 10 *topasses* under the command of M. de La Tour with mortars, cannon and other equipment to attack and capture Masulipatam; and a lakh of rupees was also sent in order to provide the factories with goods. The vessels arrived before Masulipatam on July 11th, and took possession of the fort without 'the least opposition', while the Mughals attempted 'to blockade the place, but quickly desisted.' The French landed in the night and took the town with very little loss; they kept possession of it and immediately began to put it into a better position of defence. The

[1] According to *Orme* (vol. i, p. 146), 'Nasir Jang's officers proceeded without violence, plundered nothing and sealed up what they took possession of. The detriment sustained was not considerable.' 'The French repeatedly declared that the English from the neighbouring factory of Ingeram had helped the Moghuls to take Yanam. Even M. Cultru makes the same assertion. However the English correspondence cited above (Fort St. David Letters received 1750) shows that they had no hand in it.' (Dodwell—*Dupleix and Clive*—Note 1 on *p.* 51). Dodwell says that, despite Nasir Jang's orders, only the four walls of the Yanam factory were left standing.

[2] According to the Diarist, the amaldars of Masulipatam trembled and said they had behaved foolishly when they extracted money from the French factory and feared that the French would come and burn and destroy the whole country; while the merchants feared that the town would never regain its old prosperity. (entry for 5th June, 1750—p. 231 of vol. vii of the *Diary*.)

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Mussalman authorities declared that they lodged the French prisoners well and treated them respectfully; and so they were not to be blamed for obeying the orders of their master, Nasir Jang. All the inhabitants were allowed to return; and the sepoys and Europeans were warned that they would be severely punished for any theft or plunder; and the Diarist notes with evident satisfaction that 'all those who fled from the town have returned, including even the Dutch and their families.[1] Nasir Jang was sorely troubled by the loss of Masulipatam, where the French did not allow even the Dutch to fly their flag, though they did not in any manner interfere with the Dutch trade.[2] The Dutch Council at Negapatam protested that their factory site was given to them by the Mughal emperor, and they had his orders for flying their flag and hence the French ought not to have pulled it down. Dupleix replied that their contention held good so long as the port was in Mughal possession; but as the French had captured it, and 'as both flags cannot fly there, we have ordered theirs to be pulled down and that they can hoist their flag there only when they produce the orders of the King of France.' On October 22nd, the Diarist recorded that he heard that, owing to orders from Negapatam, the Dutch factory people at Masulipatam had sent all their goods by ship to Kothapatnam and Cocanada on the New Moon day; and as such a day was unlucky, a tempest arose and two Dutch ships sank with their cargoes of goods and money. The abandonment of the Dutch factory was intended as 'a protest against the action of the French in refusing to allow the Dutch flag to fly there.'[3]

V—Further Developments

Dupleix was frequently advised and persuaded himself into believing that for fear of him, Nasir Jang hesitated to entrust the subah

[1] Diarist's entry for July 25th, 1750—p. 325 of the *Diary*, vol. vii.

[2] Dupleix added, as Dodwell says, in his letter to Masulipātam; 'Nous pensons que, si vous aviez, voulu joindre vos sollicitationsā celles des principaux marchands de Mazulipatam pour la delivrance des Srs. Coquet et Lasalle, nous ne nous fussions point trouvēs dans le cas de nous emparer de cette ville.'

[3] The Dutch indeed landed a party of soldiers, a few weeks after the French captured the place, but were easily compelled to withdraw them. 'They seem to have displayed a political ineptitude similar to that which ruined their expedition to Bengal (1759).' After the English secured possession of the place they ceded their factory which was then in a very ruinous condition and all their rights along with it.

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of Arcot to Muhammad Ali and nobody dared to accept the job. He resolved to tie *toranams*, as a mark of French occupation in the regions of Tiruvidi, Panruti and Villupuram and to get the mortgage amounts due to him from Mudāmiah, the faujdar of Chidambaram, who held the place from Abdul Nabi Khan of Cuddapah. Mudāmiah removed his goods and property to Devikottai, under the protection of the English; and Dupleix was advised by Ranga Pillai to send a few soldiers and sepoys with a couple of mortars in order to coerce him for the amount due. Mudāmiah complained that Muhammad Ali's men were demanding payment and protested that he would wait for instructions about the Chidambaram mortgage from Nawab Abdul Nabi Khan. Ranga Pillai and Dupleix distrusted Mudāmiah's professions and sent dragoons and sepoys against him; thereupon he fled to Devikottai with a number of people from Chidambaram. The French troops pursued him and his men agreed to remain in the fort and promised to pay a part of the amount in ready money and the balance in a few days. Evidently, he wished 'to be able to allege compulsion in case the other side called him to an account for the payments he made.' He negotiated with the Diarist for time in which to sell grain enough to pay 50,000 rupees and was told to give sowcar's bonds for the balance due.

After reaching Arcot where he stayed for some days, he was told by Muhammad Ali that he could manage the *subah* if he were allowed to maintain 10,000 horse and receive all the collections, but not otherwise; he had not the help of the English to oppose the French and meet them in battle, as Nasir Jang had refused to grant them the Poonamalle and Devanampatnam countries and Mylapore as *inam* and they had departed in consequence. The Diarist reported to Dupleix on June 11, 1750, that when Muzaffar Jang was imprisoned in the Arcot fort, he attempted to take his life by tying a cloth round his neck, but was prevented from doing so by Nasir Jang's guards; thereupon he was comforted by Shah Nawaz Khan, under instructions from Nasir Jang, with a promise of 'the kingdom he desired and a dress of honour'. Nasir Jang desired that the Pathan Nawabs who were anxious to depart should stay with him till he also started. Taqi Sahib of Wandiwash was afraid of the French and now desired that the proposal regarding Chanda Sahib should be carried out successfully although till lately, he was hostile to Chanda Sahib. Dupleix

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was told that if the French should capture the fort of Valudavur, matters would be hastened by Nasir Jang towards a settlement; while Chanda Sahib was desirous that French troops should occupy the countries of Villupuram and Tiruvidi as well as Porto Novo in order that Nasir Jang might be frightened into granting him terms.

Conflicting counsels prevailed at Arcot. It was reported that Muzaffar Jang promised to bring round Chanda Sahib and fetch him to Arcot and that Mahfuz Khan advised Muhammad Ali that the French would kill whoever became *Subahdar* and would conquer the country.[1] Villupuram and Tiruvidi were occupied by French sepoys. Chanda Sahib was advised by his brother, Muhammad Ali Khan of Polur to beware of going to Arcot for an interview, even though he should be promised safety by means of an oath on the *Quran*. It was also learnt that Shah Nawaz Khan himself was preparing to to set out for Pondicherry to pacify Dupleix and Chanda Sahib and to take Muzaffar Jang's mother, wife and children. The capture of Tiruvidi frightened the Mussalmans at Chidambaram into compliance. Shah Nawaz Khan himself is reported to have secretly written to Dupleix, that if he should seize the fort of Valudavur, he would obtain what he desired through the very efforts of his enemies. The Pathan Nawabs, Abdul Nabi Khan, Himayat Bahadur Khan and Abdul Majid Khan refused to pay their *peshkash* to Nasir Jang on the ground that they had not paid any even to his father and would pay him none now, their lands were plundered by the *poligars* and the Nizam was responsible for the cost of their maintaining troops to chastise them. Nasir Jang became angry; and the Nawabs absented themselves from the *durbar*. A collision occurred between Nasir Jang's people and their followers, and Shah Nawaz Khan had to intervene to make peace.[2] There were also troubles between the Peshwa and Nasir Jang; and the former had sent word to the latter urging him to return. As if these troubles were not enough, Muzaffar Jang made a second effort to escape from his prison-room; and Nasir Jang had to put new and vigilant guards over him and took away from him the liberty of receiving visits and sending messages.

[1] Entry for June 13th—pp. 252-3 of the *Diary*, vol. vii.

[2] The Diarist, after recording these items of news, wrote:—'The Arcot people and other *killedars* who expected much are discontented. All Nasir Jang's old friends have become his enemies. . . . His commands are disregarded and he cannot prosper.'

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In the beginning of July it was rumoured at Pondicherry that a number of nobles of the Nizam had resolved to release Muzaffar Jang, establish him as the *subhadar* of the Deccan and seize or slay Nasir Jang; and Muzaffar Jang's attempted escape, noted above, was in reality done with their connivance; and when it failed, the latter took all the blame on himself and pretended madness. Chanda Sahib advised that agents should be employed to arrange matters secretly with the Pathan Nawabs for the deposition of Nasir Jang. Letters were written cautiously by Dupleix, to Chanda Sahib's men at the Nizam's camp couched in general terms;[1] and the messengers were given specific instructions to arrange an interview between the discontented nobles and the Pathan Nawabs.

VI. The English join Muhammad Ali

While thus Dupleix was taking advantage of the situation in Nasir Jang's camp, Muhammad Ali wrote to the English Governor Floyer, saying that the French were fortifying themselves in Tiruvidi, and declaring that a *sanad* granting Poonamalle to the English had been drawn out and lodged with a substantial merchant at Arcot and would be delivered to them when Muhammad Ali should become the Nawab, in September, after Nasir Jang should depart; he also sent a copy of the *sanad*, along with a bill of exchange for Rs. 20,000 to defray the expenses of the troops for two months in lieu of the Poonamalle revenues for that period.[2] As the French were preparing both openly and insiduously to make Chanda Sahib Nawab, Captain Cope was sent out with a body of 600 men and a field-train on June 30th, and joined the Nawab who had marched down from Arcot with a body of horse a little to the west of Tiruvidi.[3]

[1] 'So also you seek to remove evil from the country, and accomplish all that you undertake. I will therefore grant you all that you desire as soon as I hear that the matter has been settled.'—p. 304 of vol. vii of the *Diary*.

[2] *The Madras Despatches* (1744–55), p. 114.

[3] The Diarist wrote that Major Lawrence who was acting as Governor at Fort St. David, had recalled Cope; but Muhammad Ali told Cope who was about to start that he had only come down in reliance on English help; and that if they now departed under the pretext that a new Governor had been appointed, he would be unable to fulfil his promises to Nasir Jang. Both he and Cope wrote to Lawrence for further orders. Entry for July 18, 1750, p. 31-4 of vol. vii of the *Diary*. Later the Diarist entered for July 26th, that Mr. Lawrence had refused help before reinforcements arrived to guard Fort St. David and declared that he could do nothing of himself without orders (p. 327).

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Muhammad Ali Khan later advanced to Tirupapuliyur, near Fort St. David, with his brother, Abdul Wahab Khan, his brother-in-law, Khair-ud-din Khan, Dewan Muhammad Abrar, Bade Sahib son of Hussain Tahir and other *jemadars*. He had about 4,600 horsemen, 4,000 peons and about 500 matchlock men of his own; while Cope had 700 Europeans, 13 field-pieces and about 2,300 sepoys and peons, besides a large number of horsemen etc. of the Nizam according to the information of the Diarist.[1] 500 horsemen were sent in the direction of Porto Novo and Chidambaram. It was feared that the English might go as far as Gingee. There was an engagement near Tiruvidi on the bank of the river on August 1st, between Muhammad Ali's troops and the French, the English also taking part in the fight.[2] In the end the English, after some cannonading, were compelled to withdraw. The situation thus dragged on, till Cope was recalled to Fort St. David, in the end of the month, 'as the French would not and we could not attack.' Muhammad Ali had written to Nasir Jang that the countries promised to the English before, should now be offered to them, though, in June itself, he wrote that a *sanad* had been made out for them. Thus the situation about the middle of August was very unsatisfactory for the English; and Dupleix pushed on with his efforts, and brought things to the crisis at Nasir Jang's camp ending in his assassination.

[1] Muhammad Ali procured the assistance of 600 Englishmen under Cope; while the French troops consisted of 500 Europeans under La Tarche, their best officer. According to Orme, the English ordered a body of 400 Europeans and 1,500 sepoys to take the field and the Nawab marched with an army of 20,000 men, of which more than one-half were the troops of Nasir Jang.

[2] According to Orme there was a skirmish which lasted till night (31st July) when the detachment was recalled. The next day Cope persuaded the Nawab to march against Tiruvidi fort in order to draw the French from their strongly pitched camp. The Nawab asked his troops, under the advice of Cope, to scale the walls, but they refused to undertake so perilous an attempt. The army marched back the next morning (2nd Aug.) towards the French encampment and formed for battle within gunshot of their entrenchments. The French commander sent a messenger to ask the reason why the English came so near their posts; Cope replied that the English were acting as allies to the Nawab and would accompany him into all parts of his dominions and assist him against all his enemies. In the struggle which ensued, the French, being in their entrenchment, uffered less than the Nawab and the English (pp. 148-9 of vol. i).

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Peshwa Raghunāth Rāu's Agents in England

By

Harihar Das

The mission of the Peshwa Raghunāth Rao's agents to the Directors of the East India Company in London, is well known to students of Indian history, and there is, therefore, no need to expatiate on the circumstances which induced them to come to England.[1] There are several references to documents concerning the Peshwa and his agents in the 'Catalogue of the Home Miscellaneous Series of the India Office Records', compiled by the late Mr. Samuel Charles Hill. The students of the East India Company's records are under a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Hill, not only for this thorough and valuable work, but also for his other contributions to modern Indian history. In volume 153 of the Home Miscellaneous Series, are contained two letters regarding the Peshwa's agents and their business with the Directors of the East India Company. The first letter is from the Earl of Hillsborough to Raghunāth Rāo, and the second from Sir Stanier Porten to Peter Mitchell, of the Company. The letters are copied *verbatim*:—

St. James's,
31st July, 1781.

To Ragobath Row.

Illustrious Sir,

I should think myself very unworthy of the honor you have done me by your letter, if I omitted to express to you in writing the high sense I entertain of it. It is for this Reason that I deliver this letter to the three Persons you have sent into this kingdom. The King, my Royal master, having long since delegated the care of East India Affairs for this country, to the East India Company, those Persons were immediately referred to the Principal Directors of that Company,

[1] For further references to the Peshwa's agents, see the present writer's articles on 'The Early Indian Visitors to England', in the *Calcutta Review* (October 1924; January 1925 and April 1928); and also an article on 'Expiation for Foreign Travel' in *The Young Men of India* for September, 1930.

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to hold Conference with them upon such matters as they had in charge from you, and I understand they have conferred with the Principal Directors accordingly.

I recommend you, Illustrious Sir, to the constant care and Protection of Almighty God, and am with great respect,

Your etc.,
HILLSBOROUGH.

ST. JAMES'S,
31st July, 1781.

PETER MITCHELL, ESQ.

SIR,

In answer to the letter you favoured me with of the 26th instant I am directed by the Earl of Hillsborough to acquaint you for the information of the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company that His Lordship has entirely dispatched Mr. Udny and the Agents from Ragobah and that they can have no further occasion to see His Lordship or be detained a day longer on his account.

SIR STANIER PORTEN.

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The Historical Origin of the Distinction between Svarthanumana and Pararthanumana

BY

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IN his article [1] 'Rapports entre la théorie bouddhique et 1 enseignement des autres écoles philosophiques de l' Inde', Stcherbatskoi maintains that the distinction between 'inference for oneself' (*svārthānumāna*) and 'inference for others' (*parārthānumāna*) had its origin in the Buddhist logic. His theory is accepted by Keith who, in his *Indian Logic and Atomism* says—

'A further [2] important innovation is the appearance of the distinction, wholly unknown to Gautama and Kaṇāda, of the process of inference for oneself (*svaniścitārtha*) and for another (*parārtha*). The distinction is one which is accepted by the syncretist school, though not adopted by commentators like Uddyotakara and Vācaspati Miśra, who remain faithful to the texts they explain.'

* * * *

'Yet [3] a further proof of the dependence of Praśastapāda on Dignāga may be derived from the fact that the distinction of reasoning for oneself and reasoning for another, which gives syllogism, is present in Dignāga and is expressly stated by Dharmōttara in his commentary on Dharmakīrti to have been introduced by him, and to stand in relation to his theory of the function of language in knowledge. . . . . Praśastapāda's debt to Dignāga in this regard is clear, despite his slight change in terminology, which may legitimately be attributed to a desire to conceal his borrowing, for he retains in practice, if not in theory, verbal testimony as a means of proof, while adopting the principle of distinction between reasoning

[1] Le Muséon (N. S., Vol. V., 1904.) [2] pp. 94-95. [3] pp 106-108.

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for oneself and reasoning for another, which in truth rests on the fact that verbal testimony is no true means of proof at all.''

Keith's contention that the distinction had its origin in the Buddhist logic thus rests on three principal assumptions, viz.—

(1) That the authorship of the distinction is expressly attributed to Dignāga in Dharmottara's *Nyāyabinduṭīkā*.

(2) That Dignāga flourished before Praśastapāda who, borrowed the distinction, among other ideas, from the Buddhist logician.

(3) That the distinction was unknown to Kāṇāda and Gautama, nor was it adopted by Uddyotakara and Vācaspati Miśra. (It should be noted that no mention is made of Vātsyāyana either by Keith or by Stcherbatskoi.)

In support of the first assumption Keith refers to pp. 46–47 in Peterson's edition of *Nyāyabinduṭīkā*, though Dignāga's name occurs nowhere in those pages. Most probably the words *samprati* and *ācārya* in the following two passages misled him into thinking that 'inference for others' was an innovation introduced by the Buddhist school, and that the original author of this innovation was Ācārya Dignāga.

(1) *Nanu ca samyag jñānātmakam anumānam uktam ; tat kimartham samprati vacanātmakam anumānam ucyate.*

(2) *Tataḥ pratipādakaṃ śabdam avaśyaṃ vaktavyaṃ darśayann anumānaśabdeno'ktavān ācārya iti paramārthaḥ.*

The word *samprati* in the first passage which contains a *pūrvapaksa* does not, however, necessarily indicate that 'inference for others' (which is verbal in character as distinguished from 'inference for oneself' which is a purely mental operation) is an innovation lately introduced by the Buddhist school. The *purvapakṣin* is very often a fictitious person who is credited with statements that have no historical foundation. As for the word *ācārya* in the second passage, we fail to understand why it should refer to Dignāga, and not to Dharmakīrti, the author of *Nyāyabindu*. Besides, Dharmōttara's authority as a historical source is of very little weight in this connection, as he flourished more than three centuries after Dignāga.

As against the second assumption, we would note that analogies between Dignāga and Praśastapāda do not necessarily prove that the former flourished before the latter. Further, Dignāga's priority cannot be adduced as an argument for Praśastapāda's indebtedness to the

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Buddhist logician, at least so far as the distinction between 'inference for oneself' and 'inference for others' is concerned; for the distinction is present, as we shall shew, in the Sūtras of Gautama and in the Bhāṣya of Vātsyāyana, though we must admit that it is not clearly traceable in the Sūtras of Kāṇāda.

That the distinction was not unknown to Gautama can not be better proved than by quoting the following passages from Keith's *Indian Logic and Atomism*, which are hardly reconcilable with the theory he maintains—

'The origin [1] of the syllogistic form can then be recognized as arising from the effort to expound a proposition to another: the proposition is stated; the reason for it is asked; the ground is given; its validity is called in question; an example familiar and therefore cogent is adduced; and the similarity of the subject to the example is emphasized, and the conclusion is finally drawn.'

* * * *

'The inference [2] for another is definitely identified (by Praśāstapāda) with the five-member syllogism, which in Gautama forms a category, and is not classified formally as a means of proof [3], though inference itself is so classed.'

We fail to understand how, in the face of the above statements, it is possible for Keith to maintain without being inconsistent that the distinction was unknown to Gautama.

Apart from being a non-verbal mental operation, 'inference for oneself' differs from 'inference for others' in another important respect, viz., that it is a mode of discovery, and not a mode of proof or demonstration. It is true that the terms 'inference for oneself' and 'inference for others' occur nowhere in the N. S. But it may be pointed out that what is known as 'inference for oneself' in later logic is simply called 'inference' by Gautama, who never uses this term in the sense of proof or demonstration. In N. S. I., 1, 5, inference is distinguished into three varieties, viz., *pūrvavat*, *śeṣavat*, and *sāmānyato dṛṣṭa*. A similar distinction is found in Praśastapāda's Bhāṣya,

[1] pp. 87–88. [2] p. 95.

[3] *Pramāṇa* should be translated as 'means of true knowledge', and not as 'means of proof'.

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though there we have only two varieties, and not three[1], viz., *dṛṣṭa* (*pūrvāvat*) and *sāmānyato dṛṣṭa*. At the end of this discussion on the *dṛṣṭa* and *sāmānyato dṛṣṭa* inference, Praśastapāda observes: 'Such[2] is inference for the sake of one's own certainty.' That inference as defined in N. S. I. 1. 5. corresponds to Praśastapāda's *svaniścitārthānumāna* is also confirmed by the similarity of Vātsyāyana's description of the genesis of inference in his Bhāṣya on that Sūtra to Praśastapāda's description of the genesis of *svaniścitārthānumāna*. In explaining the significance of the word *tatpūrvakam* in N. S. I. 1. 5. Vātsyāyana says:—

'Tatpūrvakam:[3] By this [it is] meant [that there must be previous] perception of the connection of the sign and the signate, and [subsequent] perception of the sign. [It is also] meant [that there must be] remembrance of the sign consequent on [the previous] perception of the sign and the signate [as] connected [together]. By means of remembrance and [subsequent] perception of the sign an unperceived object is inferred.'

The above account is in all essentials similar to Praśastpāda'sa which is as follows:—

'From[4] the perception, unassailed by doubt, [of the presence] of smoke [in a hill] and from the remembrance of the association [of smoke and fire],—subsequent to these [processes] the certainty [of the presence] of fire [in the hill] arises [in the mind] of one to whom the concurrence [of smoke and fire] is well-known.'

[1] Praśastapāda's Bhāṣya (with Udayana's Kiraṇāvalī—Benares Sanskrit Series), pp. 304–307. But we practically meet with *śeṣavad anumāna*, in the proof that P. gives of the existence of Ātman in pp. 130–31: *Pariśeṣād ātmakāryatvāt*. In his Kiraṇāvalī U. explains it thus: *Pāriśeṣyāt prasaktapratiṣedhe'nyatrāprasaṃgāt śiṣyamānatayātmakāryatvāt*.—Cf. Vātsyāyana's explanation of *śeṣavad anumāna* in his Bhāṣya on N. S. I. 1. 5: *Śeṣavan nāma pariśeṣaḥ; sa ca prasaktapratiṣedhe'nyatrāprasaṃgāt śiṣyamāne sampratyayaḥ*. In V. S. II. 1. 27 Kaṇāda says: *Pariśeṣāt liṅgam ākāśasya*. In his Upaskāra, Śaṃkara Miśra explains it thus: *Atrāpi śabdaḥ kvacid āśrito guṇatvāt rūpādivad iti sāmānyato dṛṣṭād aṣṭadravyātiriktadravyasiddhiḥ*. From this it appears that *pariśeṣānumāna* is considered by Śaṃkara Miśra to be a form of *sāmānyato dṛṣṭa*.—*Cf.* Faddegon's *Vaiśeṣika System*, p. 172, and pp. 312–13.

[2] *Etat svaniścitārtham anumānam.*

[3] *Tatpūrvakam ityanena liṅgaliṅginoḥ sambandhadarśanaṃ liṅgadarśanañcābhisambadhyate. Liṅgaliṅginoḥ sambaddhayor darśanena liṅgasmṛtir abhisambadhyate. Smṛtyā liṅgadarśanena cāpratyakṣo'rtho'numīyate.*

[4] *Prasiddhasamayasyāsandigdhadhūmadarśanāt sāhacaryānusmaranāt tadantaram agnyadhyavasāyo bhavati.*

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That the term 'inference' is used by Gautama in the sense of 'inference for oneself' is also evident from the following passage in Vātsyāyana's Bhāṣya on N. S. II. 1. 45, where analogy is distinguished from inference by being described as *parārtha*.

'[Analogy[1] is different from inference], because this [man], who has learned the analogy [from another man] and has seen a *go*, understands the usage of the name-word *gavaya*, when he sees an object similar to a *go*. But inference is not like this. Moreover, analogy is for the sake of others, because it is employed, by one to whom both [the *go* and the *gavaya*] are well-known, for the sake of him to whom the subject of comparison is not well-known.'

In contrast with Gautama's inference stands his category of 'member' (*avayava*) representing the process of 'inference for others' which consists in proving or demonstrating a proposition to a second person in the form of a five-member syllogism. Apart from the fact that the terms *sādhya* in N. S. I. 1. 33. and *sādhana* in N. S. I. 1. 34. are explained by Vātsyāyana as *prajñāpanīya* and *prajñāpana* respectively, the function of the 'members' is expressly stated by Uddyotakara in his Vārttika on N. S. I. 1. 33 to be communication of knowledge to others. To quote from the Vārttika—

'[Should[2] you ask]: But why are 'question' etc. not 'members'? [We would reply]: Because [question, etc.] do not communicate knowledge to others. 'Members' are those which, [being] significant each with a meaning not conveyed by the rest, attain the status of members of a sentence, [and] communicate knowledge to others'.

The 'members' arranged in their proper order and considered as a whole are called *nyāya*. Gaṃgeśa in his *Tattvacintāmani* says: 'And that "inference for others" is to be performed by means of *nyāya*'[3]. The use of the term *nyāya* in this technical sense is not,

[1] *Yadā hyayam upayuktopamāno godarśi gavā samānārtham paśyati, tadāyam gavaya ityasya saṃjñāśabdasya vyavasthām pratipadyate. Na caivam anumānam iti. Parārthañcopamānam. Yasya hyupameyam aprasiddham tadartham prasiddhobhayena kriyati iti.*

[2] *Katham punar jijñāsādayo'vayavā na bhavanti; parāpratipādakatvāt. Parāpratipadakā yā itaretarāpratyāyitenārthenārthavanto vākyāṅgatām upayānti te'vayavāḥ.*

[3] *Tac cānumānam parārtham nyāyasādhyam.*

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however, unknown to Vātsyāyana, as is evident from the following passage in his Bhāṣya on N.S.I.1.[1]

'The proposition, etc. [constitute] the five members of that whole expression-series through which the proof of the probandum attains completion. They are called 'members' in relation to the whole. In them [is to be found] the combination of the four means of true knowledge. The proposition is *āgama*; the probans is inference; the example is perception; the application is analogy whilst the conclusion shews the efficiency of the combination of all the four means of true knowledge for the attainment of a common end. This is what is called the *nyāya par excellence.* By means of this discussion, wrangling and cavilling take place.'

Though Keith's contention that the distinction was not adopted by Uddyotakara and Vācaspati Miśra cannot bear examination in view of our findings stated above, yet we would invite a reference to the following passage in Vācaspati Miśra's *Tātparyatīkā* on N.S.V.2.3., where the term 'inference for others' actually occurs—

'In "inference[2] for others" the merits and demerits belonging to a sentence are discussed, and not an object that is unconnected with the sentence'.

In the passage we quoted from Vātsyāyana's Bhāṣya on N.S.I.1.1. we were told that in a *nyāya* the four means of true knowledge converged. The question therefore arises: How are we to reconcile this statement with our contention that Gautama's five-member *nyāya* represents 'inference for others'? Before we attempt to answer it, we would quote the following passage from Vātsyāyana's Bhāṣya on N.S.I.1.39, where he gives a reasoned statement of the remarks contained in his Bhāṣya on N.S.I.1.1.—

'The [four] means[3] of true knowledge, converging in a sentence [composed of] all the members, establish a fact by virtue of [their] inter-relation. To explain [their] convergence: the proposition is

[1] *Sādhaniyārthasya yāvati śabdasamūhe siddhiḥ parisamāpyate tasya pañcāvayavaḥ pratijñādayaḥ samūham apekṣyāvayavā ucyante. Teṣu pramāṇasamavāyaḥ. Āgamaḥ pratijñā; hetur anumānam; udāharaṇaṃ pratyakṣam; upamānam upanayaḥ; sarveṣām ekārthasamavāye sāmarthyapradarśanaṃ nigamanam iti. So'yam paramo nyāya iti. Etena vādajalpavitaṇḍāḥ pravartante.*

[2] *Parārthānumāne ca vacanagatā guṇadoṣā vicāryante na tu vacanānapekṣam vastu.*

[3] *Avayavasamudāye ca vākye sambhūyetaretarābhisaṃbandhāt pramāṇānyarthaṃ sādhayanti. Sambhavas tāvat: Śabdaviṣayā pratijñā, āptopadeśasya*

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about a fact derived from *sabda*, because of [the necessity of] re-examining the instructive words of authority by perception and inference, and because of the want of self-dependence in one who is not a *ṛsi* [in having access to such a fact]. The probans is inference, because of [the arising of] the knowledge [that a particular object is the probans] after one has observed [its concomitance with the signate in the example.[1] This very [point] has been explained in the commentary on 'the example'. The example is about a fact derived from perception, because of [the necessity of] establishing the unperceived by the perceived. The application is analogy, because of [the necessity of] summing up with 'So'. . . . The conclusion shews the efficiency of all [the four means of true knowledge] in establishing the same fact.

'The proposition is *āgama*' means that the subject-matter of X's proposition is a fact derived from *āgama* by X, but not by Y to whom X proposes to prove it by *nyāya*. Though X's proposition is a statement of what he has learned from *āgama*, yet it can not be accepted as *āgama* by Y, because it is assumed that X is not a *ṛsi*. Had it been accepted as *āgama* by Y, it would not have been necessary for X to prove it to Y by *nyāya*. To quote from Uddyotakara's Vārttika on N. S. I. 1. 1.—

'[Pūrvapakṣin] :

[It is] [2] not right [to say that] the proposition is *āgama*, because *āgama*, [being itself a means of true knowledge], has the capacity of establishing a truth [independently of any other means of true knowledge], whilst the subject-matter of the proposition is [something which is yet] to be established.

[Uttarapakṣin] :

[There is] no fault [in saying that] the proposition is *āgama*, because that which is derived from *āgama* has to be demonstrated.

pratyakṣānumānābhyāṃ pratisandhānāt, anṛṣeśca svātantryānupapatteḥ. Anumānaṃ hetuḥ, udāharaṇe saṃdṛśya pratipatteḥ; taccodāharaṇabhāṣye vyākhyātam. Pratyakṣaviṣayam udāharaṇam, dṛṣṭenadṛṣṭasiddheḥ. Upamānam upanayaḥ, tathetyupasaṃhārāt. . . . Sarveṣām ekārthapratipattau sāmarthyapradarśanaṃ nigamanam iti.

[1] Cf. Vacaspati: *Udāharaṇe dṛṣṭāntadharmiṇi sādhyasādhanayoḥ pratibandhaṃ sādṛśyaṃ samyag dṛṣṭvā liṅgasya pratīteḥ.*

[2] *Āgamaḥ pratijñeti na yuktam, āgamasyatattvavyavacchedakatvāt, pratijñārthasya ca pratipadyatvāt. Āgamādhigatasya pratipādyatvātāgamaḥ pratijñeti na doṣaḥ. Ya evārtha āgamenādhigatas tameva parasmā 'caṣṭa ityāgamaḥ pratijñetyucyate.*

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One states [in the proposition] for the sake of others the same fact as has been derived [by one] from *āgama*. So it is said that the proposition is *āgama*.'

But the question arises : Is the subject-matter of X's proposition always a fact derived from *āgama*? Propositions like : 'The Ātman exists' have *āgama* for their original source, no doubt. But what about propositions like : 'The hill has fire'? For an answer to this question we would refer to the following passage in Vācaspati's *Tātparyaṭīkā* on N. S. I. 1. 1.—

'This Śastra [1] functions for the purpose of establishing the Ātman and other knowables. It treats of *nyāya*, because it is indispensable for that [purpose]. It treats of only that which directly establishes the Ātman and other knowables, or that which establishes the trustworthiness of *āgama* which [again] establishes those [knowables]. The proposition, which is the first member of that special *nyāya* is about a fact belonging to *āgama*. It has [such a fact] for its subject-matter directly, or [if it is the proposition of a *nyāya*] which establishes the trustworthiness of *āgama*, [it has an *āgama*-fact for its subject-matter] indirectly. Hence the proposition is *āgama*. The reason for using *āgama* in a figurative meaning [consists in] this : *nyāya* is promoted by the message of truth [in the shape of] *āgama*, and [thereby] it becomes purposeful, because the knowledge of truths contained in *āgama* being acknowledged as the cause of [the attainment of] the *summum bonum*. Hence though the proposition in every *nyāya* is not an *āgama*, [yet the statement that the proposition is *āgama*] is to be regarded [as true] from the point of view of a genuine *nyāya*. And also, it is to be understood that by reference to *āgama*, [the possibility of] a proposition being about an imaginary something is excluded.'

Thus, whilst conformably to the principal purpose of syllogistic reasoning, which consists in producing knowledge conducive to the

[1] *Ātmādiprameyapratipādanoddeśena hi śāstram etat pravṛttam. Tannāntarīyakatayā nyāyam vyutpādayat. Tameva vyutpādayed yaścātmādeḥ prameyasya sākṣānniścāyakas tatpratipādakāgamaprāmāṇyaniścāyako vā. Tasya ca nyāyaviṣeṣasyādyo 'vayavaḥ pratijñā āgamarthaviṣayā sākṣādviṣayā 'gamaprāmāṇyapratipādakasya ca paramparayā. Tasmād āgamaḥ pratijñā. Āgamopacārasya prayojanam idaṃ padārthasambādenāgamenānugṛhyate nyāyaḥ saprayojanaśca bhavatyāgamārthajñānasya niḥśreyasahetubhāvena nirūḍhatvāt. Tasmād yadyapi na nyāyamātravartinī pratijñā 'gamas tathāpi prakṛtanyāyābhiprāyeṇa draṣṭavyam. Tathā cāgamānusandhānena pratijñāyāḥ kalpitaviṣayatvam api nirākṛtaṃ veditavyam.*

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attainment of the *summum bonum*, the proposition should be about scriptural truths; empirical facts like 'The hill has fire', are not excluded from its scope. Though such facts are not known from *āgama*, yet they are not unworthy of being demonstrated by syllogistic reasoning on the ground that, unlike imaginary objects, they do not come in conflict with *āgama*.

We have already pointed out that according to Vātsyāyana, 'inference for oneself' involves three steps, viz.,

(1) Previous apprehension of the concomitance of the sign with the signate (*liṅgaliṅgisambandhadarśana = prathamaliṅgadarśana*).[1]

(2) Subsequent apprehension of the sign (*dvitīyaliṅgadarśana*).[1]

(3) Remembrance of the sign as previously apprehended in concomitance with the signate (*liṅgasmṛti*).

In later logic, a fourth step, viz., consideration of the sign (*liṅgaparāmarśa = tṛtīyaliṅgadarśana*) was added.

In a *nyāya* the *prathama liṅgadarśana* finds expression in the third, the *dvitīya liṅgadarśana* in the second, and the *tṛtiya liṅgadarsana* in the fourth member. The *dvitīya liṅgadarśana* is called by Vātsyāyana inference, or the means of inferential knowledge (*anumitikaraṇa*). 'The probans is inference' therefore means that the *dvitīya liṅgadarśana* which finds expression in the probantial statement[2], is the means of inferential knowledge. The following passage may be quoted from Vācaspati's *Tātparyatīkā* on N.S.I. 1. 31. in further elucidation of the point.

'The second[3] apprehension of the sign is the probans, but it is not inference, because of the third apprehension of the sign, which forms the subject matter of the application, being such.[4] Hence he says:

[1] Cf. *Tātparyatīkā* on I-1-i; *Sambandhagrahaṇasamaye liṅgadarśanaṃ prathamaṃ, tadapekṣayā liṅgadarśanaṃ sādhyadharmiṇi dvitīyam.*

[2] Cf. N.S. I. 1.34: *Udāharaṇasādharmyāt sādhyasādhanam hetuḥ.* Vātsyāyana interprets *sādhanam* as *sādhanatāvacanam.*

[3] *Dvitīyam liṅgadarśanam hetur na ca tad anumānaṃ, tṛtīyasyopanayaviṣayasya liṅgadarśanasya tathābhāvād ityatā'āha: Udāharaṇa iti. Udāharaṇe dṛṣṭāntadharmiṇi sādhyasādhanayoḥ pratibandhaṃ sādṛśyaṃ samyagdṛṣṭvā liṅgasya pratīteḥ. Etad uktam bhavati: Yadyapi trayāṇām api liṅgadarśanānāṃ sasmṛtīnām anumānatvam, tathāpi tadekadeśa madhyame'pi liṅgadarśane samudayopacārād anumānavyapadeśa iti.*

[4] Cf. Nyāyavārtika on N.S.I. 1·5: *Eke tāvad varaṇyanti liṅgalingisambandhasmṛtir anumānam iti. Itarair liṅgalingisambandhadarśanādibhir anugṛhyamāṇā. Apare tu manyanie liṅgaparāmarśo 'numanam iti. Vayam tu paśyāmaḥ: Sarvam anumānam anumites tannāntarīyakatvāt. Pradhānopasarjanatavivakṣāyām liṅgaparāmarśa iti nyāyyam.*

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'In the example etc'. [*Udāharaṇe saṃdṛśya pratīteḥ*] means 'because of [the arising of the second] apprehension of the sign after one has well observed the similarity [in respect of] the concomitance of the probans and the probandum in the example, [i.e.] in that which possesses the essential characteristics of a familiar instance. This is [what is] said: though all the three apprehensions of the sign along with the remembrance [of the sign] partake of the essential characteristic of inference, yet the intermediate apprehension of the sign, which is but one of the steps of that [inferential process] is given the designation of inference by the figurative application of [the notion of] the whole [to a part].'

'The example is perception' means that it is about a fact derived from perception.

By analogy Vātsyāyana means in his Bhāṣya on N.S.I. 1. a statement, e.g.. 'As is a *go*, so is a *gavaya*', whereby X makes known to Y an unfamiliar object by comparing it to a familiar object. Now, in the application only the second half of such a statement occurs, the first half occurring in the example. Therefore the statement that the application is analogy, should be regarded as a figurative one, in which part has been used for the whole.[1]

To sum up, *nyāya* is chiefly concerned with the demonstration of scriptural truths. It consists of five steps. In the *pratijñā* which is figuratively called *āgama*, X states a truth he has learned from *āgama*. The *pratijñā* is followed by the statement of a *hetu* which is figuratively called *anumāna* or *anumitikaraṇa*. The *hetu* is then strengthened by

(i) an *udāharaṇa* or the statement of a *dṛṣṭānta* which is a *pratyakṣaviṣaya* for both X, and the person spoken to, Y, and in which both X and Y have perceived the connection of the *hetu* with the *sādhya*, and

(ii) the *upanaya* or the statement emphasizing the similarity, by means of the word 'So', of the case under demonstration to the case cited as an illustration.

[1] Uddyotakāra's interpretation is somewhat different, though he says that the application has been called analogy figuratively. The term *upamānā* is used in various senses in Vātsyāyana's Bhāṣya. For a full discussion of the subject, see Dr. S. Sen's paper on '*Upamānā* in Ancient Indian Logic', which was read at the Fifth Indian Philosophical Congress,

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Finally, in the *nigamana* the *pratijñā* is shewn to follow as a necessary consequence.

In a *nyāya* the principal part is played by the *hetu*, to which the *udāharaṇa* and the *upanaya* serve as auxiliaries. And as the *hetu* is called the *anumitikaraṇa*, the knowledge produced by a *nyāya* must be inferential in nature. That this is so is also evident from the use of the word 'Therefore' in the *nigamana* or the conclusion. In this connection reference may be invited to N. S. II. 1·48[1], and also to Vātsyāyana's Bhāṣya[2] thereon, where it is stated that the *upasaṃhāra* '*Tathā*' (which stands in contrast with '*Tasmāt*) is met with in analogy, but not in inference.

[1] *Tathetyupasaṃhārād upamānasiddher naviśeṣaḥ.*

[2] *Tatheti samānadharmopasaṃhārād upamānaṃ siddhyati, nānumānam.*

(To be continued)

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Mīr Qāsim's Intrigues against Mīr Jāfar Nawab of Bengal

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THE accidental death[1] of Miran was the signal for an endless intrigue. Mir Qasim could now safely proceed with his scheme of effecting a revolution at Murshidabad. The distracted condition of the Nawab's affairs was just the opportunity that he needed. His intrigues against the Nawab are too significant to be overlooked. The part he played in the deposition of Mir Jafar has not been correctly estimated. On a closer examination of the evidence, it will be found that it was he, and not Mr. Holwell or Mr. Vansittart, who first conceived the idea of a revolution, and realized its practicability. It was he who suggested and arranged every detail of the scheme. Mr. Vansittart merely played the game of Mir Qasim.

It is interesting to note that he proceeded against Mir Jafar in almost the same way as Mir Jafar had done against Siraj-ud-daulah. The only material difference in his case was that he had no control over the Nawab's army. Although this was a serious handicap, he did not allow himself to be deterred by this. He could, at any rate, resort to diplomacy and intrigue. He availed himself of the discontent that prevailed in the army against the Nawab, and seduced it to a

[1]Miran was killed by lightning, but foul play was suspected. Mir Qasim was accused of having got his rival assassinated. Even Burke, while addressing the House of Lords during the impeachment of Warren Hastings, spoke with his usual rhetoric, 'My Lords, thus was the Gordian knot cut. The prince dies by this flash of lightning. There were at that time, it seems, in Calcutta a wicked sceptical set of people who, somehow or other, believed that human agency was concerned in this.' (*Vide* Speeches of the Managers and Counsel in the trial of Warren Hastings, edited by E. A. Bond, Vol. I, p. 60). There is a footnote in Burke's *MS*—'Many believed at that time . . . that the Nawab had been murdered by some emissaries of Cossim Ali Khan'. It must be admitted, however, that there is no direct evidence to prove Mir Qasim's complicity in any such affair. Jean Law, a contemporary and a shrewd observer, disbelieved the story of Miran's accidental death and thought he had been murdered (*vide* his 'Memoire' edited by Martineau, Paris, p. 452.)

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great extent. A mutiny of the troops at Murshidabad had given him an excellent opportunity of earning their good-will by promptly paying up from his own pocket a part of the arrears due to them.[1] He employed his friend Ali Ibrahim Khan for winning over the Nawab's officers, ministers and other prominent nobles.[2] Two of the most prominent Hindu officials, who had played no small part in the late revolution of 1757 were again in the forefront of the discontented party.[3] One of them, Rai Durlabh, was soon won over. The other, Raj Ballabh too supported the cause of Mir Qasim. The Seths[4] who had played an important part in the overthrow of Siraj-ud-daulah also wished for a change in the government, and agreed to support the cause of Mir Qasim.

Sure of his ground at Murshidabad, he turned to the English for help. The revolution of 1757 had taught him a valuable lesson. He therefore cultivated the friendship of the Company's officials at Kasimbazar[5]. He won the good opinion of Mr. Hastings, the Resident at Murshidabad. To crown all, he even secured the good-will of Clive who recommended him for the post held by Ram Narain at Patna[6]. After Clive's departure, Mir Qasim with characteristic shrewdness won the support of Mr. Holwell, and wrote[7] to him frequently about his desires. Being assured of the latter's friendship, he paid a visit to him sometime during the last week of February, 1760[8]. The real object of this visit can not be exactly ascertained, but what is significant is this that soon afterwards, Mr. Holwell openly espoused the claim of Mir Qasim to the office held by Miran, and requested Col. Caillaud to support the cause of his candidate. How far Mir Qasim's diplomacy

[1] *The Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, Alld-Univ: *MS.* p. 733.
The Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh of Kalyan Singh.
(*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. V, p. 346.)
The Seir, Vol. II, p. 375.
Vansittart's Narrative (Vol. I, p. 43).
Fort William, August 18, Select Committee Report.
Press list of Records. Series I, p. 7.
(Reference to a letter from Warren Hastings, dated Morad Bagh, July 18, 1760.
[2] *The Seir*, Vol. II, pp. 376 and 381. (Translation—Calcutta Edition.)
[3] Fort William : Select Committee Proceedings, July 18, 1760.
[4] The Riyaz-us-Salatin, (Translation, p. 385). *The Seir*, Vol. II, p. 383.
[5] *The Khulasat—J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. V, p. 345.
[6] Holwell's '*Reputation of a letter.*'
[7] Holwell's '*Address to the Proprietors of East India Stock.*'
[8] Holwell's '*Letter to Caillaud*' February 24, 1760, (vide *Tracts*, p. 27).

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had succeeded can be best judged from Mr. Holwell's letter to Col. Caillaud, dated May 5, 1760, wherein he wrote: 'I shall receive as a favour your interesting yourself in behalf of Cossim Aly Khan'[1].

The immediate issue was the problem in regard to the respective rights to future succession of Mir Qasim, and Mir Sidoo, the illegitimate son of Miran. Col. Caillaud and Mr. Amyatt were in favour of the latter[2], but Mr. Holwell and the Select Committee at Calcutta pressed the claims of Mir Qasim. Both Mr. Holwell and Mr. Hastings were persuaded by Mir Qasim to request the Nawab to appoint him as his successor. The Nawab thus replied to Mr. Holwell[3], 'you acquaint me that he (Qasim Ali) is a noble, good, and brave man. Mr. Hastings also has wrote me to the same purpose, and has desired me to let him succeed my son. This rejoiced me much, because I was sensible he is highly deserving of my favour and friendship. I have no friends dearer to me than himself and family, but the Colonel has wrote me a letter . . . . you will then be able to judge what motive has induced me to prefer the Chota Nawab's son'. Mr. Hastings, however, wrote to the Select Committee, arguing at length in favour of Mir Qasim's[4] claims.

In all his intrigues against the Nawab, Mir Qasim could count upon the unfailing help of Mr. Holwell owing to the latter's inveterate hatred and piqué against Mir Jafar[5]. Apart from personal reasons, Mr. Holwell was convinced that Mir Jafar had completely failed as a ruler, and that his misrule would lead to the ruin of the Company's affairs in Bengal[6]. In addition, he framed specific charges against the Nawab of faithlessness, and actual treason[7]. That he gave up his original scheme[8] of securing the *Subadari* for the Company from the Emperor was due to the successful intrigue of Mir Qasim. The latter also won over the two Armenian merchants, Khoja Gregory and Khoja Petruse who had been the agents of the English in their negotiations against

[1] Holwell's Address, p. 56.
[2] Vansittart's Narrative, I, pp. 41 and 68.
[3] Imperial Records Office, Abs. P.L.R. 1759-65, p. 24.
[4] Gleig's *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, vol. i, p. 89.
[5] First Report, 1772, p. 161, and Caillaud's letter to a friend, *Orme Mss.* (India, xii, *ff.* 32, 39, etc.)
[6] Holwell's Address—p. 10.
[7] Holwell's '*Memorial*.'
,, '*Refutation of a letter*.'
,, '*Important Facts*'.
[8] Holwell's Address, pp. 59, 60, 63.

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Siraj-ud-daulah, and employed them as his confidential agents in his secret negotiations with the Select Committee at Calcutta[1]. The only thing which worried him was the Nawab's prejudice against himself[2] and so he secretly prepared for an open rebellion as the last alternative[3] especially when he saw that the Nawab entrusted the affairs of the Government to a Persian adventurer, Mirza Daud[4]. Matters were in this state when Mr. Vansittart arrived as the permanent Governor of Fort William. Mir Qasim decided to go to Calcutta[5] to win over the new Governor with the help of Mr. Holwell.

Mir Qasim now simply needed a good pretext to go down to Calcutta. In his very first letter to Mr. Vansittart he expressed the desire for an interview.[6] Besides writing frequently[7] to the governor, he wrote more freely to Mr. Holwell[8]. Mr. Vansittart was at last induced to invite Mir Qasim on some convenient plea.[9] One was suggested by Mir Qasim himself[10], and this was finally approved[11]. It was the question of adjusting the operations of the next campaign against the Shahzadah, and finally settling the accounts of the assigned lands[12]. Mir Jafar who had already begun to suspect the designs of his son-in-law, proved unwilling to let him go to Calcutta[13]. Pressed by the Governor, he had to yield. In the meantime, Mir Qasim had deputed Khoja Gregory on a confidential mission to Calcutta[14]. He personally set out from Murshidabad early in September, and reached Calcutta on the 15th of September[15]. No sooner had he arrived at Calcutta than he requested the Governor to grant him a private interview[16]. The meeting took place on the night of September 15.[17]

[1] Abs P. L. R. 1759-65 pp. 2 and 19.
[2] *The Khulasat* (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. V, p. 344) and (*The Seir*, Vol. II, p. 375).
[3] *The Seir*, Vol. II, p. 382.
[4] Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. I, p. 42.
[5] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. V, p. 346.
[6] Abs. P. L. R. 1759-65, p. 45.
[7] *Ibid*, p. 2.
[8] Holwell's Address, p. 88.
[9] Abs. P. L. I. 1759-65, p. 7.
[10] Holwell's Address, p. 89.
[11] Abs. P. L. R. 1759-65, p. 37.
[12] *Ibid*, and Vansittart's Narrative, I, p. 43.
[13] *The Seir*, II, p. 375, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. V, p. 346.
[14] Abs. P. L. R., 1759-65, p. 2.
[15] Abs. P. L. I. 1759-65, p. 7.
[16] Abs. P. L. R., 1759-65, p. 2.
[17] Select Committee Proceedings, Sept. 16, 1760.

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During the interview, Mir Qasim expressed his apprehension of Col. Caillaud's designs, and referred to the latter as his enemy.* [1] Mr. Vansittart assured him of his sympathy. Mir Qasim thereupon adroitly declared his desire to obtain the management of the Nawab's affairs to which Mr. Vansittart did not object. * [2] Mir Qasim subsequently suggested that he would relieve the financial distress of the Company by making territorial assignments, if he were entrusted with the control of the administration. He warned the Governor that the Nawab would surely oppose his elevation, and emphasized the need of coercing the Nawab and his ministers. In other words, Mir Qasim asked for military help, and ultimately convinced Mr. Vansittart of the supreme necessity of a radical change in the Nawab's government.

The success of Mir Qasim's diplomacy was due to a combination of circumstances. The treasury at Calcutta was exhausted, and the normal expenses of the settlement could not be provided for.* [3] The monthly subsidy of the Nawab was considerably in arrears. No remittances were expected from England, and the investments had been stopped. The cost of the upkeep of the Bengal army was far more than the allotted revenues.* [4] There was no prospect of peace in Behar owing to the presence of the Shahzadah. To make matters worse, the Nawab was demanding the return of the assigned districts.* [5] The company was now also engaged in a decisive struggle with the French in the south, and the presidencies of Bombay and Madras depended on supplies from Bengal. The consequence was that the Council at Calcutta had to borrow heavily to meet the expenses.* [6] Mr. Vansittart was thus hard-pressed for want of money [7]. He was not sure of the Nawab's payments, he did not know how to provide funds for Madras* [8]. The select committee resolved, 'It becomes necessary to secure to the company such an income as will bear them clear of charges, and bring in besides a supply for the

* [1] Holwell's Address, p, 89.
* [2] Vansittart's Narrative, I, p 96.
* [3] *Ibid*, p. 36.
* [4] Select Committee Proceedings, Sept. 11, 1760.
Second Report of the Committee of Secrecy.
* [5] Abs. P. L. R. 1759–65, p. 27.
* [6] 'A Letter to the Proprietors' By Henry Vansittart, p. 12.
* [7] 'Vindication of Mr. Holwell by his friends,' p. 74.
* [8] Select Committee Proceedings, August 7th, 1760.

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emergencies of their other settlements, and for providing cargoes for loading home their ships.*[1]. The immediate problem was how to secure such an income! Mr. Vansittart had appealed to the Nawab for the grant of the *Foujedarship* of Sylhet and Chittagong;*[2] and for the cession of Burdwan and Krishnanagar*[3] but in vain. The governor expostulated fruitlessly as the Nawab was obdurate*[4]. Foiled in his attempt to win over the Nawab, he considered the expedient of negotiating with the Shahzadah. This policy had originally been advocated by Mr. Holwell*,[5] but Mr. Vansittart, unlike Mr. Holwell, was opposed to the idea of a revolution in Bengal. The select committee finally resolved,*[6] 'That the entering into an alliance with the Shahzadah is a necessary and expedient measure.' Thus it is evident that neither Mr. Vansittart, nor the select committee had up to September 15, 1760, any desire for bringing about a revolution at Murshidabad. On the contrary, Mr. Vansittart had set his face against any such step. Mir Qasim saw the plight of the Calcutta Government, and determined to exploit it for his own benefit. He held out a helping hand to the Governor, and the latter without correctly grasping the situation at Murshidabad, merely played into his hands. He seems to have thought in the beginning that Mir Qasim meant to have for the present the *Diwani* alone, and so readily fell in with the latter's proposal.[7] He did not realize at the outset that Mir Qasim really aimed at the *Subadari* also. In the meantime, Rai Durlabh approved[8] of the promotion of Mir Qasim to the *Diwani* when he was consulted by the Select Committee. Khoja Petruse now acted as the intermediary between Mir Qasim, and the Select Committee.[9]

After some meetings with the Governor, Mir Qasim had a private interview with Mr. Holwell on September 25.[10] It was on this

*[1] Select Committee Proceedings, 11th September, 1760.
*[2] Abs. P. L. I. 1759-65, p. 36.
*[3] Letter from Mr. Vansittart to Col. Caillaud, Aug. 4, 1760.
*[4] Letter from Mr. Sykes, Sept. 16, 1760.
and Abs. P. L. I. 1759-65, p. 37.
*[5] Holwell's 'Interesting Events' Part I, p. 183.
*[6] Select Committee Proceedings, Sept. 15, 1760.
[7] First Report, pp. 230-31.
[8] Select Committee Proceedings—September 16,1760.
[9] Vansittart's 'Letter to the Proprietors', p. 142.
[10] Holwell's *Tracts*—Address, p. 90.
'He discovered his views were more extensive than had been imagined,'

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occasion that he formally discussed his real objects and plans. In fact, Mr. Holwell was not even prepared for such views as were now expressed by the latter. He thus sums up the latter's views : 'He urged the repeated treacherous conduct of the *Suba* :and the late young Nabob to the English, expatiated on their cruelties and murders, and the universal abhorrence of the people against the *Suba* and his house ; dwelt much on his personal ingratitude to himself ; in his two attempts which he had made on his life at the instigation of the late young Nabob ; exclaimed against the secret negotiation he had carried on with the Shahzadah and the Dutch, closing this introduction with saying that the *Suba* was incapable of government ; that no faith or trust could be put in him.' In short, Mir Qasim made out a strong case against the Nawab[1] Mr. Holwell's account of this interview further shows that Mir Qasim even proposed the assassination of the old Nawab.[2] This idea was dropped at the instance of Mr. Holwell himself.[3] That Mir Qasim suggested the murder of the Nawab shows how unscrupulous he was. When he found Mr. Holwell horrified by his inhuman proposal, he expressed his profound disappointment and declared that the latter 'was not so much his friend as he had hoped and expected.'[4]

This account could not obviously have been concocted by Mr. Holwell, as the latter was his friend and advocate. He had no reason for defaming him falsely. Mr. Holwell, however, contradicted himself in a roundabout manner subsequently only to defend his protégé[5] and to vindicate the revolution of 1760. Even then he used ambiguous language, and merely refuted a fresh charge levelled against Mir Qasim. Certain gentlemen of the Calcutta Council sent a memorial[6] in 1762 in which they alleged that after his accession to the *masnad*, Mir Qasim attempted to murder Mir Jafar. Mr. Holwell denied that Mr. Qasim could do anything of that kind during his occupation of the palace at Murshidabad. He should not therefore be taken to mean that even the aforesaid proposal had not been made at Calcutta.

[1] Kalyan Singh corroborates the statement of Mr. Holwell. (Vide *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. V, p. 346).
[2] Holwell's Address, p. 90, and Scrafton's Observations, p. 26.
[3] Holwell's *Tracts*, p. 91.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Holwell's Refutation (Tracts, p. 114).
[6] First Report.

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Sir George Forrest is mistaken when he observes[1], 'Holwell in a Refutation of a Letter denied that the proposal was ever made.'

After the preliminaries were over, there was a discussion on the articles of a secret treaty to be concluded between Mir Qasim and the company. A study of the main terms of the treaty shows that the former secured all the advantages that he wanted. Besides, what is more significant, he also succeeded in his consistent opposition to the proposed alliance with the Shahzadah. Thus, Mir Qasim completely upset the plans of the Select Committee, and obliged the latter to play the part chalked out by himself. On the night of the 27th September, the treaty agreed upon was duly signed by Mir Qasim and the Select Committee. Mir Qasim then offered to reward the Select Committee for their good will, but Mr. Vansittart gracefully declined the proffered bribe for the present.[2]

Mir Qasim's intrigues were now crowned with success. He had deliberately betrayed the trust reposed in him by the Nawab, as he had no right to conclude a secret treaty which meant the virtual deposition of the Nawab. The latter recently wrote to the governor expressing his intention of bestowing a sardarship on his son-in-law[3]; little did he anticipate that Mir Qasim was returning from Calcutta recognized as the *de facto* Nawab of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

[1] Forrest's *Life of Lord Clive*, Vol. II, p. 212.

It must be understood that Mr. Holwell did not 'actually' contradict his original statement in his 'Address'. His 'Refutation of a Letter' was published as a supplement to his 'Address'. He could easily have suppressed the passage in question from his Address if he had so intended. Even in his Refutation occurs this significant sentence, 'Supposing this charge to be really true surely it will bear some explanation when the provocation is considered'. Did Mr. Holwell intend to slur over the guilt of his hero?

[2] Holwell's *Tracts*, p. 120.
First Report, p. 161.

[3] Abs. P.L.R., 1759–65, p. 27.

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Reviews

'A HISTORY OF AMERICAN LIFE—VOL. I THE COMING OF THE WHITE MAN 1492-1848

BY

H. J. PRIESTLEY

Professor of American History in the University of California, New York

[The Macmillan Company, 1929—pp. xx and 411]

THIS is the first volume of a History of American Life, planned in 12 volumes under an able Board of Editors and treats of the Spanish, Dutch and French settling in the middle zone of North America that has contributed its own quota to the fabric of American life. The more characteristic and permanent results of transplanted Latin cultures are found not so much in the history of the United States as in that of New France and New Spain where the white man first settled in the New World. The world has not fully grasped the fundamental differences that underlay the founding of Anglo-Saxon and Latin America, as was pointed out by Ernest Gruening in his recent book on *Mexico and Her Heritage.* For long the culture of the Anglo-Saxon colonies seemed a puny thing beside that of old Mexico, as well in physical wealth as in intellectual effort and achievement. Thus the book shows that New Spain had run through an entire cycle of artistic, literary and other development before its northern Anglo-Saxon neighbour had scarcely ever made a beginning. This difference was not wholly due to more than a century of priority of time, but was caused by the operation of deeper factors.

Mr. Maurice Law in his book *The American People,* published more than twenty years ago, has remarked that 'America and the Americans were an undiscovered country and an unknown people and each literary Columbus returned to feed the imagination with a newer . . . tale'. The account of Mr. Priestley is certainly new to

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many readers in the Eastern Hemisphere, and informing and thought-provoking as well. He describes, initially, how the first Spanish settlers brought with them all that they had of practical civilization, while the land was just ripe for what they had to offer. Missionary zeal for conversion was one of the most important forces of expansion, and the use of the mission by the Crown as an active, but subsidiary agent of subjugation, is one of the outstanding features of the Spanish Colonial System. The author is at special pains to show that the defence of the border was the characteristic motive of expansion in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries along the whole frontier line from California to St. Augustine, and that, because of this progress, was held up completely or allowed to proceed only at a very slow pace. The farther north the Spanish settlements went, the fiercer was the native Indian fighter who was not prepared for the social transition to a sedentary life and other consequences of Spanish settlement.

New Mexico, now in U. S. A., projected northwards several hundred miles beyond the early Spanish settlements. In the seventeenth century it lay at the outermost fringe of the white man's civilization and was peopled by a handful of Indians, half-breeds and mulattoes led by a few civilians, missionaries and soldiers. The disappointment of its colonization led to Spain's turning to fairer valleys in the East, and, faltering on account of exhaustion, finally resigned them to the English and the French. The New Mexican settlement was the last notable Spanish expansion before their eighteenth century defensive thrust that added the northern Pacific coast. On the east, expansion into Texas and Florida was undertaken as a measure against foreign aggression and heresy. The writer points out emphatically that the social and political organization that Spain planted within the present bounds of U. S. A., in Florida, Texas and California, was of a transitional and frontier type, and a feeble reflection of the Greater Spain of which the Conquistadores were vaguely conscious. The type of life developed in Old Mexico, with its survival of the Indian masses, and all the social, political and economic implications of that factor, gives a far more correct perspective reflecting Spanish achievement. Thus 'without the survival of Indian blood and tradition, the growth of New Spain would have been quite unlike what it came to be; so, too, the

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life of the Mexican nation and its relations with the United States'.

The question of Spanish attitude towards the Indians is a large and complicated one, and the forcing of Christianity on them was a sharp crisis with a sequel of long-drawn-out tragedy and an abundance of trouble for the Spainards themselves. Yet, according to the Spaniard, his faith was his most important contribution and his most unselfish gift to his new charges. 'The faith was his most generous gift, the transfusion of his blood was his most lavish compliment.' These two were respectively expected to create 'unity of blood' and 'identity of body' which were the basic concepts on which the institutions of society were to rest. Needless to state, the actual results were far removed from the expected ideal.

The book tries to remove the false impression that Spanish life brought few of the amenities of civilization. The prejudice of the English due to religious feud and commercial competition has been largely responsible for this impression. The Americans have nourished the English tradition and strengthened it with the many unpleasant memories of their political and military contact with the Mexicans—a feature illustrated in their attitude towards the recent Mexican revolution, and not merely due to the original distinction between Anglo-America and Hispano-America. The pageant of the culture of New Spain, so belittled in the American mind, was however confined only to the towns and was little reflected in the rural parts and frontier regions. The Spanish colonial population was comparatively immobile, largely due to restricted immigration, the liberal importation of negro-slaves and to the evil effect of the land-system which was in turn due to climate, topography and social organization.

The French builders of Louisiana and Canada pursued somewhat different methods. The French traded with the Indians on equal terms, which, however, was bound to vanish in course of time; and the absolutist ideal of the French government gave Canada an evolution and finally a fixity of form strikingly similar to that of New Spain. The French occupation of the lower reaches of the Mississippi was brought within the imperial purview by La Salle only under an impulse from New France, Louisiana and Illinois had their own peculiar characteristics; while the wild French trappers and woodsmen

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of the interior have left their impress upon Wisconsin society. There is no deep meaning in Dutch effort in America; and Dutch role in the colonial epoch was peculiarly that of a commercial career. There was no large transmission of higher forms of culture through them. The book is a carefully-prepared account of the non-British influences, cultural and institutional, that have helped in the formation of American life.

C. S. S.

'WARREN HASTINGS AND PHILIP FRANCIS'

BY

SOPHIA WEITZMAN, Ph.D.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

RAMSAY MUIR

[Manchester University Historical Series No. LVI—Manchester University Press, 1929—pp. xxx and 400]

THE controversy between Warren Hastings and Philip Francis had momentous consequences both in Britain and in India, alike on contemporary events and on the later policy pursued by the British Government in Indian affairs. English classical literature at the close of the eighteenth century was 'saturated with party-politics', and according to Sir Henry Maine, this would have been a less serious fact 'if, at this epoch, one chief topic of the great writers and rhetoricians, of Burke and Sheridan, of Fox and Francis, had not been India itself'. The 'excessive dryness and severity of style' of James Mill which produced an impression of accuracy and labour which a study of all available original materials does 'not always confirm' was fortified by the rhetoric of Macaulay who accepted Mill as an authority deserving the fullest confidence. Sir James Fitzjames Stephen was the first writer to deviate from the beaten track and apply 'robust, careful and dispassionate criticism' to this period of history; and he dispelled one of the imaginary crimes of Hastings, *viz*, the judicial murder of Nanda Kumar. Sir John Strachey took up another thread of the tangled skein, and in his work on the Rohilla war, endeavoured to show that the crime of selling the services of the British army for exterminating the Rohillas, is also largely unfounded. Sir G. W. Forrest has brought out the story of Hastings' administration as

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revealed by the letters and the narratives, the dissents and the discussions of the chief actors. The latest apologist for Hastings, Mr. P. E. Roberts, maintains the surging tide of Hastings' worship and semi-deification which has been steadily flowing for more than half a century; he declares that the impeachment was a calamitous mistake, and before it had gone far, had developed into something like a cruel wrong. Sydney Grier, Sir Charles Lawson and others, not to speak of Malleson and Lyall, form the main links in the chain of Hastings' champions; and Sophia Weitzman and Miss Monckton-Jones have come, the latter with an able account of the constructive work of Hastings as the Governor of Bengal, and the former with this book under review on the very complex and controversial conflict between the Governor-General and his bitterest foe.

Miss Weitzman has consulted and utilized some hitherto-unutilized manuscript sources like the Robinson collection, the East India part of which has not been classified by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and contains an invaluable wealth of documents. Robinson was Secretary of the Treasury in the ministry of Lord North and until 1784, his private dwelling served 'with The India House, as a sanctum for the India papers among others'. The Hastings *MSS.* in the British Museum, the numerous volumes of the Francis *MSS.* in the India Office Library and the letters and papers of Richard Johnson, assistant to Middleton, are among the more important of the manuscript treasures of the period. The immensity of the sources is, according to Professor Muir, one of the greatest obstacles in the way of the student; the records of the Company at home are exceeded in volume by the consultations and other records of the Indian governments; and both have been heavily supplemented by the growing accumulation of the private or semi-private correspondence of the leading actors, brought to light frequently.

Out of an examination of this mass of evidence, Miss Weitzman concludes that Francis was a much worse man than he has been pictured by many previous writers. Even his biographer, Merivale, was forced to the conclusion that he was 'a political adventurer who was utterly unscrupulous in the use of means' and whose 'sincerity, even when he was sincere, was apt to assume the form of the most ignoble rancour'; while 'no ties of friendship or party or connection seem to have restrained his virulence'. Sir James Stephen held that

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this severe condemnation was justified; and now Miss Weitzman condemns him as a failure both as administrator and statesman. She analyses the deeper principles at issue in the controversy between Hastings and Francis, and shows that while the contest was, to a large extent, a war of petty personalities, it was backed by real differences of opinion on policy, Francis holding opinions on internal administration, justice, revenue and foreign policy, that were diametrically opposed to those of Hastings. He was convinced that the English dominion in India was an evil, self-interested growth, and advocated non-intervention. Till 1780, when the climax of their quarrel was reached in the duel, Francis utilized to the fullest possible extent his biting pen and his influence with the home administration to damage his rival, and, if possible, to step into his shoes. After he reached England, he continued his vengeful endeavour and easily captured a party among the Directors, the managers of the two Parliamentary Committees of Inquiry then instituted, and functioning against Hastings and the press generally. The India Bills of Fox were animated by Francis and adopted the administrative system sketched out by him; and Pitt's Bill adopted, in its essentials, 'the findings of the Secret and Select Committees, couched in the very words of Francis', frequently denunciations, and incorporated the political and revenue systems he advocated.' He was the power behind Hastings' impeachment and was painted in contemporary caricatures as the prompter behind the scenes; while Burke never hesitated to acknowledge his indebtedness to Francis. The acquittal of Hastings was deemed by him to be his own condemnation. 'Hastings has been impeached and I have been condemned', he violently declared. The book maintains a very high level of treatment and points out the capacity and skill of constructive statesmanship that Francis had. It rightly declares that Francis, though beaten in the conflict both in India and in England, still contrived to snatch a portion of the laurels. 'Immortalized by Burke and his brilliant contemporaries, his philippics became a part of the legacy of the Whig tradition . . . And once pronounced, his false verdict has been accepted by posterity which knows Hastings only as a great but unscrupulous statesman.' The treatment on the whole sustains the anti-Francis note, but does not err on the side exaggeration of Hastings' merits.

C. S. S.

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'THE NABOBS OF MADRAS'

BY

HENRY DODWELL

[Williams and Norgate, London, 1926—p. 263.]

MR. DODWELL has written a very pleasant readable, and withal, a true, picture of the old-time Nabobs as they lived, in the Southern Presidency in the eighteenth century, their comparatively brief and very chequered lives. The Nabob became a target for literary slander and ridicule, and a by-word of political corruption and backstairs influence. From Burke and Sheridan downwards, every one had his fling at the Indian Nabob who became more and more unpopular as the century advanced; but, inspite of their social pretensions and lack of real culture, these old-time Anglo-Indians were possessed of a tough moral fibre, a spirit of self-reliance, gift of command and love of adventure, and generally speaking were not much worse than other people of their age and grade. Professor Dodwell pictures the voyage out to India of the cadets, the crowded and tedious passage, the sighting of the Coromandel, and the strange method of landing across the rough surf on the back of a wet fisherman, and go on the Sea-Gate of *Fort St. George*, which served as the Apollo Bunder of that age. Life in the Presidency was interesting enough from our point of view; but the European population was heterogeneous and supplemented by gems of Spanish or Portuguese extraction, Armenians and domiciled, pure and half-caste Portuguese, all of whom have left their impress upon the city. Methods of making money were easy enough both for the Company's servant and for the private adventurer; and the strange careers of Paul Benfield and the Hollands who were 'Nabobs in the bad and popular sense of the word' are declared by the author, to be exceptions, and we are cautioned against mistaking them for fair samples of the Company's servants.

'The average was not very different from the rest of the generation at home and achieved neither the enormities of Holland, nor the fortunes of Benfield.'

The chapter on the origin and development of the Madras Army which came to be an efficient fighting force under Major Lawrence who has been called 'the Father of the Army' gives us many illustrative anecdotes and accomplishments as well as numerous instances of

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discontent and sedition and even occasional mutiny. The growth of the class of free merchants indicated the rise of a numerous and comprehensive population including all the Europeans who were not servants of the company or officers of the Army. While in the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Governor and Members of Council were the chief merchants, at the end of it, the control of trade had really passed from the covenanted servant to the free merchant; while regular firms had grown up in the place of loosely associated individual merchants. Along with them came the lawyers, a good specimen of whom is furnished by Stephen Popham, an Irish M. P., whose name has come to be inseparably associated with the development of Madras.

Mr. Dodwell gives in his inimitable manner the stages of the development of the suburban country-houses, and the expansion of the settlement by the inclusion of the Choultry Plain and other vast stretches. Comforts were few, though beverages were many, and indeed water was used as little as possible. Exotic customs, ill-judged gaiety of clothes, big houses and innumerable servants ensured 'a reputation for tasteless and exorbitant expense'. One is glad to read that the Nabobs were 'familiar with some great and not a little good literature.' Thus 'on many bookshelves you would find Shakespeare and Milton, Swift and Pope; the essayists from the *Tatler* to the *Rambler*; minor poets like Pomfret and Akenside. For Classical History they had Rollin, Plutarch and Gibbon; for English History, Mrs. Macaulay, Hume and Smollett; for the history of their predecessors in India, the judicious Orme, the laborious Cambridge, the moral Raynal besides the lively pamphlets of Holwell and Scrafton. Officers carry with them on campaigns, *Tom Jones*, *Don Quixote* or *Gil Blas*. . . Temple and Clarendon, Camden's *Britannia* and Montaigne's *Essays*, Spenser, Johnson and Raleigh, all appear. Every now and then we strike a wider range of reading—Boileau, Moliere and Montesquieu in French, Camoens in Portuguese, Ariosto, Tasso, Machiavelli, and Guicciardini in Italian.' Printing presses and news sheets were fairly active; racing and hunting developed into organized pastimes, and there was no lack of duels, quarrels and court-martials. The picture that we have in this book of old Madras, its life and activity is valuable alike to the historian and the lay reader; and a full bibliography at the end of the sources of information further enhances its value.

C.S.S.

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THE CHRISTIAN TASK IN INDIA

BY

VARIOUS WRITERS

EDITED BY

THE REV. JOHN MACKENZIE

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

THE MOST REV. THE BISHOP OF CALCUTTA

[Macmillan & Co, Ltd., 1929—pp. xvii and 297—price 7/6.]

THE need for a fresh and vital orientation of Christian attitude is more urgent now than a few years ago, and the separableness of a truly Christian life from the holding of correct beliefs, is coming to be held as more and more possible. As the Metropolitan of Calcutta forcibly points out in his introduction, the most urgent need of Christian workers at the moment is to present the Christian religion far more as a way of life and to demonstrate, as forcibly as can be done, that the spirit of Christ is the spirit of service in the diverse fields which poverty of many kinds affords in this as in other countries. 'The demand for education, healing and uplift has given ample scope for presenting in a practical way the ideals of the Christian life and the secret of its power.' The book is a collection of essays on the different aspects of Christian activity going on in the country, written by expert workers in the field. In the opening chapter Mr. S. K. Datta points out the danger of the Christian cause suffering, as it has suffered, from being identified as the ruler's religion and of being thrust aside as the symbol of the foreign governing race by the forces of developing nationalism. Christianity has also been challenged on her failure to live up to her own teaching and on the erection of distinct quasi-caste barriers in Western countries. Above all, true Christianity has got to assert its separation from industrialization and possession of economic power, and from the consequent association with secular views of life. Mr. Datta rightly stresses on the extreme, importance of a readjustment of the educational ideas and technique of missionary bodies who could meet the present situation most vitally in their educational activities.

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As regards the attitude of the Indian *intelligentsia*, Mr. J. C. Winslow will conclude, though one may well differ from that conclusion, that there is a widespread acceptance of the main principles of Christ's teachings, particularly of his ethical teaching. Moral standards of conduct are basically, and in their fundamentals, similar in all the principal religions of the world ; and ideas about the brotherhood of man are not peculiar to any one religion. Again, when it is claimed that the educated Hindu feels no difficulty in interpreting Hinduism for himself in a way that does not conflict with Christian teaching, it seems to be something like stretching a point. It is true that some think that to be baptized into the Christian Church is not simply breaking with one's religious heritage, but also with one's whole social and cultural inheritance also. Professor Radhakrishnan maintains in his *Hindu view of Life* (pp. 71-4) that the doctrine of *Karmā* when rightly viewed, does not conflict with the reality of freedom which is the basis of all ethical values, and that there is room for repentance and consequent forgiveness in this scheme. This is taken up by Dr. Winslow to imply 'a *rapprochement* to Christianity from the side of Hinduism which no thoughtful Christian can do otherwise than heartily welcome' ; but it may be regarded justly as taking too much for granted. The writer is on firm ground when he urges the Indian Christian community to make impossible the reproach of denationalization by becoming as truly Indian in its life and outlook as the other great communities of the land. From the Bishop of Dornakal who tries to prove that the social and national problems of Mother India are solved most effectively where the religion of Christ has had a chance, we have the statement that only in the village can the Church become truly self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing.

Alice Van Doren points out how India may show to the world a new type of womanhood, offspring of the union between the spirit of Jesus Christ and the inherited spiritual culture of the East as in Pandita Ramabhai who was a true *Bhakta* of the Cross. She pays particular attention to the needs of the rural woman and stresses on the necessity of avoiding the danger of Europeanization. Dr. John Mackenzie cautions Christians and others against depreciating the value of the educational missionary, simply on the ground that he does not lead directly to the making of converts. Christian educational institutions are exercising an enormous influence, intellectual, moral and spiritual,

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over the lives of their students and are helping to break down racial and national barriers, amongst other services that they do; and the writer stresses on the quickening of spirit fostered by these institutions which has led to a multitude of social service activities. Thus, the spiritual results of higher missionary educational work are deep and potent and should not be lightly undervalued. Dr. N. Macnicol yearns for 'the appearance of groups of Indian Christians who shall be able, by a careful and sympathetic study of their Christian faith in the light of their Indian heritage, to plant the universal message of Christ deep in the soil of the Indian soul.'

The ministry of healing has been regarded as an essential part of Christian teaching; and the service thus rendered is a natural and vital expression of the spirit of Christ; the co-operation of this branch with others of Mission activity should be stressed; and in its own sphere, preventive medicine and medical research should be pushed forward. An ambitious chapter of the book under review is devoted to a consideration of the causes of the appalling poverty of the country and believes in the wholesale efficacy of the application of the doctrine of Jesus Christ as the prime mover who can touch the springs of life and bring prosperity and happiness. We are told that the Gospel of Jesus is as wide as the needs of men spiritually, socially, industrially, politically and economically. The attitude of the Christian movement towards the shaping of public opinion in matters of social reform has got to rest on forces which it is difficult to determine and evaluate; but that Christ alone can serve as a universal panacea for all ills of Indian society, and that India's public moral problems will not discover their solutions in orthodox Hinduism, are both the result charge of a narrow outlook and lack of proper perspective.

Mr. A. Davies, in his contribution to the book, declares that the missions are beginning to understand that they have gone to India not merely to give, but also to receive, to learn as well as to teach. The efforts of Indian indigenous Christians are detailed in a separate chapter and shown to have a definite and important place in the Christian movement. The case for missionary co-operation and the union of separated Christian bodies is put on the ground that Christian unity in life and practice is necessary for the worthy presentation of the Gospel. This co-operation is most needed in public questions, in the joint maintenance of different pieces of work, and in the shaping of

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thought and experience. In the last chapter but one on the *Church of Christ in India* stress is laid on the fact that the nationalist movement has made the Church less exotic, and enabled it to have a really indigenous, cultural and economic background. The Bishop of Bombay explains the operating tendencies towards unity, and prefers that organic union should be aimed at rather than federal union. The different contributions are thought-provoking and give the thinking reader a great deal of matter for acute reflection and cogitation.

C. S. S.

'STUDIES IN TAMIL LITERATURE AND HISTORY'

BY

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M.A.,

Lecturer in Indian History—University of Madras, 1930. Luzac.

'THOSE who are interested in the study of Tamil literature are bound to feel thankful to Mr. V. R. R. Dikshitar for the publication of his studies.' As stated in the preface, the author has collected his 'stray writings together with the results of his further studies on the subject.' The book consists of seven chapters on the Sangam, some Sangam poets, some Tamil mystics, Tiruvaḷḷuvar, Administrative institutions, the art of War, and Social life in the Tamil land. Each of these is divided into several sections and hence the reader can perceive at a glance what the author is going to speak about—a great convenience indeed in these days of stress and strain when lay readers have too many things to occupy them and hence too little attention to spare for the utterances of the research-worker. Again, the topics chosen for examination are all of them interesting, each in its own way; and thus the different portions of the book will appeal to different classes of readers.

Scholars know that the subjects chosen by the author for his 'studies' are so vast that each one of his chapters must be developed into a volume as big as the present book if they are to be treated adequately. Some of them are still controversial in nature. The existence of the Sangam is an instance in point—yet Mr. Dikshitar has stated Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar's opinion and answered the arguments. *Apropos* of that, he has also attempted to establish a

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connection between Pliny's reference to the transfer of the Pāṇḍyan capital from Korkai to Madura and the Śilappadikāram reference to the incident of the sea swallowing a portion of Pāṇḍyan territory. The explanation is not unacceptable. The account of the extant Sangam works is brief but not meagre. The six sections dealing with Nakkīrar, Kapilar, Paraṇar, Avvaiyār, Iḷangō-Aḍigaḷ and Śāttanār, which make up the second chapter are as satisfactory biographical sketches as they can be expected to be in our present state of ignorance. The Sangam poems and the half-believable Purāṇas have been carefully examined for the purpose. The religion of Iḷangō-Aḍigaḷ and of Śēran Śenguṭṭuvan has been analysed utilizing the views of the late Kanakasabhai Pillai and the learned Pandit Swaminathier. In discussing the date of the poet, the vexed question of the Sangam date crops up; but the author avoids dogmatizing and rests content with the remark, 'It is reasonable to *assume* that these two epics belong to the epoch of the Sangam.' When the author takes up for examination the Buddhistic philosophy of Śāttanār, he says, 'It is in this connection that the poem is invaluable;' but he does not say much more than that and is probably right in caring for the feelings of the reader by avoiding the technicalities which led Dr. S. K. Aiyangar and Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri to different conclusions.

The author is at his best in Chapter IV. There he is in his own element; his fairly sound knowledge of Sanskrit helps him considerably in making the really good comparisons between the parallel passages of the Kural and the several Sanskrit works like the Gita Mānava Dharma Śāstra, Kāmandaki, the Artha Śāstrā etc. The next chapter on administrative institutions runs over nine sections and bears on the face of it every evidence of a thorough-going and searching study of the originals. In tracing the evolution of kingship in the pre-historic period, Mr. Dikshitar pitches upon the words *Kō* and *Kōn* which are applied both to kings and cow-herds, and argues that 'the origin of the dynasty of the Pāṇḍyan kings can probably be traced to the headship of the Āyar tribe.' This inference is of doubtful validity; for it is generally 'war that begets the king' and not the peaceful pursuit of cattle-tending. But this does not seriously affect the author's general conclusions. When he passes on to the qualifications of the king, the minister and the members of the Council, in the epoch of the Tirukkuraḷ, he has naturally to draw his

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inferences from the Kuraḷ itself (which has, in this particular, very much in common with the Artha Śāstra) and one may perhaps have a doubt as to whether the Kuraḷ represented the ideal or the actual state of affairs. The same remark applies to the character of the kingship, the conduct of princes, abdication, etc., dealt with in the succeeding section relating to the epoch of the epics. But the student of the *Ideals of Ancient South Indian Polity* has ample material in these and the subsequent sections of the chapter which cover many important subjects such as taxation, administration of justice, and village institutions. These sections of the book are very valuable for the comparison instituted between South Indian Polity and the ancient Hindu Polity of North India.

Chapter VI is certainly pleasant reading and will be much appreciated by those who are eager to know something of the martial qualities of the ancient Tamils and the manner in which they conducted their wars. The author has utilized the Sangam works for this purpose with exceptional skill and patience. The concluding chapter provides plentiful information about town-life and village-life, marriages and dances, festivals and superstitions. He is right when he says that he has given a 'picture' of the chief features of Tamil Social life, at least such of those pleasing aspects which would afford rich food for thought to the antiquarian.'

The author has done his task well and deserves our congratulations.

The book is beautifully printed; and considering the enormous cost of such publications, the price is only reasonable.

C. V. N.

INDIAN PRINCES UNDER BRITISH PROTECTION

BY

P. L. CHUDGAR, BAR-AT-LAW.

[Williams & Norgate Ltd., London 1929].

THE problem of the Indian States has three aspects. In its purely internal aspect the administration concerned and the paramount power whatever that term may connote are responsible. In most economic questions of all India importance these States have interests in common

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with those of British India. As regards foreign policy and international action, British India as well as the Indian States have to act through the British Government in England. In all the three aspects internal, British Indian and international the question has assumed much practical importance at the present moment when the readjustment of the Indian constitution on progressive lines is being attempted.

Mr. Chudgar's study of the question is both exhaustive and informing. He approaches the subject from the point of view of a citizen of the Indian State and the discussion assumes that modern democratic standards are those upon which judgments ought to be arrived at regarding the soundness and justice of the various institutions and methods in these states. This is the keynote of the book. For years together these states have been governed according to medieval notions by rulers who have been brought up upon principles akin to divine right; and the peoples of these states have also retained the awe and veneration with which divine monarchies have been looked upon. Only advanced education and contact with virile foreign democratic institutions could create a population which would render the continuation of the present autocracy unfashionable if not impossible. There, as Mr. Chudgar points out, the princes and their administrations lay themselves open to the charge of deliberately failing to provide facilities, financial and otherwise, for the educational advance of their peoples. But let us bear in mind, in justice to the princes whose peculiar environment and upbringing entitle them to our sympathy, that they could not of their own motion embark upon a progressive educational policy and for obvious reasons. The charge ought properly to be laid at the door of the British Overseer. The paramount power had undertaken responsibility for the maintenance of internal order in the States. The first condition of order in any civilised State is an informed citizenship, citizenship informed of its rights as well as of its duties. The paramount power has done nothing even by way of moral persuasion to induce these princes to undertake popular educational schemes to implement this condition. They have been winking at a policy which permitted of colossal expenditure, amounting often to over 50% of the revenues, on the personal requirements of the Ruler, while on education and public health, the proportion spent would be an unbelievable jest. The

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maintenance of internal order is a formula which has been in practice interpreted to cover only the maintenance of the supremacy of the Ruler and not the progress and contentment of the subject.

The facts brought together and the conclusions derived by Mr. Chudgar are sufficient to show that the policy of the various authorities towards the people of the Indian States must alter radically. The subject of the Indian State is more like the slave in the city-state or in Rome than the citizen of a modern State. He toils that the Princes may enjoy. A reawakened mass conscience must put a stop to this unjust state of affairs.

The introduction of the progressive policy is a problem bristling with difficulties. On the one hand efficiency of the administration has to be severely maintained. On the other, that efficiency must be in furtherance of the legitimate rights of the people themselves. This is the usual problem of democratising a people mostly ignorant of and unaccustomed to the exercise of their rights. The sudden creation of democratic institutions without the creation of a competent electorate capable of chosing wisely, will be a sad mistake. The first thing to do is to have compulsory universal education immediately. All else will follow. Money must be found anyhow for this.

Mr. Chudgar discusses various other interesting questions, the most important of them being the political relations between these States and British India in future. The Round Table Conference is attempting to evolve a scheme by which this relation would become a constitutional one. The scheme has immense difficulties and, to be sure, the optimism of its promoters is a little bewildering to those who are familiar with the principles and history of federations. If a workable scheme were evolved it would be a triumph of statesmanship and political imagination. Failing that the problem will yet remain as to how the crown in its English right, the British Indian democracy, and the various Indian States would be related and reconciled to each other. Mr. Chudgar has not tackled this aspect of the question.

In the words of Mr. J. C. Wedgewood in the arresting preface, this book needed writing.

N. D. V.

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'HISTORY OF ORISSA, VOLUME I'

BY

R. D. BANERJI

[R. Chatterjee, Calcutta]

IN this work, the talented author, the late Mr. R. D. Banerji, attempts for the first time, on a comprehensive scale and in the light of material some of which was only recently made available, the History of Orissa from the earliest times down to the period of the introduction of British rule. It is apparently intended to be completed in two volumes, of which the volume before us takes us from the beginning of Kalinga History to the period of Muhammadan conquest under Akbar. Even so, it is a pretty long period of varied interest, and the copiousness of the material available varying also from almost no material to a very considerable volume of it. Mr. Banerji takes us through this varied history with the care and caution expected of a scholar of his standing. Dealing with the topography, the peoples and the pre-historic antiquities, he passes rapidly through the references to the country in ancient Indian literature, and then goes on to the first historically important chapter, 'Orissa under the Nandas and the Mauryas.' This chapter and the next one Kharavela are interesting, and the account presented by Banerji is quite worthy of him as the joint author of the *Hathigumpha* inscription published in the Behar and Orissa Research Society through the energetic enterprise of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal. Then we enter a dark period, the period of Kalinga expansion overseas, and the position of the Kalingas up to the age of Harsha. Two chapters are taken up with 'the Sailodbhavas of Orissa', the contemporaries of Harshavardhana, and the chapter following deals with Orissa as described by the Chinese traveller Hiuen T'sang. Then follow three chapters bearing on the dynasties of whom comparatively little is known, and what little of information is available is sorted out, analysed and presented by Mr. Banerji with care. Naturally, these would be rather uninteresting to the general reader. That is matter, for which no author could be held responsible. Then he enters on more interesting ground when he comes to discuss the Somavamśa kings of Kosala and the early Gangas. Mr. Banerji fixes the Ganga era his own way, and takes it a few centuries earlier

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than the others. Then follow three interesting chapters upon 'the history of the Eastern Gangas' beginning with Vajrahasta and coming on to Narasimha IV. Then follow three chapters upon the more interesting period of Orissa history beginning with the foundation of the empire under the usurper, Kapilendra, who extended the power of Orissa from the frontiers of Bengal, almost the line of the Ganges, far down into South India along the coast. The account given in these chapters is about as full as, in the present circumstances of historical research in Orissan history, would make it possible, Mr. Banerji makes an effort to present his account clearly and with critical ability.

Here as elsewhere in the critical part of his work, the late Mr. Banerji shows an unfortunate feature too often associated with him of not always taking care to understand the position of those whom he criticizes, nor to make his criticism really acceptable even when he happens to be reasonable. Numbers of instances like that could be quoted where, with something like a supercilious flaunt of care, he points to small errors in others, but oftentimes falling into more serious ones himself. It is not our business here merely to pick holes in a difficult work done with a considerable amount of ability and care, and therefore we do not propose noting down all the small errors. But we must draw attention to where he takes it upon himself to criticize other positions without taking adequate care that the position that he has taken is not open to almost the same, if not more adverse criticism. We have noticed it in his *History of Orissa* published in the *Indian Antiquary*, and we find it repeated, perhaps in more detail, in this history. With reference to Kapilendra and Purushotama Gajapati and their achievements against the empire of Vijayanagar, he begins with the statement 'a considerable amount of misunderstanding exists amongst scholars, especially those who hailed from South India about the true nature of the conquest of Kapileswara in the Tamil Country.' Here the whole question is that during the period of rule of Kapileswara Gajapati, which extended from 1435 to 1469 how far Orissan conquests actually extended in the south, and what was the nature of the conquests. It would take too long to discuss the position, and a review note is not the place for the whole discussion. The late Mr. Banerji takes hold of a few inscriptions in the Tamil country dated in the years 1470–71 and referring to the previous

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conquest of Kapileswara Gajapati of that region. They do not refer to the specific details of it, but refer to the times of disturbances owing to the incursion of the Oḍḍiyan, which Mr. Banerji mistakes for a special Tamil designation, but Oḍḍiyar is the regular Tamil form for the inhabitant of Oḍra or Oḍḍa. Unfortunately Kapilendra's period of power corresponds to the rise to importance of Saluva Narasimha, whose inscriptions are found in abundance all over the Tamil country, and who is exhibited as gradually raising himself to importance from his ancestral patrimony at Narayanavaram in the Chittoor District, of the Madras Presidency, *not in the Mysore State*, as Mr. Banerji notes. He gradually imposed his authority over all the Tamil districts in the centre, extending westwards into Mysore to as far as Nagamangala, and gradually advancing northwards till he could place himself in great force on the banks of the Godavari when later Sultan Muhammad III of the Bahmani kingdom found it difficult to dislodge him from the position that he had taken on the banks of the great river near Rajahmundry. Here Mr. Banerji takes it upon himself to assume that his interpretation of the Tamil inscriptions and their significance as being of superior historical value, to what is contained in a Sanskrit classic composed in the court of Narasimha himself and dedicated to him. Nobody would urge that a poem that was dedicated to a ruler, and written ostensibly for his patronage, would contain undressed truth. But when it is stated that these poems utter falsehoods, one may well demur. But when these poems get confirmed by material, such as the inscriptions to which Mr. Banerji would attach the highest value, the presumption that other statements may contain truth does not border on simple credulity. The coast region and the central block of Vijayanagar territory had passed under the chief Saluva Narasimha so far that European travellers at that period got to call the whole empire of Vijayanagar Narasinga. This is evidence of the position of authority of the Saluva chief, Narasimha. Because Kapileswara made conquests in the south, and even planted garrisons in certain places of his southern conquests—that so far only in the Nellore country—is not an indication that he brought all his conquests under his own rule, and this applies with greater force to the Tamil districts, where some of the inscriptions refer to him and even are referable to him by name and authority. During the period in question, conquests and reconquests have been the order of the

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day. The empire of Vijayanagar in the south, the Bahmani kingdom in the middle and the empire of Orissa in the north-east were facing each other, looking out each one for an opportunity to extend its authority or deal a crushing blow to the enemy as opportunity offered. From the nature of the position, therefore, wars could not have been as decisive as the Great War and the League of Nations that immediately followed to settle frontiers once for all, and make an honest effort to avoid war for the future. The period of the rise of Kapileswara corresponded to the period of weakness and disturbance in the Bahmani kingdom, and the personal unpopularity of a particular ruler in Vijayanagar, and gave the opportunity for Kapileswara to extend his authority southwards. As soon as things bettered in the one place as in the other, it would naturally provoke a reaction, and the rise of Saluva Narasimha to power exhibits that reaction on the side of Vijayanagar and the rise of Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri exhibits it in respect of the Bahmani kingdom.

It would take a good deal more by way of regular proofs before Mr. Banerji's conclusions could be accepted that Sanskrit *kāvyas* are worthless as historical evidence, and his own interpretation of inscriptions and even Muhammadan historians such as Firishta and Saiyad Ali are beyond question, correct. For one thing, he casts aside the detail contained in the drama *Gangadasa Pratapavilasam*. Banerji here does not notice that the statement there is that the attack upon Vijayanagar was made by the Bahmani Sultan and the ruler of Orissa jointly, when the great Devaraya II died and was succeeded by his son Malikarjuna. That must have reference to the period 1449–51. Why should this be impossible? He has given absolutely no reason beyond his own opinion. Similarly he forgets, when he makes a comparison between the accounts of Firishta and of the Burhan-i-Ma'asir regarding the period immediately after the death of Kapileswara and before the accession of Purushotama that the two historians may be describing two different events. The responsibility lies upon him to prove first of all that the two authors describe the same incident in their history. Neither of the authors pretends to have written an exhaustive history, or a strict diary. They were both of them alike historians who worked at a later period from material available to them, and, as Banerji himself admits elsewhere, 'one sometimes mentions incidents which the other fails to, but for reasons

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which perhaps we may not understand.' In those circumstances, the possibilities are that Firishta is describing what took place in more detail, and describes that the succession of Purushotama was not quite peaceful, and therefore he is not describing the later war with which the Burhan-i-Ma'asir actually deals in the passage quoted. In another connection, he is similarly carried off his feet where he tries to transform Vinukonda into Penugonda and wishes to give to Kapileswara the governorship of the region dominated by Penugonda. This is absolutely unwarranted, as there is no reference to Penugonda in the Munur inscriptions, from which he quotes on page 297. Penugonda was in the interior, and at the time was under the rule of the empire over which Virūpāksha was ruling. The region along the East coast and the region to the south of Penugonda were places where the imperial authority had grown weaker, and the authority of Saluva Narasimha was getting gradually accepted. Saluva Narasimha and his agent Narasa were both of them active in this region, and in course of years they gradually became masters of the whole of the south leaving the central block of territory with the part extending to the West coast under the direct rule of the emperor Virūpāksha. Kapileswara's efforts have all been to extend his authority along the region of the coast, and, where the inscription also says that he established two governorships under his authority in Kondavidu and Vinukonda, it refers to the region near the Krishna delta. He had not advanced farther south as yet.

We need not labour the point further than to point out that Banerji's interpretation of these inscriptions leaves a good deal to be desired. In this part, at any rate, his account will gain in clarity if he took a little more care to arrange the historical events more chronologically, and kept his prejudices against the South Indian scholars a little more subdued. He quotes the Cambridge History as against us. But one chapter of the Cambridge History of 32 pages compressing into it a history of 600 years is not the place where a detailed discussion of these could be made. Mr. Banerji does not show that he knows the little book, *A Little Known Chapter of Vijayanagar History*, which gives a detailed account of the rise of Saluva Narasimha to power, and which contains a detailed discussion of these very points. It is a pity that Mr. Banerji is no more, and we have had to point out these, not in any spirit of want of charity, but in

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the interests of historical truth, as it does not really matter, and ought not to, either to the late Mr. Banerji or to us whether it was Kapileswara Gajapati or Saluva Narasimha that had the better of it in their struggle. What is really to the point is what indeed is the correct position warranted by the historical material before us including in them Firishta, Saiyid Ali, Mediæval Sanskrit poets, held in such contempt by Banerji, and the invaluable inscriptions which have to carry such a heavy burden of Mr. Banerji's own interpretation put upon them all alike, and a conclusion that does not satisfy these fairly, cannot be accepted as valid or final. If it cannot be final for the present, we shall have to wait upon the future to make us wiser. Before we conclude the review, we feel bound to invite attention to two other points of some importance. We sincerely regret that Mr. Banerji is no more, but feel that we should, none the less, draw attention to these, while we should have been delighted had he lived to consider the position. The first is a serious error of statement, possibly, merely due to confusion of names. It occurs on page 323, and in another place it is repeated, that it was Narasa Nāyaka's will and testament to his son that he left the fort of Udayagiri in particular in the possession of the rulers of Kalinga. We do not recollect having heard of any such testament. The testament to which prominent attention is drawn by the Portuguese chronicle of Nunis, is the dissatisfaction felt by Saluva Narasinga on his death-bed. He pointed out to his general Narasa Nāyaka three important frontier fortresses he was not able to take, and exhorted the general that he might complete what Narasinga himself was unable to do before his death.

The other one is a theory, rather elaborately expounded by the late Mr. Banerji that the acceptance of Vaishnavism of the Chaitanya school by Prataparudra of Orissa was probably responsible for the deterioration of the military character of the inhabitants of Orissa and therefore of the decay of the Orissan empire within a decade of the acceptance of Vaishnavism by Prataparudra. We do not wish to be dogmatic in regard to the matter one way or the other. We know nothing in the Vaishnavism of Chaitanya differing very materially from the Vaishnavism of others, except the possibility of the exaggeration of a feature or two. In any case, the theory of the late Mr. Banerji is incomplete, as he does not appear to have taken into account that Saluva Narasimha, who was the first to oppose the

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extension of Orissa in the south, was a Vaishnava. So was Krishnadevaraya, who defeated Prataparudra even before he accepted Vaishnavism, and carried the Vijayanagar arms victoriously, at any rate, as far north as Simmachalam in the Vizagapatam District—very much more of a Vaishnava than Saluva Narasimha—and if his work *Amuktamalyada* is evidence, he was fairly a devotee of Vishnu without any antagonism as such against other religions. Both Rama and Tirumala, who for years maintained the power of Vijayanagar against the Sultans of the Bahmani kingdom were Vaishnavas of almost the same persuasion as the great Krishnadevaraya. If Vaishnavism had such a tendency, even the Vaishnavism of Chaitanya—this apparent incompatability requires explanation. We shall not be controverting the position. Our wish is merely to point out that it is possible for one to theorise on much too slender evidence.

'BULLETIN OF THE MADRAS MUSEUM'

[Edited by the Superintendent]

We welcome the revival of the Madras Museum Bulletins that used to be issued in the days when Mr. Thurston was the Superintendent of the Museum and which had suspended publication for a number of years since. We have had two such sent to us. The first is an Archæological Bulletin of the Buddhist Sculptures from a *stupa* at Goli in the Guntur District. We shall make a detailed notice of it later. The second is the bulletin under notice, the Adichanallur skulls, a study by S. Zuckerman of the University of London, and Research Anatomist to the Zoological Society, with notes by Professor George Elliot Smith, F.R.S. This refers to two skulls discovered in the excavations conducted by Mr. Rea, the Archæologist of the Madras Presidency and noticed by Mr. Thurston so long ago as 1909. Two of these have been examined recently and it is they that form the subject of this bulletin. Without getting into any details for which reference may be made to the very interesting and carefully written bulletin of twenty pages, we may content ourselves with the general conclusions derivable therefrom.

The examination of the skulls seems to show that, from the mere cranial measurements, the two examples subjected to measurements and examination, may be regarded as possessed of distinct characteristics justifying the labelling of these two distinctly. The first one is

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Australian and the second one Dravidian. Of course, this would naturally raise the question whether Australian and Dravidian are two distinct ethnic varieties, and whether we have evidence justifying this division; and that is examined in the portion that follows. The difficulty of classifying the so-called Dravidian population of India into Dravidian and pre-Dravidian is explained. While the general position is tenable that the pre-Dravidian population of India and the Australian may be related to each other, the Dravidian being an invading population from the north-west, the Austroid characteristics of the Australian of to-day raises difficulties towards confirming this classification. From a mere cranial examination, the two types represented by the two skulls of Adichanallur stand clear. But whether a cranial measurement constitutes irrefutable evidence of race is open to doubt. The distinction Kolarian and Dravidian is shown to be more or less philological and not ethnical, and it is pointed out on an elaborate examination of the researches carried on by Turner that the elaborate cranial examination of the peoples of the Deccan does not support a specific pre-Dravidian stock to which belonged the Australians, the jungle tribes of Southern India and the Veddahs of Ceylon. It is pointed out that this may however be due to racial mixture. But the two Adichanallur skulls seem nevertheless to support the notion that the aboriginal inhabitants of Southern India were in many respects similar to the Australians of to-day, and this conclusion seems to lend justification to a pre-Dravidian aboriginal stock consisting of the jungle tribes of Southern India, the Australians, the Sakai of the Malaya Peninsula and the Veddahs of Ceylon. The same evidence is not conclusive in regard to the fact that the present Australian native is a result of a cross between the Australian and invading Indians. The indications are rather against such a possibility. But so far as the Deccan itself is concerned, the association of a Dravidian skull and that of an Australian in Adichanallur shows that the Adichanallur remains must be referable to the Dravidian period, whatever that be. There is perhaps evidence to support that primitive man made his way to Australia from Asia, probably from India. Such a hypothesis would explain the occurrence of similar peoples in Ceylon, the Malaya Peninsula and the East Indian Archipelago, all of them describable by the comprehensive term pre-Dravidian. The Talgai and the

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Wadjak skull remains give definite evidence that the original inhabitants of Australia were of a more primitive type than the present-day Australians. That would mean that the Australoid skulls of Adichanallur No. I of the Bulletin is by no means the most primitive type of Southern India. Possibly he had a predecessor like the Australian, of a race assimilable to the Talgai race. The bulletin is excellently printed and the illustrations are all that could be desired.

'SOME PROBLEMS OF VIJAYANAGARA HISTORY

BY

DR. C. NARAYANA RAO, M.A., L.T., PH.D.

(Reprinted from the Ceded Districts College Magazine.)

IN this article the author makes a survey of the recent publications on the Vijayanagara History, with special reference to its origin. He examines Prof. Father Heras' Hoysala theory and takes it to be incorrect. The arguments adduced are not however convincing. The author also discusses the theory whether Vidyaranya was the founder of Vijayanagara, and criticizes the views of Prof. Heras who has rejected the connection of Vidyaranya with the foundation of Vijayanagara.

BEGINNINGS OF VIJAYANAGARA HISTORY

BY

REV. H. HERAS, S.J., M.A.

(Published by the Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay, 1929).

THIS monograph by the Rev. Father Heras, the author of the *Aravidu dynasty of Vijayanagar*, is a valuable addition to the historical studies connected with Vijayanagar kingdom. The book contains the two lectures delivered by Prof. Heras under the auspices of the Mysore University. The titles of the two lectures are 'the Foundation of the city of Vijayanagar' and 'the Origin of the Sangama Dynasty.' The learned author discusses in the first lecture the legends centering around the foundation of the city and incidentally examines the story of Vidyaranya's connection with the foundation

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of Vijayanagara. He then makes a critical study of the accounts of both Ferishta and Nuniz, and concludes rightly, as historians of Vijayanagara History have maintained, that the foundation was by the Hoysalas to avert the Musalman invasions at the north of the Empire.

The second lecture turns on the first dynasty of Vijayanagara kings, well known as the Sangama dynasty. Fr. Heras examines the question who was Sangama and who were his ancestors. The purpose of this study is to find a solution as to the Kannada or Telugu origin of the Vijayanagar empire. The author succeeds in reinforcing the theory of Kannada origin.

But his views regarding of the fabrication of the story of Vidyaranya by the ascetics of the Sringeri mutt and incidentally his views regarding the philosophy of these ascetics (pp. 33–35) may not find general acceptance.

LOYAL INDIA

BY

PERCY H. DUMBELL

[Constable & Co., London.]

THIS is a work which attempts to give on the basis of authoritative documents at the India Office, a survey of the British administration during the seventy years from 1858 to 1928. The author, an official of the India Office, who was on the staff of the late Lord Morley as Secretary of State, has selected the documents bearing on the question and has arranged them in a number of chapters under separate headings. His idea in writing this book is 'to proclaim his conviction that here, in a reversion to the councils of that temper (that of Morley) and to the orderly procedure then adopted, is to be found if anywhere, the safe line of advance towards the establishment of a true and lasting commonwealth'. He calls for co-operation between the Indians and the English in this great work, and feels that if he did not do what lay in his power to bring this about, he would not have done his duty by India. In order to set India on her path of progress for the future, he believes what is required is first, a knowledge of the native Indian theory of government in ancient and modern times; then

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a series of historical documents of the British Royal House incorporating the rights and liberties of the princes and peoples of India, and then a clear understanding of the existing constitution of India and of the various stages of its growth. He starts with the conviction that the normal Hindu state is a monarchy, notwithstanding the fact that it was not autocratic in character. He says that the European ideal of national government where the whole community has a determining voice is foreign to Hindu modes of thought. Without attempting to controvert him, we may say this is not as foreign as is implied by this definite statement and the difficulties of introducing that kind of a notion is not quite as great as he makes it out to be. It might prove that a mere copy of the Western notions of democracy in practice may not be what would succeed in India. But there could be no doubt that if the Hindu government of India should be understood properly, the democratic principle as an ideal working out in actual practice had never been quite so foreign to the governmental organization of India as a whole. It is hardly necessary to point out that circumstances have a great deal changed and what proved a success in the centuries before the establishment of the Muhammadan empire in India might cease to be of application to the present times in detail. But the principle underlying and guiding governments would still be largely capable of application.

In regard to the other two parts, the work gives the well-known documents—the Royal Charters—first of all, and traces in another part the growth of the British administration by giving *in extenso* the various important documents,which introduced changes in the administration from time to time. Apart from these sections therefore the author has added a chapter on the Services, one chapter on education consisting of an important chapter of the Sadler Committee Report. There are two other valuable chapters, the first relating to Indian policy in respect of Indian States, and the second on the relations between India and the British Empire. Then a chapter is devoted to India and the late War with an appendix containing an appreciation of Lord Morley, printed from the Civil Service opinion. It is an interesting and authoritative work, which deserves well of all serious students of Indian Constitution at this time when a earnest effort is being made to set India on a progressive path towards self-determination.

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MUGHAL RULE IN INDIA

BY

THE LATE S. M. EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O.

and

H. L. O. GARRET

(*Oxford University Press*)

THIS is a handbook of about 370 pages devoted to a study of Mughal rule in India and begins with Babur the Conqueror, who laid the foundations of Mughal power in the country, and carries the history forward down to the decline of the Mughal Empire, or at least to the beginnings of it with the death of Aurangazeb. It may be said to be practically a history of the Great Mughals and does not take into it the decline and fall of the empire. It is divided into two parts, the first dealing with the history of the period under the different reigns, covering more or less 150 pages of the work. The second part is devoted to the general topics, such as the Mughal administration, the economic and social features of the Mughal age, Mughal architecture and the arts, followed in conclusion by a chapter tracing the causes of the decline of the Mughal power. These topics are treated with a brevity and lucidity which makes the work a really valuable book for the use of students of Indian History preparing for the Honours courses and the competitive examinations. It would serve admirably as a reading book for those students, and thus fills the want of a suitable handbook of Indian History for such students for a part of the whole subject. We welcome it as a contribution to this much-desired end.

THE CALIPHS AND THEIR NON-MUSLIM SUBJECTS

BY

PROFESSOR A. S. TRITTON, MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH

(*Oxford University Press*)

THE Caliphs and their non-Muslim subjects is of considerable importance in general history, and its importance is certainly not less at the present time, when the most engaging topic of the hour is the reformed constitution of the Government of India. As the author

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himself explains in a sub-title, the work constitutes a critical examination of what is generally taken to be the covenant of 'Umar, the second Caliph, on the particular topic. Professor Tritton deals with his subject with the perspicacity we have learned to associate with him, and examines, on the most authoritative evidence of Islamic literature, what the covenant of 'Umar is taken to be, whether such a covenant existed, what the law based on the covenant or otherwise, happened to be and how far and in what particular respects practice differed from the pedantic statements of law. As far as we could see, he has dealt with his sources exhaustively, and indicates, that among the authorities, there seems to have been no idea of a covenant of 'Umar during the first century of the Caliphate, and during the second century it begins to come in and about the year 200 of the Hejira it had become a settled notion with Islamic writers. He then examines in detail the most accepted text of the covenant under various heads, such as government services, the position of churches and monasteries, the treatment of churches, etc. He says that there is no uniformity of practice such as would follow if a single document like that of the covenant of 'Umar had held the field, and proved the authority for the successors of the author of the covenant. Practice varied from time to time, and had been considerably modified by the personal character of the Caliphs for the time being. It is a very interesting study and would pay perusal for those who might seriously wish to study the character of what Islamic administration was in the best days of its power.

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In Memoriam

SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, Bt., C.B., C.I.E., F.B.A., F.S.A., ETC.

The death of Sir R. C. Temple on the 3rd of March last removes one of the greatest names in the field of Oriental Research. Temple was born in India in Allahabad on the 15th of October 1850 when his father, Sir Richard Temple, Bart, G.C.S.I., was serving there as a junior member of the service. Educated at Harrow and Trinity Hall, Cambridge, he joined the Royal Scots Fusiliers and arrived in India in 1871 when his father had reached the position of member for Finance of the Governor-General's Council. After a few years he joined the Bengal Staff Corps and served with the 38th Dogras and the 1st Gurkhas. He went on active service in the Second Afghan War, and had the distinction of receiving a medal and being mentioned in despatches. Thereafter he was transferred to civil employ and became a Cantonment Magistrate in the Punjab. When the Third Burmese War broke out in 1885, he was transferred to Burma and occupied various places both military and civil. He served as Assistant Commissioner, Cantonment Magistrate, and Deputy Commissioner in various places in Burma, and became finally the official President of the Rangoon Municipality and Port Commissioner in 1891. In addition to these offices on the civil side he raised and commanded the Upper Burma Volunteer Rifles, the Rangoon Naval Volunteers, the Volunteer Engineers and the Rangoon Port Defence Volunteers. He occupied the position of Honorary Lieut.-Colonel of some of these, his substantial military rank being still that of a Major of the Indian Army. These services earned for him a C.I.E., and secured him the post of the Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and the Superintendent of Port Blair. While still holding this office, he succeeded to the baronetcy on the death of his father in 1902. He retired from service in 1904 and resided for some years in his ancestral home 'the Nash', in Worcestershire, which had been the home of the family for two centuries.

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From 1905 onwards he used the freedom from public service to purpose, by editing many works, which required wide culture, vast learning and a high degree of critical acumen, assisted in this work by an able and energetic collaborator in Miss L. M. Anstey, associated with him for thirty-two years. He was a member of most of the learned societies interested in India and the East. He was an Honorary Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society, a member of the Royal Geographical Society, the Hakluyt Society, the Royal Anthropological Society, the Bengal Asiatic Society and many other societies in England and elsewhere. He was one of fifty Fellows of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. He was a Fellow of the British Academy and of the British Society of Antiquaries. He was also an Honorary Fellow of his own college, Trinity Hall. He occupied the position of Chairman of the Standing Committee of Baronetage for fifteen years. He presided over the Anthropological Section of the British Association in 1913 when he delivered his presidential address on the Administrative Value of Anthropology. In 1928, he presided over the Jubilee Congress of the Folklore Society when he delivered a presidential address on Mystery and the Mental Atmosphere.

During his life, particularly the latter part of it, he rendered valuable public service in connection with the Territorial Army Association, of which he was Chairman from 1908 to 1921. He was associated with the St. John Ambulance Association, of which he was created Bailiff, Grand Cross, in 1927. During the Great War, he worked as a member of the Joint War Committee of the St. John Ambulance Association, and of the British Red Cross. He was awarded a C.B. for services in connection with these. He was also associated with other philanthropic efforts of which the Homes of Rest for Nurses associated with the name of Edith Cavell and the British Hospital for Mothers and Babies in the building of which he was largely instrumental, deserve mention. He had now reached the proverbial three score and ten, and the work that he had to do began to tell upon him, as his eyesight became seriously affected and other ailments associated with age supervened. He therefore had to divide his time between England and places like Switzerland and the Continent, and latterly he had to try several places on the Continent in turn, such as Montreux, Wiesbaden and Territet. He was in residence in the last pleasant resort close to the Lake of Geneva

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where he breathed his last. He was seriously ill last year when he was almost given up, but his native strength asserted itself and he pulled through. He had so far recovered that he resumed work. When he actually died he was not even ill. He died with papers actually in hand quite suddenly, death being caused by a clot on the brain.

During the long span of sixty years of active work since he came to India as a subaltern in 1871, the variety and the volume of work that he did would constitute a big bibliography. He practically began work of a literary character when after the Second Afghan War, he was turned to civil employ. The first of his publications is the *Legend of the Punjab* in three volumes, and much that was written in the Punjab Notes and Queries, to which he contributed largely, and Wide Awake Stories in collaboration with Mrs. F. A. Steel connected with Punjab and Kashmir in particular. His interest in the Punjab and Kashmir was sustained for over forty years when in 1924 he published a versified translation of Lalla, the Prophetess, a woman Saiva Ascetic of Kashmir. Apart from the excellence of the translation, and its attractive character in its versified form, he contributed a masterly introduction which gives evidence of his wide interest and vast study. To the period of his employment in Burma belong the *Thirty Seven Nats*, a phase of spirit worship prevailing in Burma. Later on he published, in collaboration with Dr. Burnell, the *Devil Worship of the Tuluvas*. Later still he issued a report on the Census, and memoranda on the forests and the hills of the Andamans and Nicobars. Besides these he published a grammar of the Andamanese and Nicobarese languages and wrote accounts of these islands both for the *Imperial Gazetteer* and the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Since his retirement, he published many volumes for the Hakluyt Society, the Indian Records Series and other series with valuable introductions and annotations. Some of these are *The Countries round the Bay of Bengal* by Tomas Bowrey, a *Journal of Peter Mundy* in four volumes, the *Bowrey Papers*, the first volume alone, the journals of *Streynsham Master*, two volumes, Drake's *World Encompassed*, the *Itinerary of Ludovico Varthema*, the *Tragedy of the Worcester*, and later on a *New Light on the Mysterious Tragedy of the Worcester*. He also contributed in the course of his illness, *The Life of John Olafsson* for the Hakluyt Society in two volumes. He also edited his father's work,

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Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim and Nepal in two volumes very early in his career as a literary man. To the later period belong the *Cult of the Peacock Angel* dealing with the heretical sect called Yazidis so late as 1908. Almost at the ebb of his life he found time in the intervals of illness to classify and arrange the voluminous material collected by him on the Muslim sects intended to be his *magnum opus* in five volumes. We had the pleasure of receiving a letter from him expounding the character of the work and sending a syllabus of one of the volumes of the projected publication, which exhibited the comprehensiveness and the systematic analysis of the material that he was able to collect. We note with pleasure that, notwithstanding the expression of diffidence at finding a publisher, that the first volume of this work is actually in type.

Temple's name is known more widely in association with the *Indian Antiquary*. He began to contribute to the *Indian Antiquary* in 1879 while the founder James Burgess, was still editing it. He was a continuous contributor ever since to the columns of the journal and his writings continue and may go on for a considerable length of time yet. When Burgess retired in 1884, the late Dr. J. F. Fleet and Sir Richard Temple took it over from him on their joint responsibility. When Dr. Fleet retired in 1892, Temple became the sole editor and proprietor till in 1924 when, having regard to his age, he formed the Indian Antiquary Limited and got into an agreement with the Royal Anthropological Institute, which assumed the responsibility for the journal from 1st January 1925. Temple's contributions began with volume viii and the current volume is volume lx of the journal. The late Sir Richard Temple was a man of indefatigable industry, who enjoyed his work. His range of knowledge and his intense interest were so wide as to cover almost every branch of Oriental Research. Without claiming to be an expert, he had a vast amount of very good work in the large number of branches constituting oriental research as a whole. He was one of those who insisted on sounder principles of viewing Indian history, life and culture as a whole, the neglect of which principle has been responsible for unfortunate results in certain cases. One special feature of his character which ought to be noted is his readiness to encourage those with talent for this kind of work, and to take a great amount of trouble to put these in the way. His suggestion for the improvement of one of my own articles to the *Indian*

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Antiquary was how I came to know him twenty-five years ago, and that acquaintance, without personal knowledge, ripened into what may well be defined as friendship of long years, and during the last eight years, I have been associated with him in the editing of the *Indian Antiquary*. The loss to the *Indian Antiquary* and the loss to Oriental Research alike are great; my own personal loss is not less. He was one of those who was quite ready to tender useful advice in difficulties and showed a sympathy, not met with too often. It would be doing nothing but discharging a duty to offer my sympathies to the bereaved Lady Temple and the family.

EDITOR.

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Select Contents of Oriental Journal

Epigraphia Indica

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N. Lakshminarayan Rao, M.A.: 'Jura Prasasti of Krishna III.

N. C. Mehta, I.C.S.: 'Bhadavana Grant of Govinda Chandradeva of Kanuj.'

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January, 1931—

R. R. Halder: 'Chitor and its Sieges.'

C. E. A. W. Oldham: 'Sidi Ali Shelebi in India, 1554–1556.'

J. C. Ghosh: 'Where was Tarkkari?'

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Rev. Fr. H. Heras: 'The Prison of the Emperor Sadasiva Raya.'

Sir George A. Grierson: 'On the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars.'

Sir R. C. Temple: 'Scraps of Tibeto-Burman Folklore.'

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R. V. Jahagirdar: 'A note on the Ten Plays of Bhasa: re-examines the age and the authorship of the plays by the evidence provided by the number and characteristics of the ślokas or verses in anuṣtup metre.

Miss L. D. Greene: 'Nature study in the Sanskrit drama "Sakuntala."'

B. Bannerjea: 'Possible origin of the Caste system in India.' Three principal hypotheses examined: occupational basis, somatological basis and Totemic basis of the division with caste.

Rev. H. Hosten: 'Is S. Thome in civitate Iothabis?'

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London

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O. G. Von Wesendonk: 'The Kalavāda and the Zervanite system.'

A. E. Robinson: 'The Mahmal of the Moslem Pilgrimage.'

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Rev. Fr. H. HERAS: 'Krishnadevaraya's conquest of Rachol. Father Heras does not accept the identification of Rachol with Raichur as explained by Sewell, but would identify it with the fort of Rachol in Salsette.'

Zeitschrift fur Indologie and Iranishik

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A. VENKATASUBBIAH: 'Devamārga.'

VON FRZ. JOS. MEIER: 'Der Archaismus in der space des Bhāgavata Purana nūt besonderes Bernicksichtig ungder verbal flexion examines the archaism in the language of the Bhagavata Purana in a lengthy contribution with numerous illustrations.'

H. JACOBI: 'Aber das alter des Yogaśastra, a learned discussion of the age of Patanjali and Vasubandhu.'

J. C. TAVADIA: 'Pahlavi passages on Fate and Freewill.'

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

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VOL. XXV, 1929, No. 2

H. E. STAPLETON: 'A find of 182 silver coins of kings of the Husainī and Sūri Dynasties from Raipara, Thāna Dohar, District Decca, Eastern Bengal.'

K. G. KUNDANGAR: 'Andhra coins in the Lord Irwin Agricultural Museum, Kolhapur.'

V. D. B. TARAPOREVALA: 'Aurangzeb's Rupee of Dārus-sur ūri. Burhanpūri.'

C. R. SINGHAL: 'Coins of Nasir Shah of Gujarat.'

M. F. C. MASTRI: 'Some Rare Ghaznavid coins.'

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Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

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S. SOMASUNDRA DESIKAR: 'Identification of Sopatma and Phrounion of the Greek writers.'

DHYAN CHANDRA: 'Hindus as Pioneers of World Civilization.'

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Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society

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PROF. G. JOUVEAN DUBREUIL: 'Amaravati, from A.D. 100 to 700.'

R. SUBBA RAO: 'Gautamīputra Satakarni.'

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

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K. P. JAYASWAL: 'Problems of Saka-satavahana History.'

R. C. ROY: 'Aborigpal village organization in India.'

NARAYANA TRIPATHI: 'Two Sulki plates.'

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

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SIR J. J. MODI: 'Rustam Manock and the Persian Qisseh.'

DR. GANGANATH JHA: 'Kumarila and Vedanta.'

DR. PALHAH: 'On the date of Śakatāyana-Chintamani.'

S. K. BELVALKAR: 'An authentic' but unpublished work of Sankarā Cārya: 'Sankara's commentary on Aitareya Araṇyaka II and III.'

K. S. VAKIL: 'Education in Bombay (1804–1929).'

PROF. EZEKIEL: 'The position of women in Rabbinical Literature.'

K. G. KUNDANGAR: 'Development of the Kannada Drama.'

SIR J. C. BOSE: 'Mechanism of Life.'

MRS. NORA GOFFIN: 'European social life in Bombay 1804–1929.'

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The Round Table

Summary of articles in the December issue

'WHERE is Europe going?' This is the first question dealt with in the December issue. The attention of the British Empire has been lately absorbed in the Imperial and Indian Round Table Conferences. People both in Great Britain and elsewhere are, in any case, too full of their domestic woes to pay much attention at the moment to political troubles abroad; but it is evident from the Round Table article that there is room for grave anxiety. Europe, in fact, is at a parting of the ways, and, as the writer puts it, there are two conflicting tendencies, one leading back to the old pre-War balance of power, and the other to international co-operation for peace. The reader will form his own opinion after reading the writer's survey, which covers all the potential storm centres and brings out the hopeful as well as the gloomy side of the picture, as to which tendency is likely to prevail.

The second article, *The United States: the Slump*, makes it clear that other people have their troubles besides ourselves. But, while there are factors which militate against the rapid recovery which the optimists at first looked for, the writer is by no means blind to the hopeful side. A concluding section shows how the hard times are hitting the President, and the party in power, as well as trade.

An *Imperial Conference* usually heads the Round Table contents bill. This time it comes third. But, although, as the writer shows, a great deal of useful work has been done, the main issue with which the article is more particularly concerned, which involved a conflict between the British tradition of free trade and the economic nationalism of the Dominions, the problem of Imperial economic co-operation, has had to be postponed till next year, when there will be another Conference at Ottawa to consider it.

The fourth article is *England in the Great Depression*. The writer explains why the decline in prices hits her worse than other countries. There is, however, it would appear, a hard core to the British problem derived from maladjustment as long ago as 1924, and

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represented by the first million of unemployed, which cannot be put down to the world slump. It demands a special explanation and special treatment. Both are suggested.

The fifth article, *India: Conference or Intransigence*, takes us from the hopeful atmosphere of the London Round Table Conference back to the troubled Indian scene, where the largest group, the Congress party, has continued the civil disobedience campaign, hostile to the idea of Conference. Even here, however, there are hopeful signs.

From India we pass to *Russian Realities*, an extraordinarily suggestive picture of life in a provincial Russian town, subject to all the exigencies of the Five Years Plan.

The Crown and the Dominions follows, a penetrating analysis of one of the most interesting sides of the constitutional aspect of the Imperial Conference's task, and it, in turn, is followed by *An Immigrant's Impression* of Canada which possibly throws more light upon the Imperial question than any direct examination of either constitutional or economic problems.

Africa from the South comes next, a timely account, in view of the appointment by Parliament of a Joint Committee to examine the East African question, of the way in which East Africa, indeed tropical African problems generally, are beginning to affect opinion in South Africa.

The Great Britain article brings out the way in which events are reacting upon the different parties, and the usual contributions from Ireland and the Dominions follow. The former, besides other things, describes the attitude of the Irish Free State to M. Briand's idea of a 'United States of Europe', and, among the Dominion articles, the section on public finance from Australia will attract most attention. The issue winds up with an abstract of the official Report of the Imperial Conference.

Summary of Articles in the March issue.

The first article in the March issue of the ROUND TABLE is *India—Constitution of Chaos.* That, since the Round Table Conference, is, the writer points out, the choice before Indians, for the Conference and the leaders of all three British parties are agreed that the maximum possible of responsibility should be transferred to Indian

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shoulders. There will, of course, be reservations to cover the period of transition. They are shown to be as necessary in the interest of India as of Great Britain—and it is up to the people of India to agree among themselves upon a workable constitution. That is a condition precedent. But, though the difficulties in their way, which are discussed in detail as well as the various ways of meeting them, are great, the obstacles to Indian progress can no longer be put down to this country.

The second article, *Russian Realities*, is a continuation of the vivid picture of real life under Bolshevik rule given in the December issue. It takes us to a typical Russian village in the grip of the Five Years Plan. One sees, as one reads, the strong as well as the weak points of the agricultural side of that plan, and what the peasant feels about the collective farms. The article certainly makes it easier to understand Bolshevik mentality.

The third article is *The United States in the Great Depression*, an impressive study of the causes of the American slump, especially the part played by the machine, the monster which is fast becoming our master.

China—a Brighter Outlook comes as a relief. The gloom is at all events beginning to lift in one quarter of the globe, and the importance for our trade, if a country with over 400 million inhabitants really settles down after more than a decade of civil war, cannot easily be overestimated. The writer believes that there is ground for tempered optimism.

The next subject is a different one. The recent Prayer-book controversy brought the relations between Church and State in England, national institutions both of them, into the limelight. The fifth article in the ROUND TABLE is on *Church and State in France*, where there is a national State and an international Church with claims to which it is difficult to set a limit. There has been, the writer shows, conflict broken by temporary understandings all through French history—conflict which, at first temporal, as time went on assumed a spiritual, almost a religious, character. The war, in which both bishops and priests earned golden opinions, helped to bring about reconciliation; but there were many other factors which must be realized by anyone who wishes to understand French political life.

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The next article is on *The Unrest on the Indian Frontier* last summer. The understanding between the Pathan and the Congress party seemed to be a case of the lion lying down with the lamb, and all sorts of reasons for such an unnatural alliance were suggested, Bolshevik propaganda among others. Causes as well as events are dealt with in this article.

The next article is on the debated question of the recent separation of the posts of Governor-General and High Commissioner in South Africa, and some reasons are given which, in spite of critical letters from ex-Governors-General, suggest that there were good reasons for the change.

Next come the usual articles from Ireland and Great Britain. The strong financial position of the Free State to-day is brought out in the former, and the latter describes Mr. Lloyd George's understanding with Labour, now apparently cemented by the Prime Minister's public acceptance of his national development programme, which, following as it did upon Mr. Snowden's warning about the need for the strictest economy, puzzled the political world. There is also a section on the coal and cotton stoppages.

Among the Dominion contributions the account of the economic difficulties of Australia will probably have pride of place, but there is also an excellent article from South Africa on the question of secession, upon which his party expected General Hertzog to secure a definite pronouncement at the Imperial Conference, and, in view of the character of the Russian Five Years Plan, the section on wheat from Canada has an interest of its own.

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सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
REFRENCE BOOK

OUR EXCHANGES

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2. *Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona City.
3. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient*, Hanoi.
4. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London University, London, Longmans, Green & Co., London.
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9. *Journal Asiatique*, Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, Paris.
10. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.
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12. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
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14. *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Exchange Building, Sprott Road, Bombay.
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DACCA UNIVERSITY SUPPLEMENT

The Arab Invasion of India

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INTRODUCTION

The Muhammadan conquest of India is one of those epoch-making events which have left a permanent impress on subsequent ages. It may be regarded as the most important episode in the history of India since the Aryan invasion, as it has radically changed the entire aspect of Indian history such as no other event has yet done or is likely to do in future. No apology is therefore needed for an attempt to reconstruct the history of this all-important episode.

At first sight such an attempt may appear superfluous. For, thanks to the historical instinct of the Muhammadans, we possess contemporary or nearly contemporary records of their military expeditions and most of these are now available to general readers. But two considerations have impelled me to undertake the task, and these may be explained at the very outset.

In the first place, these chronicles refer to isolated chapters of that great episode, and, to have a correct perspective view of the whole, it is necessary to link them together in a continuous narrative.

Secondly, all these chronicles represent only one side of the picture. The victors are painted by themselves, and naturally their deeds loom large in these pages. Great caution and circumspection are, therefore, necessary in utilizing the data supplied by them. Besides, no serious student of history should be prepared to accept an one-sided version of the struggle recorded by one of the combatants, and must try to check the narrative by means of accounts given by the other side. The absence of Hindu chronicles has made this wholesome checking

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impossible in the present instance and the evidence of Muhammadan historians, unchecked by other means, has gained currency as history.

The lack of Hindu evidence is, however, not as complete as is generally supposed. The archæological discoveries of the last hundred years have placed at our disposal a number of valuable data which at least help us in checking and correctly interpreting many of the episodes of this tragic drama. Time has, therefore, come for a critical study of the Muhammadan chronicles with the help of such Indian documents as are available to us, and such an attempt is made in the following pages.

The Muhammadan conquest of India may naturally be divided into three phases—according to the sources from which the invasions had proceeded, viz., Arabia, Ghazni and Ghor. It will be convenient to subject each of them to a separate review before we attempt to draw a general picture of the whole.[1] But in order to have an accurate idea of the first phase of the Muhammadan conquest, we must have a clear notion of the western border-land of India on the eve of Muhammadan invasion.

CHAPTER I

The Western border-land of India on the eve of the Arab Invasion

The spirit of martial energy which the Prophet had infused into the Arabian people produced remarkable results. At the time of the death of the Prophet, in A.D. 632, His sovereignty did not extend beyond the Arabian peninsula. Within six years, Syria and Egypt were subdued by His successors. Northern Africa was conquered between A.D. 647 and 709 and Spain was subjugated by A.D. 713. Within a century of the death of the Prophet, the Muhammadans had advanced to the heart of France when their further progress was checked by the victory of Charles Martel between Tours and Poitiers in A.D. 732.

The Muhammadans attained equally brilliant success in the east. The mighty Persian Empire was laid low at the battle of Cadesia in A.D. 636, and within 8 years the whole of Persia as far east as Herat

[1] This article deals only with the first phase. The second and third phases will be similarly dealt with in future.

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was annexed to the growing empire of the Arabs. By A.D. 650 its northern frontier was advanced to the Oxus and all the countries between that river and the Hindu Kush mountains were included in it.[1]

These events which were destined to change the face of the world do not seem to have created any great stir in India and the Far East. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang who was proceeding at leisure along the Trans-Hindu Kush regions in A.D. 643 does not refer to any Arab conquest in his note of the political situation of the surrounding country. He writes an account of Persia under the old régime in blissful ignorance of the great catastrophe which had overwhelmed that ancient empire during the last decade. But while nearing the Oxus river he probably heard something of the political cataclysm that had overtaken these regions—for we find him suddenly giving up the old route which he had resolved to follow, and instead of proceeding through Balkh and Samarkhand he took an easterly route *via* Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan.[2]

But although Hiuen Tsang had not probably heard of the Arab Empire, he has left a very interesting account of the countries bordering upon it in the east. Various speculations have been made by scholars regarding the political condition of these countries and the races to which their people belonged at this time, but we cannot probably have a better guide in this respect than the Chinese pilgrim who passed through those countries.

It appears from the accounts left by Hiuen Tsang that the western border-land of India was dominated at that time by three powerful Hindu kingdoms,—the kingdom of Kāpiśī in the north, that of Sindhu or Sind in the south, and the kingdom of Tsao-Kuta or Tsao-li between the two.

[1] Cf. *Muir-Caliphate*, Chapters 1–51, for details.

[2] On the eve of Hiuen Tsang's departure from India Harshavardhana addressed him as follows :—

'I know not by what route you propose to return. If you select the southern sea-route then I will send official attendants to accompany you.'

The pilgrim replied that the king of Kau-Chang whom he visited on his way to India had prayed him to visit him on his return journey. He then continued 'My heart is unable to forego this duty ; I will therefore return by the northern Road'. (Beal-*Life of Hiuen Tsang*, p. 188). This naturally leads to the inference that there must have been some special reasons which ultimately induced Hiuen Tsang to give up the old route which passed *via* Kau-Chang.

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I. The kingdom of Kāpiśī lay to the east of Bamian. According to Hiuen Tsang the king of this country, who was a Kshatriya by caste, ruled over ten neighbouring countries. Among these the pilgrim specifically refers to four states, viz., Lan-po (Lamghan), Na-ka-lo-ho (Jalalabad), Gāndhāra (Peshwar) and Fa-la-na (Bannu) as directly under the king of Kāpiśī. The question now arises as to the other five countries which were subject to Kāpiśī, for the Chinese pilgrim clearly refers to ten states, apparently including Kāpiśī, over which the power of the king of that country extended. It is only natural to suppose that the countries adjacent to Kāpiśī and which are not specifically referred to as subject to any other kingdom, were possibly included within this category. Following, apparently, this line of argument, Cunningham[1] reckons 'the whole of Afghanistan, from Bamian and Kandahar on the west to Bolan pass on the south, in which Hiuen Tsang places ten separate states or districts, as subject to Kāpiśī.

It is not necessary for our present purpose to discuss the merits of Cunningham's theory or to enter into the vexed question of the identification of these ten states. It is sufficient to note here that according to the description left by Hiuen Tsang, Kāpiśī must be regarded as a very powerful state. As regards the extent of this kingdom, we can only have an approximate idea from the location of the four states specifically referred to as subject to Kāpiśī.

The following details, gathered from Watters' translation of Hiuen Tsang's account, with notes, may be taken as the basis of our discussion.

The pilgrim left Bamian, and then 'going east from this, entered the snow mountains, crossed a black range and reached Kapishih'.[2] This country was above 4000 li in circuit. Hiuen Tsang, before proceeding further in his narrative of journey, gives a long account of India. This indicates, as Watters so justly remarks, that 'our pilgrim has now reached the territory which he, like others, before and after him, calls India'.[3]

'From Kapis the pilgrim continued his journey, going east above 600 li through a very mountainous region; then crossing a black range

[1] Cunningham—*Ancient Geography*, pp. 19–20.
[2] Watters, vol. i, p. 122.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 180.

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he entered the north of India and arrived in the Lan-po (Lampa) country.'

'Lan-po is supposed to represent the old Sanskrit Lampāka and the district has been identified with the modern Laghman.' This country was above 1,000 li in circuit and had recently become a dependency of Kāpiśī.[1]

'The pilgrim proceeded from Lampa south-east, above 100 li, crossing a high mountain and a large river, and reached the Na-Kie (Ka)- lo-ho country.' The life of Hiuen Tsang represents him as going south instead of south-east.

'Na-ka-lo-ho had no king but was a province of Kāpiśī. It was above 600 li from east to west and 250 or 260 li from north to south.'

It is generally agreed that this country is represented by the modern district called Nungnehar and thus included the present district of Jalalabad, the valley of the Kabul river from Darunta on the west to Mirza Kheyl on the east, and according to Mr. Simpson, 'it might reach from about Jugduluck to the Khyber'.[2]

The pilgrim next proceeded south-east to Kan-to-lo (Gāndhāra country). 'This country was above 1,000 li from east to west and above 800 li north to south reaching on the east to the Sin-tu (Sindhu) river. The capital was Pu-lu-sha-pu-lo (Purushapura=Peshawar) and the country was subject to Kapis.'[3]

Now from what has been said above, it is quite clear that the kingdom of Kāpiśī, together with its subject states, extended from the frontiers of Bamian on the west to the river Indus on the east. Considering the fact that the two states Kāpiśī and Lan-po have to be placed between Bamian and Jalalabad we must regard the whole of the Kabul valley as comprised within the jurisdiction of Kāpiśī. As the kingdom of Kāpiśī itself was four thousand li in circuit, evidently the whole of Kafiristan also must have been included in it.

To the south of Gāndhāra lay Fa-la-na. According to Hiuen Tsang the country was over 4,000 li in circuit and was subject to Kāpiśī.[4]

[1] Watters, pp. 180–1. Kāpiśī is the correct form though Watters and other writers render it in various other ways (e.g. kapis, kapishik, etc.).
[2] Watters, pp. 182–5.
[3] *Ibid*, pp. 198–9.
[4] *Ibid*, vol. ii, p. 262.

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There is no doubt that Fa-la-na corresponds to Varnnu, the name of a country in Pāṇini, and it has to be identified with the mountainous regions to the west of the Indus round the present Bannu district.[1]

Thus the kingdom of Kāpiśī extended, roughly speaking, from Hindu Kush mountains to the Bannu district, and included the famous cities of Kabul, Jalalabad, and Peshawar.

It may be urged against this view that Cunningham has identified the kingdom called by Hiuen Tsang Fu-li-shih-sa-t'ang-na with the Kabul district.[2] Apart from the fact that this identification has not been accepted by others, there are insuperable objections to it. Without going into a detailed examination of the question, it will suffice here to state that between Fan-yen-na and Na-ko-lo-ho of Hiuen Tsang, which all authorities agree in identifying respectively with the Bamian and the Jalalabad district, the pilgrim locates two kingdoms, Kāpiśī and Lan-po, the former above 4,000 li (800 miles) and the latter above 1,000 li (200 miles) in circuit. It is, therefore, impossible to identify the Fu-li-shih-sa-t'ang-na, which was 2000 li (400 miles) from east to west, and 1,000 li (200 miles) from north to south with the Kabul district.

There is an indirect evidence to show that Kabul was included in Kāpiśī. The Chinese traveller Ou-Kóng who visited Afghanistan in A.D. 753 states that the eastern capital of Ki-pin was in Gāndhāra.[3] As Watters has pointed out, the Kāpiśī of Hiuen Tsang denotes the same country as Ki-pin,[4] and the inclusion of Gāndhāra in Kipin corroborates this view. Now Ou-Kóng says that the reigning king of Gāndhāra, and therefore of Ki-pin, was a descendant of Kanishka.[5] On the other hand Alberuni refers to the Shāhiya rulers of Kabul as descendants of Kanishka.[6] It is therefore reasonable to hold that the kingdom of Kāpiśī or Ki-pin denotes the Shāhiya territory and included Kabul.

[1] Watters, pp. 262–3; Stein—*Report of Arch. Survey* in N. W. F. Province, Peshawar, 1905, p. 5. Mr. S. N. Majumdar's note on p. 679 of his edition of Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*.

[2] Watters, vol. ii, p. 267.

[3] *Journal Asiatique*, 1895, p. 349.

[4] Watters, vol. i, p. 123. The same view is expressed by Cordier (*La Chine*, vol. i, p. 24) and Sten Konow (*Ep. Indica*, vol. xiv, p. 292).

[5] *Journal Asiatique*, 1895, p. 356.

[6] Sachau—*Alberuni*, Ch. XLIX, vol. ii, p. 13.

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Assuming the identity of Ki-pin and Kāpiśī, which seems to rest on quite satisfactory grounds, it is interesting to note the close alliance between this kingdom and the Chinese court. During the period between 619 and 750 no less than six embassies were sent from Ki-pin to China.[1] The Chinese historians sometimes even regard Ki-pin as a vassal state of the Chinese empire,[2] but this need not indicate anything more than an alliance between two states of unequal power. This alliance was apparently sought as a protection against the menace of Arab conquest. It is also interesting to note that the fear of Arab invasion forced the kingdom of Udyāna to come under the protection of Ki-pin and this incorporation took place before 745 A.D., when the king of Ki-pin took the title of king of Ki-pin and Udyāna.[3] Udyāna comprised the present districts of Swāt, Panjkora, Bijāwar, and Bunir.[4] With this addition Ki-pin or Kāpiśī, or the Shāhiya kingdom of Kabul, as we may call it on the authority of later texts comprised the whole of the trans-Indus districts, to the south of Hindu Kush mountains, Chitral and Gilgit.

II. The kingdom of Sind adjoined Bannu, the southern-most part of the territories of the king of Kāpiśī. It comprised at least four states, viz., Sind proper, A-tien-po-chih-lo, Pi-to-shih-lo and A-fan-tu. It is difficult to locate definitely any of these states, but the four together certainly comprised the entire valley of the lower Indus to the south of the point where that river is joined by its five tributaries, its northern boundary being formed by the kingdoms of Multan on the left and Bannu on the right side of the Indus.

Immediately to the west of Sindhu lay the kingdom of Lang-kie-lo which roughly corresponded to modern Makrán and Kirmán. According to Hiuen Tsang, it was subject to the kingdom of Persia which lay immediately to the west. The town of Ho-mo, identified with Ormuz, was on the border of the two countries.

To the north of Lang-kie-lo, and west of Bannu lay the kingdom of Ki-kiang-na (Kekkāna) (corresponding to Kíkánán or Al-Kíkán of Arabic history). It had no chief ruler but was divided among a number of independent clans.

[1] *Journal Asiatique*, 1895, p. 376.
[2] *Ibid*; also Cordier—*La Chine*, vol. i, p. 454.
[3] *Journal Asiatique*, 1895, p. 348 f. n. 3.
[4] Watters, vol. i, p. 226.

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As we shall see later on, according to Chach-náma, Multan, Lang-kie-lo and Ki-kiang-na were all dependencies of Sind. Hiuen Tsang does not seem to have personally visited Sind and hence his information was not very accurate. We must remember also that according to Chach-náma sometimes these outlying provinces declared independence, as for example shortly after the accession of Chach in A.D. 622. Hiuen Tsang's account may refer to such a period. But the categorical and detailed statements in Chach-náma, would certainly entitle us to include all these territories in Sind.

III. Beyond the territories mentioned above, and between the kingdoms of Sind on the south, Fa-la-na (Bannu) and Ki-kiang-na (Kekkāna) on the east and south-east, and Kāpiśī with its tributaries on the north, Hiuen Tsang locates a vast kingdom called Tsao-ku-ta or Tsao-li. This may be identified with the country which is referred to by Arab geographers as Zabul or Zabulistan, and comprised the upper valley of the Helmund river, and a large extent of territory both to the east as well as to the west of it. Numismatic evidence shows that some powerful rulers flourished in this region in the seventh century A.D. They used the old title Shāhi, and one of them, Shāhi Tigin, calls himself lord of 'India and Persia' or more properly of 'Takan and Khurásán'. Another, Śrī Vasudeva, calls himself king of Zaulistan and Multan. The coins of these two kings contain legends both in Indian and Pahlavi characters, and from a comparison with the coins of Khusru Parvez of Persia, Shāhi Tigin may be placed at the beginning and Vasudeva in the middle of the seventh century A.D. Coins of several other kings, some of them containing the word Zaulistan, have been found in the Indus valley, and although it is not possible to construct a detailed history, there is hardly any doubt that a separate kingdom flourished there with a long line of powerful kings. The province of Khurásán formed a bone of contention between this kingdom and Persia, and it formed something like a buffer state between Indian dominions proper and the Persian empire.[1] Hiuen Tsang also describes the kingdom as above 7000 li in circuit.

[1] I am indebted to Dr. H. C. Roy Chaudhury for the suggestion that Tsao-Kuta may be the same as Zabulistan. The variant form Tsao-li may be easily taken as equivalent to Zauli. For Tsao-Ku-ta or Tsao-li cf. Watters, vol. ii, p. 265. For a detailed account of the coins, cf. Cunningham—'*Coins of the Indo-Scythians*.'

For a detailed geographical account of Zabulistan, cf. Chap. III, f.n. 9.

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Hiuen Tsang has fortunately left us some account of the races of people that inhabited these kingdoms and their culture.

The king of Kāpiśī was an Indian, Kshatriya by caste, but the language and literature of the people bore affinity to those of the Turks. Their culture and civilization were not of a very high order though both Buddhism and Brahmanism flourished.[1] Lamghan, Udyāna, Na-ko-lo-ho, Găndhāra and Bannu were mainly Indian in language, literature and religion.[2] The language of Tsao-ku-ta or Tsao-li seems to have been somewhat different and the religion of the people was a mixture of animism, Buddhism and Brahmanism.[3]

The kingdom of Sind and its three dependencies were Indian in language and culture, and very nearly the same was true of Lang-kie-lo which bordered on Persia. The pilgrim says about this country 'The letters are much the same as those of India : their language is a little different . . . . There are some hundred saṅghārāmas . . . (and) several hundred Deva temples'.[4]

In the biography of Hiuen Tsang also we are told 'From this (Lang-kie-lo), going north-west we come to the country of Po-la-see which is not within the boundaries of India'[5]. This also implies that in the opinion of the pilgrim, Lang-kie-lo was included within the boundaries of India.

Judged by the test of language and culture, the western boundary of India, as described by Hiuen Tsang, may thus be roughly delineated by an imaginary line drawn from Kandahar to Kabul and then extended north-east right up to the Hindu Kush, and south-west along the boundaries of Baluchistan to the sea-coast. That part of the hilly country in the north which lies between this line and the Hindu Kush mountains was still politically a part of India being ruled with other Indian states by an Indian chief who originally dwelt at Ohind on the Indus. But the population had a strong admixture of Turkish element, due no doubt to the invasions of the Śakas, Kushāṇas and Hūṇas. The chief who ruled over Kāpiśī in the time

[1] Watters, vol. i, p. 123.

[2] Hiuen Tsang treats them definitely as belonging to India and does not refer to any difference in language.

[3] Watters, vol. ii, p. 264.

[4] Beal, vol. ii, p. 277.

[5] Beal—*Life of Hiuen Tsang*, 150.

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of Hiuen Tsang was traditionally believed to be descended from the Kushāṇas, and if this is true, the fact that Hiuen Tsang refers to him as Kshatriya furnishes a striking evidence of the absorption of the foreign elements in the Hindu society.

Thus the natural boundary of India to the north-west, viz. the Hindu Kush mountains still remained the political and cultural boundary although an Indianized Turkish element was introduced therein by the Śakas, Hūṇas and the Kushāṇas. In the south-west also, the territory corresponding to modern Baluchistan which, as we have seen above, formed politically a part of India, was Indian in language and culture.[1]

As to the general character of the hilly tribes in the border-land of civilized areas things have not probably changed much since Hiuen Tsang's day except that they now profess Islamic faith instead of Buddhism. The following description of Hiuen Tsang about the people on the western border of Sind might perhaps be applied to many other groups of people in the same region.

'Among the low marshes near the Sin-tu (Indus) for above 1,000 li were settled some myriads of families of ferocious disposition who made the taking of life their occupation, and supported themselves by rearing cattle; they had no social distinctions and no government; they shaved off their hair and wore the Bhikkhu garb, looking like Bhikkhus yet living in the world; they were bigoted in their narrow views and reviled the "Great Vehicle". According to local accounts the ancestors of this people were originally cruel and wicked, and were converted by a compassionate *arhat* who received them into the Buddhist communion; they therefore ceased to take life, shaved their heads and assumed the dress of Buddhist mendicants; in the course of time, however, the descendants of these men had gone back to their old ways but they still remained outwardly Bhikshus.'[2]

Thus, about the time of the rise of Islamic power, three kingdoms which may be roughly described as Kabul (Kāpiśī), Zabul, and Sind formed the western boundary of India, which extended up to Makrán and Khurásán. This view about the western border-land of India is also confirmed by early Muhammadan writers. Thus Al-Mas'údí

[1] This conclusion is corroborated by Balâdhuri as will appear in the course of our narrative.

[2] Watters—vol. ii, pp. 252–253.

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(A.D. 10th cent.) refers to Kandahar as part of Sind[1] while Al-Balādhuri refers to Kish, which is to the south-west of Kandahar, as belonging to the land of al-Hind.[2] Al-Mas'údí further says that India extends on the side of the mountains to Khurásán.[3] Thus both these writers regard the region round Kabul and Kandahar as part of India. 'In a map of the 10th century A.D. given in the "Kitábu-l Masálik wa-l Mamálik" of Ibn Haukal the Hirmand is styled "the river of Hind and Sind".' It also states that Kabul is a Province of Hind.[4]

Alberuni refers to the boundaries of India in the following lines: 'In the western frontier mountains of India there live various tribes of the Afghans, and extend up to the neighbourhood of the Sindh Valley. . . The coast of India begins with Tiz, the capital of Makrán. . . .'[5] In his account of the towns of India, Alberuni includes both Kabul and Ghazna.[6] The Arab Geographers generally refer to Kandahar as belonging to India or on the Indian frontier.[7]

CHAPTER II

Sources of information about the early Arab raids

In spite of the abundance of historical texts regarding the early history of Islam, authentic references to early Muhammadan raids on India are suprisingly few. The only historical work which professes to give a connected account of the various expeditions is that of Al-Baládhuri.[8] It chronicles the main incidents without always giving

[1] Elliot—History of India, vol. i, p. 22. [2] vol. ii, p. 143. [3] vol. i, p. 20.
[4] Raverty—Notes on Afghanistan, p. 64.
[5] Chap. XVIII, vol. i, p. 208.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 206.
[7] Le Strange, The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, p. 347.
[8] The full title of the book is 'Kitab Futûḥ al-Buldán' and the full name of the author is 'Ahmad ibn Yahya ibn-Jábir al-Baládhuri.' A critical account of the author is given in the Introduction to the first volume of the English translation of the work by Dr. Philip Khuri Hitti (Columbia University, 1916). The Indian conquests are narrated in the second volume of English Translation by Dr. Francis Clark Murgotten. Elliot translated extracts from this work and gave some account of previous notices of it in his *History of India* (1867) vol. i, p. 113 ff. I have followed Murgotten's Translation. All references to Baládhuri should be understood to refer to this book. Mr. Fida Ali Khan, Head of the Department of Persian in the Dacca University, kindly revised this English translation and suggested some changes which I have incorporated.

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precise dates or details, but the approximate dates of most of them can be ascertained from the context.

The other original historical texts can merely be used for supplementing or checking Al-Baládhuri's account. Among these may be mentioned At-Ṭabari and Khulasat-ul-Akbar. The former has been utilized by Weil in his 'Geschichte des Chalifen (Mannheim 1846–50)' and all relevant passages from the latter have been quoted by Major David Price in his valuable work 'Chronological retrospect (or Memoirs of the Principal events of Muhammadan history from the death of the Arabian legislator to the accession of the Emperor Akbar' published in 1811.[1]

In addition to these there are various other modern works[2] on the early history of Islam, but they hardly contain any new information about the Muhammadan raids on India. This evidently shows that not much of historical importance regarding this episode has been discovered among the many Arabic and Persian works that have since come to light. For the history of the Muhammadan conquest of Sind, however, we possess a detailed account in Chach-náma.[3] This is a Persian translation of an old Arabic history of the conquest of Sind by the Arabs. The Persian translation was made about A.D. 1216 by Ali Kúfí, who got the original Arabic manuscript from the Kazi of Alor, a member of the same Sakifí tribe to which belonged

[1] In addition to the three original texts named above, stray references occur in other original historical texts of later date, such as e.g. *Tarîkh-i-Guzidá*. The conquest of Sind is, of course, referred to in many later works.

[2] The following books deserve special notice :—

1. J. Welhausen ... Das Arabische Reich. Und sein Sturz (Berlin, 1902).
2. G. Van Vloten ... Recherches Sur la domination. Arabe (Amsterdam, 1894).
3. A. Müller ... Der Islam im Morgen und Abendland. (2 vols.) Berlin, 1885.
4. Sedillot ... Histoires des Arabes. (2 vols.) 2nd Edition, Paris, 1877.
5. Muir ... Annals of the Early Caliphate, from original sources. (Smith and Elder 1883).
6. Elliot ... The History of India. (Vols. I, II.)

[3] I have used the English translation of the work by Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg (Karachi, 1900)—but the important passages quoted in this paper have been carefully compared with the original text (with the help of the copy of the Manuscript in the possesslon of the Asiatic Society of Bengal) by my friend Dr. Muhammad Sahidulla.

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the famous Muhammad ibn Kásim, the conqueror of Sind. This circumstance no doubt explains the fact as stated by the Kazi, 'that an account of this conquest (of Sind) had been written in the Arabic language by his ancestors in a manuscript which had been handed down as a heritage from one to another to his time'.

Although there is no means to determine the time when the original Arabic history was written, its importance as the earliest detailed account of the kingdom of Sind and its conquest by the Arabs cannot be over-estimated. Leaving aside the usual parables, maxims, verses and romantic stories, the book contains a kernel of historical facts which are substantially corroborated by more authentic historical texts such as those of Al-Baládhuri. The data supplied by it must, no doubt, be accepted with great caution, but they may be used as auxiliary evidence, specially when they are not inherently improbable in themselves nor contradictory to known historical facts.

The Arab conquest of Sind is also described in some detail in two later works viz., (1) Táríkhu-s Sind by Mír Muhammad M'asúm (also called Táríkh-i M'asúmí) composed in A.D. 1600[1] and (2) Tuhfatu-l Kirá'm by Alí Sher Káni which was completed in A.D. 1767–8 or a few years later.[2]

Both these works merely give a summary of Chach-náma in describing the Arab conquest of Sind. But on some important dates and details they give a different version from the existing text of Chach-náma. It will be shown later that some of these dates are more reliable than those found in the present text of Chach-náma which are obviously wrong.

CHAPTER III

Raids against Kábul and Zábulistán

The first shock of Muhammadan invasions was equally felt by the three great border kingdoms of Kábul, Zábul and Sind. For the sake of clear understanding we shall discuss the topic under two heads: (1) Raids against Kábul and Zábulistán, and (2) Expeditions against Sind.

The incidents in connection with the first are mainly to be gathered from the accounts of Al-Baládhuri occasionally supplemented by other

[1] Elliot—i, pp. 212 ff.

[2] Elliot—i, pp. 327 ff.

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sources. The following bald summary of events may be offered as the result of a careful perusal of all available authorities.

In the year A.H. 28 or 29 (A.D. 649–50) 'Abdalláh ibn 'Ámir[1] a young enterprising military chief was appointed governor of Al-Basrah by the Caliph Uthman. 'Abdalláh made some conquest in the land of Fars (a province in the south-east of Persia), raided Khurásán and advanced up to the Oxus. (pp 159 ff).[2] While proceeding from Fars to Khurásán, in the year 30, he deputed one of his lieutenants ar-Rabí on to Sijistán (p. 141). Ar-Rabí made various conquests in the neighbourhood of Zarah Lake and ultimately besieged Zaranj which capitulated on terms. Ar-Rabí remained at Zaranj (p. 143) for two years and was then succeeded by 'Abd-ar-Rahmán ibn-Samurah as the governor of Sijistán. The new governor is said to have established his rule over every thing between ' Zaranj and Kishsh of the land of al-Hind, and over that part of the region of the road of ar-Rukkhaj which is between it and the province of ad-Dáwar ' (p. 143).

This is the first mention of India in the narrative of Muslim conquests as given by al-Baládhuri and as such the psssage requires careful scrutiny. It is apparent, as already noted above, that Kishsh was regarded as the first city on the frontier of India by the writer of the passage.

Fortunately, the topography of the locality is fairly well-known and the identification of the places mentioned is not a difficult task. Le Strange has made a critical geographical study of these in the Lands of Eastern Caliphate[3] and his conclusions, so far as they relate to the subject under discussion, may be summed up below.

' The broad valley, down which the Helmund flows from the mountains of Hindu Kush to Bust, still bears the name, Zamìn-Dáwar, the Persian form, of which the Arabic equivalent is " *Ard-ad-Dawar* " " the Land of the Gates ".[4]

' Half-way along the remaining course of the Helmund, from *Bust* to *Zaranj*, stands the town of Rúdbár, the *Ar-Rúdhbár* of Baládhuri;

[1] I have not thought it necessary to repeat the long titles of the Arab chiefs as given by Baládhuri, but have merely given the first part.

[2] The page references within brackets are to Murgotten's translation of Baládhuri, vol. ii.

[3] Le Strange—*The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1905.

[4] p. 345.

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and near this Ar-Rúdhbár was *Kishsh* which appears to be the place called Káj, or Kuhìch, at the present day.[1]

'The *Rukhkhaj district*, occupying the country round about Kandahar, lay to the eastward of Bust along the banks of the streams now known as the Tarnak and the Argandáb.[2]

Thus the Arabian force advanced towards India along the Helmund river and came into conflict with the Indians near modern Rúdbár on the frontier between modern Afghanistan and Baluchistan. Their first triumphal career led them as far as Bust. Three marches above Bust lay the mountain of Az-zur containing a temple. Ibn-Samurah, says al-Baládhuri, went into the temple of the Zur (apparently Surya=Sun) an idol of gold with two rubies for eyes, and cut off a hand and took out the rubies. But the gold and jewels were returned by him, saying to the astonished governor of the place: 'I only wanted to show you, that it had no power to harm or help (p. 144).' But the progress of Islamic forces seems to have stopped here, apparently due to disturbances in the head-quarter during the Caliphate of Uthman. An amicable agreement was entered into with Bust and Zábulistán, but its terms are not specified (p. 144). 'Abd-ar-Rahmán ibn-Samurah then retired to Zaranj. He had shortly to leave Sijistán placing it in charge of Umair, but the people of Zaranj, expelled Umair, and closed the town (p. 144). Thus the Muslims lost almost all that they had gained.

When the next Caliph 'Ali had consolidated his position, he made renewed efforts to re-establish the power of Islam in Sijistán, and succeeded in recapturing Zaranj (p. 145). When Mu-áwiyah became Caliph 'Abd-ar-Raḥmán ibn-Samurah was appointed as the governor of Sijistán and with this began a fresh triumphal career of the Islamic forces.

'Abd-ar-Raḥmán raided the country, whose people had apostatized, and subdued it either by force, or by making treaties with its people, advancing as far as Kábul. This city was ably defended, and the Arabs laid siege to it. After a few months a breach was made in the city wall by means of stones thrown by *manjaniks*. Then the Arabs attacked the city at night, but though they fought the whole night, they could not overcome the defence. At day-break, the defenders

[1] p. 344. [2] p. 346.

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made a brave sortie. Unfortunately an elephant that was killed at the battle fell just at the gate from which they issued, so that they could not close it and the Muslims entered the city by force. A treaty was concluded—on what terms we do not know—but it was shortly broken and Kábul had to be conquered a second time (pp. 146–47).[1]

From Kábul the conqueror proceeded against Zábulistán.[2] By this term, the Arabs meant particularly the country around Ghazni though

[1] Raverty gives a somewhat different account of this conquest of Kábul on p. 62 of '*Notes on Afghanistan and part of Baluchistan*'. He writes :

In 43 A.H. (A.D. 663–64), the Arabs invaded the territory of Kábul, under 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, son of Sumrah, who was the lieutenant of Abd-ullah, son of Amír, governor of Khurásán. He marched from Sijistán after capturing the capital of that country. Kábul Sháh, at that period, was known by the title or name of Arij; but this appears to be an Arabic word, and signifies lameness from birth. He moved out, with his forces to meet the Musalmán invaders, and after a severe battle, retired within the walls of Kábul, and did not sally out again. Abd-ur-Rahmán continued before it for a full year, after which, his army having suffered great hardship and fatigues, the place was taken. The fighting men were put to the sword, and the women and children were made captives. The Kábul Sháh was also taken, and his head was ordered to be struck off, but he was spared on his agreeing to become a convert to Islám. He was then received into favour, a tribute was fixed, and the Musalmáns retired '.

Raverty does not indicate his source of information about this detailed campaign, but it is evidently based on *Turjuma-i-futuhat* of Ahmad bin Asmi Kufi, quoted by Dowson (Elliot, vol. ii, p. 414 f. n. 1). It is not certain whether the account refers to the first or the second conquest of Kábul. The latter seems more probable.

In connection with the Muslim conquest of Kábul, Baládhurî makes a very interesting statement which deserves more than a passing notice—'Abd-ur-Rahmán', says he, 'took with him to al-Basrah, slaves captured at Kábul, and they built him a mosque in his castle there after the Kábul style of building' (p. 147). The fact that one of the earliest mosques to be built at an important centre of Islam was modelled after Kabuli style of building, is full of importance for the history of the origin of Saracenic style. But this topic being only of secondary importance in the present discussion, cannot be treated any further here.

[2] Both Elliot and Raverty, and following them, other scholars, have accepted the view that both Kábul and Zábul denoted one and the same kingdom under Ratbil. This erroneous conception has confused their entire account of the Muhammadan raids in Sijistán and Kábul. A careful perusal of Baládhuri leaves no doubt that Zábulistan was clearly distinguished from Kábul. Thus, describing the victories of 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, he mentions separately the conquest of Kábul and Zábulistan (p. 147). Then describing the subsequent discomfiture of the Muslim army, the same author says: 'Then Kábul Shah assembled a force to oppose the Muslims and drove out all of them that were in Kábul. And Ratbil came and gained control of Dhábulistan (or Zábulistan) and ar-Rukhkhaj as far as Bust'. (p. 147). Again, Baládhurî clearly distinguishes the two when he says that Ratbil sent to him ('Ubaidallah) asking for peace for his own country and the land of Kábul (p. 148). Again, it is said with reference to al-Mamun that he

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it was applied vaguely to denote the whole of the great mountainous district of the upper waters of the Helmund and the Kandahar rivers. As already noted before, 'Abd-ar-Rahmán, during the first period of his governorship, had entered into an agreement with this country. But the inhabitants had broken it and now attacked the Arabs. They were, however, defeated (p. 147).

'Abd-ar-Ṛahmán was superseded by ar-Rabí íbn-Ziyád, and died in the year 50 A.H. (A.D. 670).

The removal of 'Abd-ar-Rahmán emboldened the chiefs of Kabul and Zabulistan to throw off the Muslim yoke. The king of Kabul 'drove out all the Muslims from Kábul' [1], and Ratbil [2] (apparently a title of the kings of Zábulistan, by which they are referred to in Arab History) came and gained control of Zábulistan and ár-Rukhkhaj as far as Bust. 'Ar-Rabí, the Arab governor, attacked him at Bust, put him to flight, and pursued him until he reached ar-Rukhkhaj. After attacking him in ar-Rukhkhaj, ar-Rabi continued to advance and subdued the city of ad-Dáwar.' Ubaidallah who succeeded 'Ar-Rabí as governor of Sijistán continued the campaign and reached Razan

collected double the tribute from Ratbil, but he subdued Kábul whose king promised obedience.'

No reasonable doubt can thus be entertained that the two formed separate kingdoms. They often formed an alliance against their common foe, the Muslims, and this no doubt explains their long resistance to the powerful arms of Islam. It may be noted here that Raverty admits that Kabul and Zabul are distinct places and should not be confused with each other (*Notes on Afghanistan*, p. 61).

As to the geographical position of Zabulistan we can have no better guide than Le Strange whose conclusion is based upon accounts of early Muslim writers. According to him 'The highlands of the Kandahar country, along the upper waters of the Helmund, were known as Zabulistan' (p. 334). Le Strange further remarks :

'As we have seen, the whole of the great mountainous district of the upper waters of the Helmund and the Kandahar rivers was known to the Arabs as Zábulistan, a term of vague application, but one which more particularly denoted the country round Ghaznah. On the other hand, Kábulistan was the Kábul country, lying more to the north on the frontiers of Bamiyan' (p. 349).

[1] Mr. Fida Ali Khan translates the passage : 'sallied forth with all those [i.e. all his available army] from Kabul.'

[2] The name Ratbil has numerous variants. Elliot observes : 'Nevertheless there is no certainty as to the proper mode of spelling the name. The various readings of the European authors who have noticed him, show how little the orthography is settled. Ockley calls him 'Zentil'; Weil, 'Zenbil'; Reinaud, 'Ratbyl' and 'Zenbyl'. Wilson, 'Rateil, Ratpeil, Ratbal, Rantal, Zantíl—variations easily accounted for by the nature of the Persian letters'. E. Thomas, 'Ratpíl', Price, 'Reteil', 'Ratteil', or 'Ratpeil'. (Vol. II, p. 417.)

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when Ratbil concluded with him a treaty of peace for his own country and the land of Kábul. As regards the terms we are simply told that the peace was established on the payment of 1 million *dirhams*.[1]

But the peace was short-lived. Towards the end of the reign of Caliph Yezid (64 A.H. = A.D. 683) Kábul revolted once more and imprisoned Abu-'Ubaidah ibn-Ziyád. Yazíd ibn-Ziyád, the governor of Sijistán, proceeded against Kábul and a great battle took place at Junzah. But the Muslim army was completely routed. The governor himself and some distinguished members of the aristocracy lay dead on the field and the rest fled. Abu-'Ubaidah had to be ransomed for 500,000 dirhams.

Ratbil fomented and aided rebellions in the Arab domain of Sijistán where the people expelled the Arab governor. 'Ratbil soon declared war against the Arabs' and apparently proceeded nearly as far as Zarah lake, for we are told that the new governor 'was compelled to stop in the city of Zaranj.' But Ratbil was killed and his soldiers were put to rout (A.D. 685).[2]

[1] Baládhurí (p. 210) refers to a border raid in 44 A.H. by Al-Muhallab in course of which he passed through Bannah and Al-Ahwar, towns between Multan and Kábul, and reached al-Kikán. Bannah seems to be the same as Bannu and Al-Ahwar was probably a neighbouring town. As regards the result of the raid, Baládhurí simply says that 'the enemy met and attacked him and his followers'. Evidently Muhallab did not achieve any success.

Ferishta, as usual, gives an exaggerated account and takes Muhallab to Multan. Elliot goes one step further and identifies Al-Ahwar with Lahore. These presumptions are absolutely without any basis and may be dismissed as incredible. It may be doubted whether the city of Lahore existed at that time, at least under the present name. The objective of Muhallab's raid was al-Kíkán, and both Multan and Lahore were far away from the route. Elliot (Vol. II, p. 415) gives some details of 'Abd-ar-Rahmán's campaign against Kábul, apparently on the authority of Baládhurí. But the text translated by Murgotten does not give these details.

[2] Elliot apparently refers to this episode (vol. ii, p. 416) when he says :—

'In 64 A.H. = 683–4 A.D., 'Abdu-l-'Aziz, the governor of Sístán, declared war against the king of Kábul and in the combat which took place, that king was defeated and killed. The war continued under his successor and he was compelled to submit to the payment of tribute, but whenever opportunity offered, renewed efforts were made by the Kábulis to recover their lost independence'.

But Elliot confuses it with the campaign of 64 A.H. Besides, this campaign of 'Abdu-l-'Aziz was directed not against Kábul but against Ratbil, king of Sijistán. As noted above, in f.n. 2, on page 16 the presumption that Kábul and Zábul formed one kingdom under Ratbil, has vitiated the account of Elliot.

The passage is translated as follows by Murgotten: 'Abd-al-'Aziz 'was compelled to stop in the city Zaranj because Ratbil was at war with him' (p. 149). The passage is translated differently by Mr. Fida Ali Khan. According to him it means 'he was allowed to enter the city and attacked Ratbil'.

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The war was, however, continued by Ratbil II, the son and successor of the late chief. He did not oppose the advance of the Muhammadans till they penetrated deep into his country. Then he blocked the mountain paths and passes, and forced the Muhammadan general 'Abdalláh to conclude a treaty on easy terms.[1] The Caliph 'Abd-al-Malik however, disapproved of the treaty and dismissed 'Abdalláh (p. 150).

Shortly after Al-Hajjáj became governor of Irak (A.D. 695), his general 'Ubaidalláh made an attempt to subdue Kábul. Here, too, his enemy blocked the mountain path and Ratbil soon joined them. 'Ubaidalláh was ready to extricate himself from this difficult position by offering easy terms to his opponents, but Shuraiḥ ibn-Háni al-Hárithi dissuaded him from this course, saying 'Fear Allah and fight this people, for if thou doest what thou art about to do, thou wilt weaken Islam on this frontier'. So 'a battle ensued and Shuraiḥ made a charge, but was killed. The army fought their way out, although hard pressed, and made their way along the desert of Bust. Many of the men perished of thirst and hunger, and 'Ubaidalláh died of grief for what he had brought upon his men and the fate that had overtaken them.' (p. 151).

It was a veritable disaster for the Muslim forces and its subsequent effect convulsed the whole Islamic world. Al-Baládhuri briefly passes over this unfortunate episode. But other sources give more details. It appears that the Muslim forces were allowed to retire only on the payment of a humiliating ransom.[2] To avenge the

[1] According to this treaty, 'Abdalláh agreed, on payment of 300,000 dirhams, not to raid in future the kingdom of Ratbil. It was in the nature of a *Chauth* exacted by the Mahrattas, in later ages.

[2] Cf. for example the passage from *Târîkh-i-Alfi*, quoted by Elliot (vol. ii, p. 416): 'Ranbal, retiring before his assailant, detached troops to their rear and blocking up the defiles, entirely intercepted their retreat, and in this situation exposed to the danger of perishing by famine, 'Abdulla was compelled to purchase the liberation of himself and followers for a ransom of seven hundred thousand dirhams'.

Raverty evidently follows the same authority and adds to the above extract: It is said that, when his ('Ubaidullah's) wearied and half-starved troops reached Musalman ground and their own people brought forth food and relieved their necessities, many eat their fill and fell down dead immediately after'. (Raverty—*Notes on Afghanistan*, p. 62). Raverty gives the name as 'Ubaidullah—which agrees with that of Baládhuri. Elliot spells it as Abdulla. Both give 79 A.H. (698-99 A.D.) as the date of the event. Cf. (Price, vol. i, p. 454) the account of Khullassut-ul-Akbar, which substantially agrees with the above.

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affront an army was raised, named the ' peacock army ', so splendidly was it equipped at the cost of a heavy war-cess on Al-Basra and Al-Kufa. The command was placed in the hands of 'Abd-ar-Rahmán ibn-Muhammad ibn-al-Ash'ath who marched against Ratbil in 80 A.H. (A.D. 699) put him to flight and ravaged his land. The commander, mindful of the recent reverses, wanted to proceed cautiously ; but Al-Hajjáj, upbraiding him with faint-heartedness, peremptorily bade him fight on, and when the commander expostulated with him, threatened his supersession. The army, as well as its commander, strongly resented the action. ' Abd-ar-Rahmán made favourable terms with Ratbil, and declaring war both against Al-Hajjáj and the Caliph, marched on Al-Irák, and captured Al-Basra. The rebellion having assumed serious proportions, the Caliph took alarm and offered terms to the rebels. ' Abd-ar-Rahmán was inclined to accept the offer, which included supersession of Al-Hajjáj, but the rebel army rejected it. At last a great battle was fought in 82 A.H. (A.D. 701–702) and ' Abd-ar-Rahmán was signally defeated by Al-Hajjáj. Pursued by the latter ' Abd-ar-Rahmán was again beaten on the Persian border and took refuge with Ratbil, who a year or two afterwards sent his head to Al-Hajjáj.[1] He is said to have died or committed suicide.

[1] Elliot vol. ii, p. 416. Price, (vol. i, pp. 455–463). On the authority of Khulassat-ul-Akbar. *Muir-Caliphate*, p. 336. Strangely enough, Baládhúr passes over the whole episode though he refers to the rebellion of 'Abd-ar Rahmán, and his tragic end.

Raverty gives interesting details, but, as usual, does not indicate his authority. He says that 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, after prolonged fight with Hajjáj, was compelled to fly in 81 A.H. (700–1 A.D.) and took shelter within the walls of Bust, which was held by one of his own subordinates named 'Iyáz. Raverty then continues :

' He ('Iyáz) seized and imprisoned 'Abd-ur-Rahmán and proposed to send him to Hajjáj. Zantbil (i.e. Ratbil) immediately on hearing of this marched his force to Bust and infested it on all sides and threatened 'Iyáz and all within the place with impalement if a hair of the head of 'Abd-ur-Rahmán should be injured, and that he would never leave the place until he should be released. This had the desired effect, and he was set at liberty, and took refuge with Zantbil (Ratan-pal ?). Hajjáj sometime after sent an agent to that ruler making him very advantageous offers and requiring him to give up 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, which he did, along with eighteen of his kinsmen, in the year 82 A.H. (701–2 A.D.), but on the road back, 'Abd-ur-Rahmán succeeded in throwing himself from the flat roof of a building in which they had alighted to rest, and dragged the agent with him. Both perished ' (Raverty op. cit., p. 63).

This episode, if true, throws interesting light on the powers and magnanimity of Ratbil.

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According to Al-Baládhuri, Ratbil betrayed him from fear of Al-Hajjáj, because the latter had written a threatening letter. Thereupon 'Abd-ar-Rahmán threw himself from the top of a cliff (p. 151).

Ratbil did not fail to take full advantage of the internal split in the Muslim world, [1] and concluded a favourable treaty with al-Hajjáj. The latter agreed not to make war upon him for 7 (or 9) years on condition of an annual subsidy in kind. This arrangement continued till the death of Al-Hajjáj (A.D. 714) inspite of occasional disputes over the value of the goods paid as subsidy in which Ratbil always scored against his enemy (p. 152).

When, in the Caliphate of Sulaimán, Yazíd became governor of Irák in 96 A.H. (A.D. 715) and his brother Mudrik, governor of Sijistán, Ratbil refused to pay any tribute at all. He was evidently encouraged by the confusion which prevailed in the Muslim world during the last days of the Umayyids. For more than forty years, the Muhammadans could not exact anything from him. (pp. 152–3).

It was not till the establishment of the Abbassids, that the Muhammadans could renew their offensive. During the Caliphate of Al-Mansúr (A.D. 754–775), Kandahar was conquered (p. 231) and the Muhammadan governor of Sijistán again demanded tribute from Ratbil (apparently Ratbil III or IV). The latter sent some camels, tents and slaves, reckoning each at double its value. The governor Ma'n became angry and declared war against Ratbil. He overran ar-Rukhkhaj and secured many captives, but Ratbil was far from being subdued.[2] For we are told that during the next three Caliphates, the Muslim officers collected tribute from Ratbil of Sijistán 'as well as they could', (or, according to a different rendering,

[1] We learn from Tabari that in the year 90 A.H. (A.D. 709) Ratbil agreed to aid the Maliks of Balkh, Marw-ar-Rúd, Tál-Kán, Fáryáb, and the Gúzgánán against Katibah, son of Musallam-ul-Bahili (Raverty, op. cit., p. 63; Price, Vol. I, p. 469).

[2] Baládhuri says (p. 154) that after the campaign, Mawand, the lieutenant of Ratbil, asked for safe-conduct in order to be taken to the Commander of the Believers. Ma'n granted it sending him to Baghdadh with 5,000 soldiers, and Al-Mansúr treated him generously, 'pensioning him and his chieftains', (or according to the translation of Mr. Fida Ali Khan 'fixing an allowance for him and appointing him a military commander').

It is possible that some understanding was arrived at regarding the payment of tribute in future.

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'according to their strength or weakness') which certainly does not mean much.[1]

When the Caliph al-Ma'mún (A.D. 813–833) visited Khurásán, Ratbil paid double tribute to him, but was evidently left unmolested. Al-Ma'mun, however, sent an army against Kábul, probably the Shahi ruler of Kábul, who submitted to taxation and acknowledged obedience. Baládhuri further says that the king of Kábul professed Islam and promised obedience, but he apparently regained independence and apostatized almost immediately after.[2]

Next we hear of the conquest of Kábul and Zábulistan by Ya'kúb, son of Lais about A.D. 870. The king of Kábul was made a prisoner while the king of Zábulistan was killed and its inhabitants forced to embrace Islam. Henceforth, Zábulistan ceased to belong to India, either politically or culturally, but Kábul recovered its independence and remained, as before, a part of India from both political and cultural point of view till the time of the Turkish Sultans of Ghazni.[3]

We may now sum up the results of these early Muhammadan raids. During the period of 50 years that elapsed since the first raid in 28 A.H. (A.D. 649) we may distinguish three periods of alternate success and failure. The first period of 7 years ended with the Caliphate of Uthman (A.D. 656). Inspite of a promising beginning, the Islamic forces achieved very little during this period. During the second period, renewed efforts were made by the Caliphs 'Ali and Mu-áwiya, and, thanks to the brilliant skill and energy of 'Abd-ar-

[1] Baládhúri, p. 155. Price refers to an expedition against Kabul in 107 A.H. (A.D. 725-6) during the Caliphate of Hisham (Vol. I, p. 567). Raverty refers to two expeditions against Kabul, in 152 A.H. (A.D. 769) and 170 A.H. (A.D. 786–7). But none of these achieved any substantial results. Possibly, Kabul fortified its position by an alliance with China and Kashmir. That the Arabs could not make any impression in Afghanistan about this time also follows from the itinerary of Oukong (*Journal Asiatique*, 1895, part II, pp. 348 ff. pp. 381 ff.

[2] Baládhuri, pp. 155, 203.

As to the king of Kábul's accepting Islam and promising obedience, the Arab accounts repeat it too often to be taken seriously. It seems that the Islamic creed and political subordination sat very lightly upon that ruler and he always took the earliest opportunity to throw off the yoke and apostatize. There are good grounds to believe that that was also the case on this occasion. In any case we find again an independent Hindu ruler in Kábul at later times.

[3] Raverty, op. cit., p. 63; Elliot, Vol. II, p. 419.

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Rahmán ibn-Samurah, Islamic forces obtained notable successes against the rulers of Kábul and Zábulistan. The removal and death of 'Abd-ar-Rahmán in 50 A.H. (670 A.D.) ushered in the third period of nearly 30 years in which the Islamic arms sustained serious reverses, both in Kábul and Zábulistan, which had their repercussion on the whole Muslim world. The fruitless efforts of half a century (A.D. 649–700) convinced the Arabs that the conquest of these territories was beyond their power. Henceforth they were glad to leave them alone and merely sought to impose some sort of suzerainty upon them. But even this was with difficulty maintained for a very brief period (A.D. 700–14). For the next century and a half, Kábul and Zábul maintained their authority practically unimpaired. The Abbassid Caliphs, no doubt, occasionally exacted some tributes from them, but with the exception of this and occasional raids, Kábul and Zábul were left undisturbed till the former was conquered by Ya'kúb, son of Lais, in A.D. 870.

CHAPTER IV.

The Kingdom of Sind on the eve of the Muhammadan Conquest

Although the three border-kingdoms of Kábul, Zábul and Sind had all to bear the brunt of the first Muhammadan invasion, the wars with Sind were more prolonged and led to more permanent results. And of the kingdom of Sind alone it is possible to give some detailed account for the period immediately preceding the Muhammadan raids. For this we are indebted to the well-known work Chach-náma already referred to above. The Chach-náma begins with an account of king Sahiras, son of Sahasi Rai. His dominions are said to have 'extended on the east to the boundary of Kashmir, on the west to Makrán, on the south to the coast of the sea and Debal, and on the north to the mountains of Kurdan and Kíkánán'.[1] The central part of these

[1] In the *Târîkh-i-M'asúmî* and the *Tuhfatul Kirâ'm*, the boundaries given are as follows: 'On the east, Kashmir and Kanauj; on the west, Makran, Debal (Lahore in M'asúmis) and the sea-shore of Oman; on the north, Kandhár, Sistán, the Suleiman mountains and the Kíkánán Hills; and on the south, the sea-port of Surat.' (Ch°. p. 11 f.n.).

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territories was under the immediate charge of the king with his capital at Alor and the rest was divided into four provinces, each under a governor,[1] with headquarters respectively at Bahmanábád, Siwistán, Iskandah and Multan. The king, however, lost his life in a fight with the king of Nimruz, a province of Persia, who had invaded his territory and entered Kirmán. According to *Tuhfatu-l-Kirâm*, the battle took place near Kich.

Rai Sáhasi II, [2] son of Sahiras, then ascended the throne and ruled over the entire kingdom. During his reign, a poor Brāhmaṇa named Chach, [3] gradually rose to power and high office, and after his master's death, secured the throne for himself. He married the widowed queen and had two sons by her, *viz.*, Daharsiah and Dáhar, and a daughter Bái.

The provincial governors at first refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of the usurper. Chach marched in person against Iskandah and Multan and subdued them. He then proceeded further up to the hills of Kashmir and definitely fixed the frontier between the two kingdoms. Chach next proceeded against the governors of Siwistán and Bahmanábád and subdued them.[4]

[1] In Ch° (p. 25) the four governors are referred to as four tributary rulers and it appears that their status was much higher than that of an ordinary governor. The ruler of Multan, Bachchera, e.g. was a near relation of Sáhasi (p. 27). The governor of Siwistân is called a king and a son of a king (p. 31–2). He conspires against king of Sind (39–40).

[2] Not much information is given of the dynasty which ended with Rai Sáhasi II. It is said (Ch°. p. 20–21) that Maharat, king of Chitor, was the brother of Rai Sáhasi, and on the death of the latter, he marched towards Alor with an army and sent the following message to Chach ':

'I am the rightful heir to this kingdom, and this country is the property of my fathers and grandfathers. It is but right that I should have for my own my brother's heritage.'

King Maharat was, however, defeated and killed by Chach.

According to *Tuhfatu·l Kirâm*, this event took place in 1 A.H., and the dynasty overthrown by Chach ruled for 137 years (A.D. 485–622). It consisted of the following kings : Dewaij, Sáhiras I, Sáhasi I, Sáhiras II, Sáhasi II, each being the son of his predecessor.

In Chach-náma, Sáhiras' father, the senior Rai Sáhasi i.e. Sáhasi I, is said to be son of Dewaij (p. 25). Apparently, there is some confusion about the genealogy. But there is no justification for Cunningham's assumption that 'Diwaj II was the father of Sahirás (or Siharas) '. (Later Indo-Scythians, p. 105.)

[3] For a discussion of the various forms of the name and the caste to which he belonged, *cf.* Elliot, Vol. I, pp. 409 ff.

[4] See Appendix Geographical Note A, for full details.

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Having thus settled affairs at home, Chach wanted to take advantage of the confusion in the Persian kingdom to extend his territory in that direction. He passed through and subdued a portion of Makrán, and fixed the western limits of his kingdom at a stream that separated Kirmán from Makrán. Then Chach marched towards Kandábíl and its people agreed to pay an annual tribute.[1]

Chach died at Alor after a reign of 40 years,[2] and was succeeded by his brother Chandar who ruled for 7 years. The death of Chandar was followed by an internal split. Dáhar, the younger son of Chach, sat on the throne at Alor, while Duráj, son of Chandar, established himself at Bahmanábád. But Daharsiah, the elder son of Chach, ousted Duráj after a year and occupied Bahmanábád.[3] For the next 30 years, the kingdom was divided between the brothers Dáhar and Daharsiah with headquarters respectively at Alor and Bahmanábád. Then, after Daharsiah's death, the united kingdom came into the possession of Dáhar.[4] Eight years after this event Dáhar's kingdom was attacked by the neighbouring king of Ramal but Dáhar easily repulsed him.[5]

The dates of these kings may be ascertained from several data supplied by Chach-náma and *Tuhfatu-l-Kirám*. According to the latter, Chach ascended the throne in the year of the Hijrí, *i.e.*, A.D. 622. This is, however, in conflict with the statement in Chach-náma that Chach had already been 35 years on the throne when, in 11 A.H. in the Caliphate of Umar, Mughaira led an expedition to Debal. The year 11 is evidently a mistake, as Umar had not succeeded to the Caliphate till 13 A.H. The expedition, referred to in Chach-náma, took place, according to al-Baládhuri, about 15 A.H. Even assuming this date to be true, Chach's accession falls about A.D. 602. Now the mistake in Hijrí date for Umar, too palpably absurd in a history written by a Muhammadan, and similar other wrong Hijrí dates in the book suggest some mistake in the reading or writing of figures in original copies or transcriptions of the Text of Chach-náma. Besides, the data for the reign-periods of the kings as given in Chach-náma, lend support

[1] See Appendix, Geographical Note A, for full details.

[2] Ch°, p. 39. [3] Ch°, p. 42. [4] Ch°, p. 54.

[5] Ch°, p. 55. In the *Tuhfatu-l-Kirám*, the invader is said to be Ramalrai, king of Kanauj, and not king of Ramal.

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to the date as given in *Tuhfatu-l-Kirâm*. According to this theory we can arrange the dates as follows:—

Chach	... ...	40 years	...	A.D. 622–662
Chandar	... ...	7 years	...	,, 662–669
Dáhar / Duráj	... ...	1 year	...	,, 669–670
Dáhar / Daharsiah	... ...	30 years (p. 54)	...	,, 670– 700
Dáhar	... ...	8 years + x	,	700–708 + x

Chach-náma continues the story of Dáhar down to the invasion of the king of Ramal, and then begins his account of the Muslim invasion of Sind. Now the invasion by the king of Ramal took place in the eighth year after Daharsiah's death, (*i.e.*, in A.D. 708) and this brings us to the epoch of the great fight between Dáhar and the Arabs. Thus the theory accepted above, is quite in accordance with the detailed account furnished in Chach-náma.[1]

The Chach-náma represents Sind as a great and powerful kingdom, extending up to the borders of Kashmir and Kanauj on the north and east and to those of Kirmán in the west. The details scattered in the book, such as the names of towns under different governors, journeys of kings and their victorious expeditions, all corroborate this general picture. Al-Baládhuri states that al-Kíkán (modern Kelat) is part of the land of As-Sind where it borders on Khurásán.[1 2]

It must be noted, however, that the solidarity of the kingdom was destroyed in the seventh century A.D. by several incidents.

[1] Elliot's Chronology (Vol. I, pp. 406, 412–414) is somewhat different. He finds inconsistency in *Tuhfatul-Kirâm's* statements, because while it gives 92 years as the total period of duration, the sumtotal of the reign-periods of the three kings, as given in it, only comes up to 81. Hence Elliot places the accession of Chach in 10 A.H. But the detailed accounts of the reign of the different kings, as given above on the authority of Chach-náma, really makes the total duration of the dynasty one of 90 years, if we assume Dáhar's death to have taken place in 712 A.D. The 90 solar years of India would correspond very nearly to 92 years of a Muhammadan writer. The real mistake of *Tuhfatul-Kirâm* was perhaps the reign-period of 33 years which is assigned to Dáhar, whereas according to Chach-náma, he ruled for nearly 43 years. For the first 31 years of this period, he ruled only over a part of Sind, and it was only after Daharsiah's death that he came to be the sole ruler of the country.

[2] Baládhuri p. 210. For Kíkán see App. Geographical Note A.

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First, the usurpation of Chach. It was preceded by the murder of all the nobles of the Court who opposed him and followed by the rebellion of the provincial governors. Though these were quelled with difficulty, Chach sowed the seeds of discontent which overwhelmed his son at no distant date. We shall see later on how important officials of state deserted the son of Chach and joined his Muslim enemy. This might have been inspired in no small degree by their loyalty to the old dynasty which was so basely betrayed by Chach. As a matter of fact, we find that immediately after the death of Chach, one of his governors made a secret plot with the kings of Kashmir and Kanauj with a view to seize the kingdom for himself, and the hostile armies approached the very walls of the capital city.[1]

Secondly, the virtual division of the kingdom after the death of Chandar must have weakened the resources of the kingdom by constant conflicts between Alor and Bahmanábád. This internal dissension lasted for more than 30 years, and it was during this period that the Muhammadans were knocking at the gates of Sind.

Thirdly, the kings of Sind were hostile to, and not infrequently at war with, the neighbouring kingdoms of Kashmir, Kanauj and Ramal. Almost at the very moment when Muhammad ibn-Kásim was marching towards Sind, king Dáhar was fighting with the king of Ramal.

Fourthly, the existence of powerful Buddhist monks who wielded great political authority as rulers of districts or owners of strongholds, was a positive danger to the Bráhmanical state.[2] Many of these

[1] Ch°—pp. 39 ff. Another governor, when attacked by Chach applied for assistance to the king of Kanauj (Ch°, p. 33).

[2] Various references to the Samanis or Buddhist monks are scattered throughout Ch°. Thus when Chach proceeded against the governor of Bahmanábád, the latter, himself a Buddhist, sought the help of Samani Budhgui or Budhrakhu (i.e. Buddhagupta or Buddharakshita). Ch° says: 'When Chach had come to know that Agham (the governor) and his son had compact with the Samani and that it was owing to his sorcery, enchantments, magic and counsels, that the war had been prolonged for a year, he had sworn: 'If I succeed in taking this fort, I shall seize the Samani, take off his skin, give it to low-caste people to cover drums with it and to beat them till it was torn to pieces' (Ch°, pp. 33–34).

Again, the town of Armanbil was "in the hands of a Buddhist Samani descended from the agents of Rái Sahiras, king of Hind. . . . In course of time, however, he had thrown off his yoke and had become his opponent' (Ch°, p. 38).

Even the important fortress of Nerun (Haidarabad) was in charge of a Buddhist Samani named Bhandarkan who basely betrayed his master to the

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Buddhists surrendered their state or strongholds to the Islamic invaders and made alliance with them.

Thus, inspite of the large extent and vast resources of the kingdom of Sind, the internal situation was not quite favourable to a sustained opposition to determined invaders.

CHAPTER V.

The Muhammadan Conquest of Sind

The early Arab raids were directed against the coast-land of India. From their secure base at Oman, an army was sent across to Tanah. i.e., Thana, near Bombay about 15 A.H. (A.D. 637). Similar expeditions were sent against Barwas or Broach and to the gulf of Ad-Daibul, i.e. Debal. Al-Balâdhuri records a Muslim victory at Debal, but is silent about the results of the other two raids. On the other hand, according to Chach-náma, the Muslims were defeated and their leader was killed by the governor of Chach at the battle of Debal.[1] It may be safely concluded that the Muslim arms did not

Muslims even before the Muslim forces achieved any victory (Ch°, p. 72). He is reported to have said to Muhammad ibn-Kásim : 'I myself and all my men are subjects of the Khalífah, and we hold this place subject to the command and in accordance with the terms of the letter of Hajjâg. In fact we owe our permanent position to his help and patronage and encouragement.' There was a secret compact between him and Hajjáj, and he opened the gates of Nerun when Muhammad had besieged it in vain and was in great straits (Ch°, p. 91).

The Buddhist community at Siwistán, another strongly fortified town, forced the ruler to surrender it to the Muslim army, saying . 'We people are a priestly class. According to our faith, fighting and slaughtering are not allowable. We will never be in favour of shedding blood' . . . (Ch°, p. 93.)

The same unpatriotic and treacherous spirit was shown by the Buddhists of other places (Ch°, pp. 105, 173).

[1] Ch° (pp. 57–58) places this event shortly before the murder of Umar but gives the date as 11 A.H. This seems to be a mistake for 21 A.H. Similarly on p. 37 Ch° refers to some events in Persia in 2 A.H. whereas the right date seems to be 12 A.H. These two dates are either due to misreading of original figures or counted from the death of Muhammad—for it is difficult to believe that a Muhammadan author would give 11 A.H. as the date for an expedition undertaken during the Caliphate of Umar, as the latter succeeded to the Caliphate only in 13 A.H. Similarly Ch° gives wrong dates for the beginning of the Caliphate of Ali (p. 38) and Mu-áwiyah (p. 61).

The statement in Ch° that Chach had ruled for 35 years when this expedition took place, cannot be correct. This is not only in conflict with the statement in

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gain any appreciable success in any of these raids which were all undertaken during the Caliphate of Umar (A.D. 634–43).

The defeat at Debal must have taken by surprise the Caliph Umar whose arms were victorious in distant parts of the world. Having failed to approach Sind from the sea-coast on the south, he sent an army to Makrán and Kirmán with a view to attack the western frontier of the kingdom, but like a true statesman, he at the same time asked the governor of Irák to send him detailed information about the country. The governor reported that the king of Sind was very powerful and by no means willing to submit to the Muhammadans. Thereupon all ideas of sending further expeditions against that country were abandoned.[1]

The failure of the previous raids induced the next ruler Uthmán to attempt an invasion of Sind by land. He sent his agents to collect information about the country, but their reports were unfavourable. So Uthmán too gave up the enterprise.[2]

During the next Caliphate, that of 'Ali, a great expedition was sent against India (38–39 A.H.). The Muslim army, which included a

the *Tuhfatu-l-kirám* that Chach ascended the throne in 1 A.H. but is also irreconcilable with the general statements in Ch° on the basis of which the genealogical table of Chach and his successors has been drawn above on p. 26.

It may be noted here that Ch° does not mention the naval raids against Thana or Broach which are mentioned by Baládhuri (p. 209).

[1] The statement that Umar sent an expedition to Makrán and Kirmán is based on the authority of Chach-náma (pp. 58 ff.) But it is clear from the context that the expedition was recalled before it could achieve any success. Al-Baládhuri ignores this expedition altogether. Later authorities refer to the success of Muslim arms in this expedition. According to Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída, the Muslims conquered on this occasion not only Makrán and Kirmán but also Sijistán, although the ruler of Sind helped the Chief of Makrán (p. 181). Hasan-bin-Muhammad Shiraji, referring to the same incidents, adds that the ruler of Makrán, called Zanbil, who was also king of Sind, was killed. Habibu-s Siyar (Price—Vol. I., p. 138) and Ṭabari also refer to this expedition. These authorities, however, give different names for the leaders of this expedition, and a perusal of Al-Baládhuri, our earliest authority, leaves no doubt that the whole thing was a confused echo of certain incidents which happened at a later period. Al-Baládhuri, for example narrates many incidents described by these authorities, but refer them to a later period. Further, Makrán and Sijistán were conquered by the Muslim forces at a much later date.

Elliot seems to have accepted the later authorities (vol. i., pp. 417–8) which are in conflict with the statement, accepted by him (Ibid, p. 421) that at a later period the governor of Basra sent his agent ' to explore Sijistán and Makrán as well as the countries bordering on the valley of the Indus.'

[2] Baládhuri, pp. 209–10 ; Ch°, pp. 59–60. The two accounts agree very closely.

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large number of nobles and chiefs, advanced, without serious opposition, up to Al-Kíkán or Kíkánán which was a part of Sind. The people of this country (which corresponds to the mountainous regions in Baluchistan round Kelat) made a brave stand and routed the Muslim army. The leader of the Muslim host 'was killed together with all but a few of his followers' (42 A.H. = A.D. 663.). This is the version of Al-Baládhuri. The Chach-náma, on the other hand, relates, that the Muslims obtained a victory at Kíkánán, but turned back on hearing of the murder of 'Ali. This seems to be only a thin pretext for hiding the defeat and disgrace, and the version of Baládhuri seems to be confirmed by later events. Besides, the version in Chach-náma is based on the authority of Amir, son of Háris, son of Abdul Kais, while, according to Baládhuri, Háris was himself the leader of the expedition. The son of the defeated leader naturally suppressed the inconvenient details.[1]

Henceforth Kíkánán became the chief objective of the Muslim expeditions, and during the Caliphate of Mu-áwiyah (41–60 A.H.), several attempts were made to subdue this outlying frontier post of the kingdom of Sind. The first expedition was led by Al-Muhallab in the year 44 (A.D. 665.) He advanced against Kíkán from the side of Kábul in the north, but did not achieve any conspicuous success.[2] The second expedition led by 'Abdallah, in spite of initial successes, ended in a disaster, and the routed Mussalman army fled to Makrán.[3] Sinán, the leader of the next expedition, 'proceeded to the frontier and conquered Makrán. He established a garrison there and made it his headquarters.'[4] The Muslim forces were apparently unable to

[1] Baládhuri (p. 210). Ch° (p. 60) gives the date as 80 which is evidently a slip or misreading for 40. For, immediately before, it refers to the year 38 A.H. It is, however, wrong in stating that the Caliphate of 'Ali began towards the end of that year. As a matter of fact 'Ali became Caliph in 35 A.H. 38 A.H. is the date of the expedition (cf. Elliot, vol. i, p. 422).

[2] This is omitted in Ch°. Curiously enough, here again, Ch° puts 44 A.H., the date of the first Indian expedition under Mu'áwiyah, as the date of the beginning of his Caliphate (*see* f.n. 1 of Chapter III, p. 18).

[3] Baládhuri (p. 211); Ch° (p. 62) gives more details of the disaster. Both authorities refer to the curious anecdote of a pregnant woman by way of illustrating the hospitality of the leader of the expedition. Baládhuri refers to some initial success of the Islamic army but this is omitted in Ch°. This expedition probably took place in 46 A.H. (Weil-Geschichte, vol. I, p. 291).

[4] Baládhuri (p. 212). Apparently there is some confusion about this incident. Baládhuri refers to a tradition according to which Makrán was conquered by

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proceed any further. Hence Sinán was replaced by Rashid who proceeded from Makrán and led a successful raid against Kíkánán. But later, while raiding the Mid (i.e., Meds), he was defeated and killed.[1] He was succeeded by Sinán who led another expedition against Kíkánán. He proceeded up to the district of Budhia in Kíkánán but the people there rose against him and killed him.[2] The next expedition was led by Al-Mundhir (Munzir in Chach-náma). He raided al-Búkán and al-Kìkán and conquered Kuṣdár, which, although previously conquered by Sinán, had rebelled against the Muslims. But al-Mundhir died at Kuṣdár. The command was then taken over by ibn-Harrí who subdued Kuṣdár and fought a fierce and successful campaign there, acquiring much booty.[3] But Kíkán was far from being subdued. For more than twenty years, the Muslim forces had concentrated their efforts upon the conquest of this frontier of Sind, but failed to achieve any lasting results. The only notable success of the Muslims in this direction was the conquest of Makrán.

During the next twenty-five years, the kingdom of Sind obtained respite from the repeated Muslim aggressions on its frontier. But with the appointment of Al-Hajjáj as governor of Irák, things assumed a new turn. After putting down some internal feuds, he appointed

Hakim ibn Jabalah al-Abdi. Ch° (p. 63) refers to Sinán as having 'succeeded Abdulla, but does not refer to his conquest of Makran. It, however, says that Ahnaf, son of Kaish, who was selected for the holy wars in Hind remained at Makrán for two years.

[1] Baládhuri (p. 212). Ch° (p. 64) gives more details of this expedition. It says that Rashid returned after a year from Kíkánán, and, 'travelling via Sistán, he came to the mountains of Mauzar and Bharj. The natives of this mountainous country mustered about 50,000 men strong to stop him on his way. A bloody battle ensued and Rashid fell a martyr'.

[2] Ch° (p. 65). Baládhuri (p. 212) refers to Sinán's succession in command, but is silent about his expedition to Kíkán and death. Ch° quotes a memorial verse relating to the martyrdom of Sinán. For the position of Budhia, cf. App. A.

[3] Baládhuri (pp. 213–14); Ch° (p. 66) says that Munzir died of illness at Burabi, and does not give any details of his success. Nor does it refer to ibn-Harrí's campaign. Ibn-Harrí seems to have conquered al-Búkán. Baládhuri refers to a memorial verse to that effect and adds: 'The inhabitants of al-Búkán to-day are Muslims . . . . . al-Barmaki built a city there which he named al-Baida (the white). This was in the Caliphate of al-Mutasin-billah'.

Elliot thinks that Munzir referred to in Ch° is a different person from Munzir referred to by Baládhuri (vol. i, 425).

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Mujjá'ah as governor of Makràn. Mujjá'ah made some raids and conquered portions of Kandábíl (modern Gandava). On his death, a year later, Muhammad ibn-Hárún was appointed governor of Makràn during the Caliphate of Walíd.[1]

About this time[2] the king of Ceylon[3] sent to Al-Hajjáj some women who were born in his country as Muslims, their fathers, who were merchants, having died. He wanted to court favour with Al-Hajjáj by sending them back.[4] But the ship in which they were sailing was captured by the pirates of Debal.[5] Al-Hajjáj thereupon wrote to Dáhar, King of Sind, to set the women free, but Dáhar pleaded inability, saying 'I have no control over the pirates who captured them.' Hajjáj regarded this as the *causus belli* against Sind and determined to make renewed effort on a large scale for conquering a country which had so long deified the arms of Islam. The Caliph was at first unwilling to sanction the risky expedition, but ultimately gave his consent at the importunities of Hajjáj. Hajjáj thereupon sent 'Ubaidalláh to raid Debal but he was defeated and killed.[6] Then a second expedition was sent by way of sea from Oman, under Budail (called Bazíl in Ch°). Budail got reinforcements from Muhammad ibn-Hárún and marched towards Debal. Dáhar, on hearing the news, sent a force under his son Jaisiṁha to protect

[1] Baládhuri (p. 215), Ch° (p. 69) gives 85 A.H. as the date for the conquest of Kandail (i.e. Kandábíl of Baládhuri).

[2] No definite date is given either by Baládhuri (p. 215) or in Ch° (p. 69). The latter, however, states, before relating this incident, that Muhammad Hárún was appointed governor about 86 A.H. and ruled for five years. This would place the event in or shortly after 91 A.H. (=709 A.D.). This is in full agreement with the general statement in Ch°, on the strength of which the chronological table of the kings has been drawn up above on p. 26. It will be seen that Ch° relates events up to 708 A.D. and then begins his accounts of the Muslim expedition which took place the following year. cf. f.n. 1 on page 37 below.

[3] Baládhuri says 'island of Rubies' (p. 215). Ch° says 'Sarandeb '(p. 69).

[4] Baládhuri (pp. 215–16). Ch° (p. 69) refers to presents, including pearls and jewels, both for Hajjáj and the Caliph. It also refers to a number of Muslim women 'who went to visit the Kaaba and the capital city of the Caliphs'. Baládhuri refers only to one ship but Ch° refers to a small fleet of boats. Both Baládhuri and Ch° refer to the miraculous legend that the captive women cried out 'O Hajjáj', and Hajjaj replied 'Here am I'.

[5] According to Ch° (p. 70) the robbers belonged to the tribe of Nagamroh. Baládhuri says they were 'Meds'.

[6] Baládhuri (p. 216). Ch° does not refer to this.

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Debal. A pitched battle ensued, which lasted the whole day. At the end the Muslim army was routed and Budail was killed.[1]

Al-Hajjáj then made elaborate preparations for the invasion of Sind, after obtaining necessary permission from the Caliph Walíd.[2] He appointed his nephew and son-in-law Muhammad ibn-Kásim as commander of the expedition and provided him with soldiers, arms and ammunitions on a most lavish scale. He asked for and obtained from the Caliph the services of 6,000 Syrian soldiers fully armed. Siege materials were sent by boats, and elaborate and detailed plans were made by Hajjáj himself to ensure the success of the campaign. Muhammad ibn-Kásim was instructed to put himself in constant communication with Hajjáj and never to take any important measures without his consent.[3]

Muhammad halted at Shiraz to collect his forces[4] and then advanced by slow stages to Makrán. After staying there for some days he advanced and conquered Kannazbur and Armail.[5] Then he

[1] Baládhuri (p. 216) is very brief, Ch° (p. 71) gives interesting details. Bazíl 'sailing by the sea of Ammán (i.e. Oman) arrived at the fortified town of Nerún. Being reinforced there by the large army sent from Makrán by its governor Muhammad ibn-Hárún, he marched towards Debal. Nerun is probably a mistake for some other port; for Nerun is further inland than Debal. Of course, it is just possible that Budail sailed up a mouth of the Indus other than that on which Debal was situated, and having thus reached Nerun, marched to Debal. But it is extremely unlikely, for no veteran soldier would sail up with his army to the interior leaving strong and important sea-ports unconquered in his rear.

[2] Ch° (pp. 71, 73) more than once refers to Hajjáj seeking permission of the Caliph in order to declare a religious war against Hind and Sind. The Caliph is said to have been at first unwilling to take this step, but was prevailed upon to agree to it on account of the importunity of Hajjáj and on his promising to repay double the amount spent for the war. Ch° quotes some letters passing between Hajjáj and the Caliph in this connection—but their genuineness is doubtful. But the unwillingness of the Caliph Abd-el-Malek to subject the Muslims to perils of a distant expedition are referred to by Arab writers (cf. Weil-Geschichte der Chalifen, vol. i, p. 504 f.n.)

[3] From this point the account in Ch° is very detailed. It quotes many letters passing between Hajjáj and Muhammad. The latter seems to have referred every matter to Hajjáj, who may almost be said to have directed the whole campaign from a distance. This is also corroborated by Baládhuri, (p. 218).

[4] According to Ch° (p. 77) Muhammad was joined at Shiraz by 6,000 horsemen, 6,000 camelmen, 3,000 loading camels and large number of coats of mail sent by Hajjáj.

72 A.H., the date given in Ch° for this event, is certainly a mistake, as the Caliphate of Al-Walíd extends from 86 to 96 A.H.; 72 is probably a mistake for 92, the date given in the Táríkhi Másumí.

[5] Baládhuri (p. 217). Ch° (p. 77) writes *Armanbelah* for Armail, both being apparently different forms of the same name, but makes no reference to Kannazbur.

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proceeded to Debal and made an entrenched camp. The siege materials reached him by way of sea and he made preparations for taking the fort. Catapults were taken out and fixed. There was a great Buddhist temple in the city with a high flag-staff over a dome. A curious story is told in Chach-náma in connection with this flag-staff. A Brāhmaṇa, we are told, came to Muhammad and said 'We have learnt from our science of the stars that the country of Sind will be conquered by the army of Islam. . . . But as long as that standard of the temple stands in its place, it is impossible for you to take the fort'. Then Muhammad asked his chief engineer to remove the standard by throwing stones from the Catapult, and the standard was broken in no time. Baládhuri relates this incident, but makes no mention of the prophecy of the Brāhmaṇa. The destruction of the standard demoralized the besieged and the town was taken by assault. No quarter was given, and for 3 days the inhabitants were ruthlessly slaughtered by the victorious foe.[1]

Muhammad then sent the battering-rams, etc. by boats and himself advanced to Nerun. Its Buddhist priests had already entered into a treasonable correspondence with Hajjáj and now openly received Muhammad and supplied him with provisions.[2] Muhammad then advanced to Siwistán (Sehwan) and conquered many cities without any serious opposition. The only resistance which he met with was from the city of Siwistán.[3] Here, too, the Buddhist party welcomed the Arabs and entered into a compact with them against their own governor. The Buddhist sections of other towns were actuated to do the same, partly on account of their aversion to slaughter and bloodshed, and partly due to their belief in the prophetic saying of the sacred

[1] The date 73 given in Ch° (p. 79) for the conquest of Debal, is evidently a mistake for 93. The Ch° quotes several letters passing between Dāhar and Muhammad but their genuineness may be doubted. Baládhuri says (p. 218) that after the capture of Debal, Muhammad marked out a quarter for the Muslims, built a mosque and settled 4,000 colonists there. For the identification of Debal, see Geographical Note A, Appendix.

[2] Cf. Ch°, pp. 72 and 89 ff. A Samani, probably a Buddhist, was the governor of Nerun (which is represented now by modern Haidarabad). He not only surrendered Nerun but actively helped Muhammad in the subsequent campaign. Baládhuri calls the place al-Birun (p. 219, but cf. Elliot, vol. i, p. 121 f.n.) and says that its inhabitants had sent two Buddhist monks to al-Hajjáj and had made a treaty with him.

[3] This is called Maoj, 30 leagues from Nerun (Ch°, p. 93) and also 'the fort of Siwistan' (p. 95). Baládhuri calls it Sahban (p. 219). Maoj was apparently a suburb of Siwistan, modern Sehwan.

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books about the conquest of India by Islamic force.[1] Muhammad pursued the ruler of Siwistán as far as Sisam, in Budhiah, and then returned to Nerun, and occupied the city.[2]

Some leading chiefs of the country now tendered homage to Muhammad and he took by assault the fortified town of Ishbhá.[3] Then he proceeded to the country of Raor and Jitor and reached the western bank of the Indus. He now entered into alliance with an important chief called Mokah son of Basáyeh who basely deserted Dáhar on receiving the district of Jortah and the whole province of Bet,[4] and promised to supply Muhammad with boats for crossing the Indus.

Muhammad then encamped on the bank of the Indus. But before he could cross the river news reached him that Chandram Hálah who some time ago had been the ruler of Siwistan, had caused a revolt, taken possession of the fort and driven away the Arab soldiers. Muhammad sent one of his lieutenants who reduced Siwistan and returned with 4,000 warlike Jats from the place.[5]

[1] Ch° (p. 105). Baládhuri (p. 219) cf. Chap. iv, f.n. 14.

[2] Ch° here reproduces some of the incidents which took place at the time of the first conquest of Nerun (cf. p. 91 and 104). It is possible, though not very likely, that the incidents might have been repeated.

[3] Ch° (p. 105) places it in the year 93 A.H.

[4] It is difficult to follow Ch° at this point. Muhammad writes to Hajjáj from Nerun (pp. 99–100): 'There is one of the tributary rulers under Dáhar, who is the owner of the fortified town of Bet, to the east of the Mehrán, on the bank of a rivulet in an island of the gulf of Khánbehat and is called Basámi Rásal. All the chief officers and noblemen of Rai Dáhar as well as most of the princes of Hind and Sind are under his influence. This prince has been advising and inducing everyone of these great men and nobles to submit to us. They have now great confidence in us and have sent us humble messages promising to be loyal to us.' Next we are told that when Muhammad proceeded from Ishbhá to Raor he was joined by Jásen, the ruler of Bet. Then suddenly we are introduced to Mokah, son of Basáyeh, a tributary chief and a relation of Dáhar, and Muhammad secured his alliance by cession of Jortah and Bet and granting other honours, and Mokah on his part promised to collect and supply boats to enable Muhammad to cross the Indus, (pp. 104–8).

It is difficult to explain what became of Basámi Rásal and Jásen, both described as rulers of Bet, and why Mokah assumed such an importance in the eyes of Muhammad.

[5] Ch° (pp. 116–7), Baládhuri seems to refer to this episode as the conquest of 'Sadusan' (p. 219). Apparently, he uses the two names 'Sahban' and 'Sadusan' to denote the same place 'Siwistan,' also called Sewan, without probably knowing it himself. Baládhuri is silent about the incidents that took place during the period between the conquest of Siwistan and the suppression of revolt in that place.

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Dáhar, with his army, also encamped on the opposite bank of the Indus[1] and his son Jaisiṁha joined him with a large number of men and instruments of war in boats by the small river of Kotak. Muhammad ibn-Kásim was also reinforced by 2,000 select horse sent by Hajjáj. But he halted on the bank of the river for nearly two months, whereupon Hajjáj reprimanded him and urged him to cross the river and fight with Dáhar. Muhammad, in obedience to Hajjáj's command, made preparations to cross the river. He came to the country of Sakrah, in the district of Jhim, posted a strong garrison at the island of Bet and crossed near it without much difficulty by means of a bridge of boats.[2]

Muhammad, having crossed to the eastern bank of the Indus, made himself master of the fort of Bet and then proceeded towards Raor. He soon arrived at Jitor and occupied the bank of a lake between Jitor and Raor.[3] Dáhar despatched his son Jaisiṁha to oppose Muhammad, but his army was routed and Jaisiṁha fled to Dáhar, who was encamped to the east of the lake.

[1] The identification of the place where the two armies were encamped on the opposite banks of the Indus, has been discussed in Appendix B.

[2] Muhammad crossed the river without any loss. According to Al-Baládhuri this was due to the help of a neighbouring king, Rasil, the king of Kassah (probably the same as Mokah) who allowed a bridge to be built near his territory. The Chach-náma, on the other hand, suggests that Dáhar deliberately allowed Muhammad to cross the river when the latter offered him the alternative of either crossing the river unopposed, or allowing Muhammad to do the same. An Arab chieftain in the service of Dáhar gave him good advice viz. to oppose the crossing of the Indus by the enemy and to harass them and intercept their supply of provisions by means of guerilla warfare. Dáhar was convinced of the soundness of this advice, but still gallantly offered the passage of the river to Muhammad, saying, 'lest it be imagined by him that we are in perplexity and have become very weak and powerless' (pp. 108-111). Such mediæval chivalry was completely out of place in fighting with a stubborn and determined enemy. But, all the same, Dáhar, according to Ch° (p. 125), sent the brother of Mokah whom he appointed the governor of Bet, to oppose Muhammad's passage. 'Muhammad, therefore, ordered all the boats to be linked together in a line along the western bank to the length corresponding to the breadth of the river at that place . . . . then moving the whole block of boats, keeping one end of it fixed at the crossing-point and turning the other, the head boat was made to touch the opposite point on the eastern bank.' The Arab soldiers now landed from the boats and made vigorous assaults. Dāhar's soldiers fled and were pushed up to the fort of Jhim (Ch° 125).

It may be noted here that according to Tárîkh Másumí, Muhammad crossed at Talla in order to go to Alor.

[3] Ch°—pp. 126 ff.

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The brother of Moka, whom Dáhar had appointed governor of Bet in place of the latter, now joined Muhammad. By the help and advice of the two renegade brothers, Muhammad crossed the lake that lay between his and Dáhar's army and encamped at Jitor on the stream of Doharah whence he could command both the front and rear of Dáhar's army and cut off its supply. Dáhar then went to the fort of Raor and having left his baggage and retinue, took up a position about a league from the Arab army.

Here a pitched battle took place between the two armies. The Chachnáma has described it in detail.[1] In spite of desertion and

[1] The details of the battle are taken from Ch°, pp. 133 ff. Baládhuri's account is very brief.

The date of the defeat and death of Dáhar at the hands of Muhammad ibn-Kásim is variously given. Chach-náma (p. 137) gives the date as 93 A.H. (= A.D. 712.). Tuhfat-ul-Kirám places the event on the 11th day of Ramzan (16th June A.D. 712) (Ch°, p. 137 f.n). Baládhuri does not mention any date, but Ṭabari gives the following chronology. 'In the year 90 Muhammad ibn-Kásim killed the king of Sind. In the year 94 he conquered India and in the year 95 he conquered further India with the exception of Kiráj and Alimandel (f. 188. Translated by Weil in Geschichteder Chalifen. p. 506 f.n. 1.) The interval of 4 years, between the death of Dáhar and the conquest of India by Muhammad ibn-Kásim is difficult to explain, and it may be suspected that 90 is a misreading for 93.

According to both Abul Fida and Abul Faraj, the conquest of India took place in 94, while ibn Kutaiba places it in 93 (Elliot, p. 436). I do not know on what authority A. Müller gives the date as 89 A.H. (Der Islam in Morgen Und Abendland, pp. 412–13).

On the whole it would, I think, be safer to take 93 A.H. (A.D. 712) as the date of the battle.

The piracy at Debal which was regarded as *causus belli* by Hajjáj must have taken place a few years before this. No definite date is given for this event in Chach-náma but there are some details which enable us to arrive at an approximate date. We are told (p. 69) that Muhammad Hárún was sent to Hindustan (apparently the border-land of Makrán) after 86 A.H. when Walíd became Caliph, and spent five years in fighting with Alafis and other enemies. As the incident about piracy is placed after this, it cannot be dated before 91 A.H. On the other hand, this date cannot be pushed any further, for between this date and the year 93, the date of the expedition of Muhammad ibn-Kásim, we have to place the negotiations between Hajjáj and Dáhar and two unsuccessful expeditions sent by Hajjáj, permission for which had to be secured, with difficulty and after some delay, from the unwilling Caliph.

According to Táríkh-Másumí, Muhammad ibn-i-Kásim started on his Indian expedition in 92 A.H. (Ch°, p. 75 f.n.). This would make the date 91 very doubtful, if not impossible. On the other hand, a statement by Abul Fida would induce us to push back this date very considerably. This passage, quoted by Weil (Geschichte der Chalifen, p. 504 f.n. 1) may be summed up as follows: 'Hajjáj, therefore, requested Abdul Malik to send an army to India but he declined to subject the Muslims to perils of a distant land. When Walíd succeeded, he granted the

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treachery, Dáhar fought with valour, and on the second day the Muslim army was nearly routed. 'Thus the infidels made a rush on the Arabs from all sides, and fought so steadily and bravely that the army of Islam became irresolute, and their lines were broken up in great confusion. It was generally believed that the Arabs were defeated and put to flight and men were struck dumb and overawed.'[1]

Muhammad rallied his men by evoking the name of the great and glorious God, and the renegade chiefs of Sind came to his aid. The battle was renewed. 'Dáhar drove his elephant upon the army of Islam. Muhammad ibn-Kásim then ordered his naphtha-flingers to shoot their naphtha, and one of these men threw a naphtha arrow at the litter of Dáhar on the elephant and the litter immediately caught fire.' The elephant thereupon madly plunged into water. Although Dáhar got back on shore, he became the target of Muslim archers, and an arrow struck him at his heart. He slowly dismounted from the elephant when an Arab swordsman cut off his head.

As usual, the death of the king was followed by a complete rout of the army, and the survivors took refuge in the fort of Raor. Jaisiṁha, the son of Dáhar, now retreated to the strong fort of Bahmanábád while the widowed queen was left to defend Raor. The queen put up a brave resistance, and when conditions became hopeless, burnt herself along with other ladies to escape the infamy of falling into the hands of the Muslims. Raor fell into the hands of Muhammad ibn-Kásim.

Muhammad now marched towards Bahmanábád. On the way he had to spend nearly four months for capturing two fortified towns called Bahror and Dahlelah. Jaisiṁha also made elaborate preparations, but he suffered a serious loss by the desertion of the old Wazir to Muhammad. Jaisiṁha strongly fortified Alor, the capital, and Bahmanábád, and himself moved with an army to harass the enemy and cut off its supplies. Muhammad ibn-Kásim besieged Bahmanábád. 'Every day the besieged came out and offered battle and fierce fight continued from morning till evening.' In this way they fought for six months. When Muhammad ibn-Kásim despaired of taking the fort his mind became full of anxiety. But here again treachery played its

request of Hajjáj.' According to this, the piracy must have taken place sometime before 86 A.H. the date of the death of Abdul Malik. This would place the piracy 6 or 7 years before the expedition of Muhammad ibn-Kásim—a very reasonble period to account for all that happened during the interval.

[1] Ch°, p. 142.

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part and some leading citizens entered into a secret covenant with Muhammad and betrayed the fort.[1] Muhammad subdued several other places and then proceeded to the capital city Alor, which was in charge of Fofi, son of Dáhar. After some fighting, the residents of the city wanted to make peace with Muhammad, whereupon Fofi withdrew from the city and joined his brothers Jaisiṁha and Wakiah at a place called Nazwalah Sandal in Jitor. Alor submitted to the conqueror.[2]

After conquering the strongholds of Bábiah, Gholkonda and Sakkah, Muhammad proceeded to Multan. Here a brave resistance was offered by Kundrai and Bachchra. Fighting continued for two months and Muhammad was unable to make a breach in the walls. Here, again, treachery played its part. A traitor pointed out to Muhammad the source of water-supply for the town. Muhammad cut it off and the besieged were obliged to surrender.[3]

The conquest of Multan was the last great achievement of Muhammad, although he followed it up by other minor conquests. He conquered al-Kíraj, subdued al-Bailamán and made peace with the people of Surast. The death of Hajjáj in 714 A.D. and that of Caliph Walíd, the year following, brought in evil days for him. The next Caliph Sulaimán was a great enemy of Hajjáj and wreaked his vengeance on the members of his family. Muhammad ibn-Kásim was recalled to Irák where, with certain other adherents of Hajjáj, he was put to torture and died.[4]

[1] Ch°, pp. 156–171. Baládhuri, p. 221.
The date of the capture of Bahmanábád is given as 93 in the Text of Ch°—but is evidently a mistake for 94 (p. 159 f.n.).

[2] Ch°, pp. 175–181. Baládhuri (p. 221) names Baghrur, Sawandrai and Basmad as having been conquered by Muhammad between Bahmanábád and Alor. Ch° names Musthal, Bharowar, the lands of the Sammahs, Luhanahs and Sahtahs. Alor fell in 94 A.H. This is implied in Ch° and expressly stated in Tuhfatu-l Kirám (Ch°, p. 177 f.n.)

[3] Baládhuri (p. 222) only refers to the conquest of Sikkah and Multan. Ch° (pp. 187–192) gives fuller details. Cunningham has argued against the probability that Multan could have been forced to surrender from want of water (Anc. Geo., p. 275).

[4] Muir—*The Caliphate* (New Edition), p. 354. According to Baládhuri Muhammad returned from Multan to Alor on hearing of Hajjáj's death, and then conquered Al-Kíraj. He also sent force against Al-Bailamán, which submitted, and made peace with the Mids of Surast. (For identification, cf. App. B).
As soon as Sulaimán became Caliph, he sent Yazid to Sind. Yazid put Muhammad in chains and tortured him to death. According to Ch°, Muhammad did not return from his expedition to the north.

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According to Chach-náma Muhammad had proceeded from Multan to the frontiers of Kashmir, and at the same time sent an expedition against Kanauj. But before any material success was obtained, the fatal order of the Caliph condemning Muhammad to a barbarous death stopped all further proceedings.[1]

The Indian kings did not fail to take advantage of this internal commotion among the Muslims, and re-occupied their kingdoms. Dáhar's son Jaisiṁha re-occupied Bahmanábád. The Caliph sent Habib to subdue Sind. He conquered Alor and made some minor conquests.[2]

The next Caliph Umar II (A.D. 717-720), himself a man of austere religious devotion, wrote to the kings of Sind, inviting them to become Muslims and be subject to him, agreeing to let them continue on their thrones and have the same privileges and obligations as the Muslims. Many kings, including Jaisiṁha, son of Dáhar, accepted Islam and adopted Arab names. Thus the province of Sind became independent again, and Kandábíl or Gandava is referred to as 'on the remotest frontiers of the Arab Empire'.[3]

During the Caliphate of Hishám (A.D. 724-743) Junaid was appointed the governor of Sind. A quarrel soon broke out between him and Jaisiṁha, the son of Dáhar. Jaisiṁha apostatized and declared war against Junaid, but was defeated in a naval engagement in the lake of Sarki and taken prisoner.[4]

Junaid then conquered al-Kíraj and sent expeditions to the interior of the country. He sent lieutenants against Marmad or Mirmad, al-Mandal, Dahnaj and Barwas. He also sent an army to Uzain and

[1] Ch° relates the story how two virgin daughters of Dáhar, who were sent as prisoners to Caliph Walíd, brought about the death of Muhammad ibn-Kásim by falsely accusing him of having outraged them before sending them to the Caliph. The story seems to be palpably absurd. The Caliph who ordered the death of Muhammad was not Walíd but his successor Sulaimán, and his barbarous treatment of Muhammad and other partisans of Hajjáj can be easily explained by the strained relation between the two.

[2] As the accounts in Ch° do not proceed beyond the death of Muhammad ibn-Kásim, our sole authority for the account that follows, unless otherwise stated, is Baládhuri (pp. 225 ff.). The name of Dáhar's son is written as Hullishah, but cf. Baládhuri, vol. ii. p. 225 f.n. 1 and Elliot, vol. i. p. 124 f.n. 2.

[3] Elliot, vol. i. p. 440.

[4] The original expression is *Baṭíḥatu'sh-Sharqíy*. Haig takes it to mean '*the eastern inland sea*' that is, the sea that once permanently covered and that still periodically covers the Ran of Kachchh ('Indus Delta country,' p. 65).

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the land of Al-Malibah. They waged a war with Uzain, raided Bahrimad and set fire to its suburbs. Al-Junaid himself conquered al-Bailamàn and al-Jurz.[1]

Among the places named, Marmad may be safely identified with Maru-Māra corresponding to Jaisalmer and part of Jodhpur. Barwas is undoubtedly Broach, and Al-Mandal probably denotes Mandor. Jurz was the Arabic corruption of Gurjara and Al-Bailamán probably refers to the circle of states referred to in Ghaṭiyálá inscription of Kakkuka as Vallamaṇḍala. Uzain and Maliba no doubt refer to Ujjain and Málava, i.e., the eastern and western Malwa.

The Nausari plates of the Gujarat Chálukya Pulakeśirāja, dated A. D. 738, refer to Arab expeditions in course of which they defeated the kings of the Saindhavas, the Kachchhellas, Saurāshṭra, the Chāvoṭakas, the Mauryas and the Gurjaras. There can be hardly any doubt that these expeditions refer to those undertaken by Junaid or his lieutenants. We learn from Nausari plates that Pulakeśirāja defeated the Arabs, while the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja tells us that the Pratīhāra king Nāgabhaṭa defeated the powerful forces of a *Mlechchha* king. As the dates of both these events fall within a decade of A. D. 724 it confirms and explains the statement of Al-Baládhuri that 'in the days of Tamīm (the successor of Junaid) the Muslims withdrew from the land of Al-Hind, and abandoned their headquarters and they have not returned so far as that since'.[2] Unfortunately the fragmentary nature of Indian evidence does not supply us detailed information of the course of events which compelled the Muslim forces, after the first flush of their success, to take shelter behind the Indus Whether the result was due to the combined efforts of Indian chiefs including the Pratīhāra king Nāgabhaṭa, and the Chàlukya king Pulakeśirāja, or to isolated victories obtained by them, we do not know; but there is no doubt that henceforth the Muslim suzerainty stopped short at the right bank of the Indus. This is confirmed by the following statement of Al-Baládhuri.

[1] These conquests of Junaid have been partly discussed in my monograph on the Gurjara-Pratīhâras (*Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, vol. x. pp. 20 ff.) The two paragraphs that follow are merely summaries of that discussion. For further discussion on the identity of the kingdoms named *cf.* App. B.

[2] Baládhuri, (p. 228).

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'Afterwards, while al-Hakam ibn-'Awánah al-Kalbi was ruler, the people of Al-Hind apostatized with the exception of the inhabitants of Kassah. A place of refuge to which the Muslims might flee was not to be found, so he built on the further side of the lake (al-Buhairah), where it borders on Al-Hind, a city which he named al-Mahfùṭhah, establishing it as a place of refuge for them where they would be secure, and making it a capital. [1]

Later on, continues al-Baládhuri, al-Hakam 'built on this side of the lake a city which he called al-Manṣúrah. It is where the governors reside to-day'. [2]

Al-Hakam fought and scored some successes, but was killed. Afterwards, the governors 'kept fighting the enemy and seizing whatever came into their hands, and subduing places in the neighbourhood whose inhabitants rebelled'. [3]

Thus the period of confusion in the Islamic state during the last years of the Umayyids also witnessed the decline of Islamic power in India.

With the establishment of the Abbássids, a fresh effort was made to extend the power of Islam. Al-Manṣúr (A. D. 754–775) appointed Ḥishám ibn-'Amr-at-Taghlibi, governor of Sind. 'He conquered Kashmir, obtaining many prisoners and slaves. He conquered al-Multan and cleared out a faction of Arabs which was in Kandábíl. He went to al-Kunduhár with the fleet, and conquered it, throwing down the Budd (i.e. a temple) and building a mosque in its place. [4]

It is difficult to imagine that Kashmir, then at the height of its power, was conquered in any sense of the term. At the utmost it can only mean some successful frontier raids. On the other hand it has been inferred by Levi and Chavannes from some statements in the *Rājataraṅginī* that Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa (C. A. D. 733–769) thrice defeated

[1] Baládhuri, (pp. 228–229). [2] *Ibid*, p. 229. [3] *Ibid*, p. 229.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 231. Al-Kunduhár is Kandahar (Le Strange, p. 347). For other identifications cf. Elliot vol. i, p. 445. But it is difficult to understand how Kandahar could be approached by a fleet. The Abbassid governors had to fight with Arab factions, evidently partisans of the Umayyids, both in Kandábíl and on he bank of the Indus, for Baládhuri tells us (p. 230) that Músa routed the army of Manṣúr ibn-Jamhúr al-Kalbi, somewhere near the Indus, and the latter fled towards the desert and perished of thirst. As to Kandahar, the place was evidently taken from the Indians, first, because no Arab faction is referred to, and secondly, because the destruction of a Hindu temple and building of a new mosque in its place, are signs of a new conquest.

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a ruling chief of the Arabs. The fact that we do not hear of any further Arab invasion of Kashmir seems to confirm the view that Lalitāditya effectively checked the aggression of the Arabs in that quarter. [1]

The reconquest of Multan shows that the Arabs had lost the whole of northern Sind during the period of confusion.

In the next Caliphate, that of al-Mahdí, a naval expedition was sent against India under Ar-Rabí ibn-Ṣubh al-Fakíh, but it was a failure. Ar-Rabí died and was buried in one of the islands in the year 160. [2] During the Caliphate of Hárun-al-Rashid, his governor of Sind is said to have conquered a few places in western Sind.

The Abbassids do not seem to have gained much success in their Indian expeditions, nor were they able to consolidate the Muslim conquests in Sind. Imrán ibn-Músa, the governor under Caliph Mutasim-billáh (A. D. 833–842), 'made an expedition against the Kikánites, who are Zutt, fighting and defeating them, and building a city which he called al-Baiḍá', where he established his army'. This shows that the hardy Jáṭhs of Kíkánán, who defied the Muslim arms as early as the year 42 A. H. (A. D. 662), were far from being subdued yet. Further, we hear of frequent conflicts with Jáṭhs and Meds in the neighbourhood of Alor, the capital of Sind. Sometimes the Muslim army met with serious disaster. Thus they captured a place called Sindan during the Caliphate of al-Ma'mun, and sent later on, from this base, a naval expedition with 70 ships of war. The fleet conquered Fáli and returned to Sindan. The Hindus of Sindan, however, rose against its ruler and killed and crucified him. They became masters of the city but 'left its mosque for the Muslims to assemble in and pray for the Caliph'. [3]

With the decline of the Abbassid power, the Muslim governor of Sind became virtually independent. In 257 A. H. (A. D. 871) the

[1] *Rājatarangiṇī*—Ch. IV. v 167. Levi and Chavannes infer from this verse that Lalitāditya thrice defeated the Arab chief, the word *Mummuni* in this verse being taken by them as equivalent to 'Amir-al-Mumenim' the title of the Caliph (*Journal Asiatique* 1895, Part II p. 350 f.n. 1). Stein, however, does not accept this view (*cf.* his remarks on his English translation of this verse).

[2] Balâdhuri, p. 96.

[3] Balâdhuri, pp. 231–233

The identity of Sindan is doubtful. According to Raṣhid Uddin it was between Broach and Supara, and nearer to the latter (Elliot Vol. I, p. 66; cf. also *Ibid*, p. 402).

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Caliph practically handed over the province to the famous Suffarid leader Ya'kub ibn-Lais. Upon the latter's death, the Muslim territories in Sind were divided between two independent chiefs, those of Manṣúra (near Bahmanábád) and Multan. None of these ever attained to great power, and both had to live in constant dread of their Indian neighbours.

CHAPTER VI

Retrospect

If we pass in review the main incidents narrated above in connection with the early Muslim raids on the western border-lands of India, we can have a better perspective view of the history of three centuries of Arab efforts for the conquest of India. The first thing that strikes us is the persistent effort of the Arabs to conquer India, and their wonderful organization, backed by superior knowledge and statesmanship. Since the days of the Second Caliph Umar, the conquest of Hind and Sind loomed large in the eyes of successive Caliphs and their eastern governors, and they set about their task with a method and determination so rarely to be met with among other nations of that age.

It is well-known that only four routes are open to a hostile army operating against India from the west. One way is by the sea, and the other three lie, roughly speaking, through Khyber Pass, Bolan Pass and the Makrán coast. It cannot be regarded as a mere coincidence that, from the very beginning, we find the Arabs endeavouring to penetrate into India through every one of these routes. The early naval raids against Thana, Broach and Debal, and subsequent raids in the same direction, mark their vain efforts to reach India by sea. Of the land-routes, the Khyber Pass was guarded by Kabul and Zabul while the Bolan Pass was guarded by the brave Jāṭhs of al-Kìkàn or Kìkànàn. The long-drawn struggles of the Arabs with these powers, which we have narrated above, mark their steady but fruitless endeavours to enter India through the two great passes. The hardy mountaineers of these regions, backed by the natural strength of their hilly country, offered a stubborn resistance to the conquerors of the world, and though often defeated, ever refused to yield. Unfortunately we have no independent evidence of the brave and heroic fights they

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put up for more than two hundred years, and our knowledge is entirely derived from the picture as painted by the hands of the victors. But even from the records of Muhammadan writers we can have some idea of the wonderful skill and energy which they displayed against enormous odds, and the crushing and humiliating defeats which they not unoften inflicted upon the army of Islam. If India had her history, the heroic deeds of these brave peoples, who defended her gates against Islam for two centuries, would probably have ere long received the recognition they so eminently deserve.

When all the three routes failed, the Muhammadans attempted the fourth one through Makrán coast. Makrán was then dependent on the ruler of Sind, and he must have undoubtedly opposed a resistance to the Muslims in that region. The Muhammadan historians have dimly preserved the reminiscence of this, though details are lacking.[1] Here, again, the early efforts of the Arabs did not prove very successful, but ultimately Muhammad ibn-Kásim forced his way through it to the heart of Sind.

We may pause for a moment to consider why the Arabs succeeded in this route, while they failed in the other three. In the absence of fuller knowledge of details, it is not possible to give a complete and satisfactory answer to this question, but several points seem to suggest themselves on a perusal of the scanty material that we possess.

In the first place, the equipment of the army of Muhammad ibn-Kásim was made on a lavish scale and forces were requisitioned even from distant Syria.[2] Hajjáj, the energetic governor, had staked his reputation upon this one expedition[3] and personally looked to the smallest details. His master-mind directed the whole operation from a distance ; and he found in Muhammad ibn-Kásim a faithful, honest, able and obedient lieutenant. The value of this factor can be easily judged when we contrast this expedition with that sent against, Zabulistan under ‘Abd-ar-Rahmán about 13 years before. That expedition too, was splendidly equipped, but the personal differences between Hajjáj and Abd-ar-Rahmán led to a veritable disaster.

[1] Cf. Ch. V, f.n. 2.
[2] For details of Kásim's army cf. Elliot, Vol. I, (p. 434 ff.)
[3] Cf. Ch. V, f.n. 18,

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But while the army of Islam had had all the advantages, the kingdom of Sind was labouring at this moment under some peculiar disadvantages which have been stated above.[1] While these had undermined the strength of the kingdom, the personality of the king and the treachery and superstitions of the people were no less important factors in bringing about the downfall of the state. King Dāhar was not lacking in courage or bravery, but his statesmanship and military skill were of a very inferior type. Muhammad ibn-Kásim had chosen the Makrán route and was obliged to send his heavy luggage, particularly the siege materials, by way of sea. It is impossible to explain why Dāhar did not make any efforts to engage the Muslim fleet before it reached Debal. The Muhammadans were not a strong sea-power, and the very fact that they dared send their heavy war-equipment by way of sea shows that they did not regard the naval strength of Dāhar as of much importance. Yet precisely it was here that Dāhar showed a lamentable lack of insight. He could not possibly be unaware of the constant and determined endeavours of the Muslim forces to invade his kingdom. He knew that the enemy could choose either the route through Bolan Pass or the Makrán coast and although an invasion by sea alone was not likely, the sea-power was an important factor for an army marching through Makrán. For, that army would have to depend upon a fleet for carrying its heavy siege materials, and even apart from that consideration, an enemy fleet cruising along the coast would make the position of the invading army sufficiently precarious. Thus the command over sea was essential for the success of an invading army marching through Makrán.

All these facts should have been obvious to the king of Sind, but although he evidently put forth great efforts to guard the Bolan Pass through Kíkán[2], he did not seem to have taken any precaution to guard against the invasion by Makrán. He seems to have hardly any navy. He confessed to Hajjáj that he could not control the pirates near the coast of Debal, and we do not hear of any opposition being given to the Muhammadan navy, either in the course of its journey by sea to Debal

[1] See Ch. IV, pp. 23 ff.

[2] As Kíkán was, at least nominally, included in the kingdom of Sind, it may be presumed that the king of Sind was aiding the people of Kíkán in their brave defence.

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or in the course of its sailing up the Indus to Nerun. The absence of a navy in a state which possesses an extensive sea-coast exposed to enemy raids is almost incredible. It can only be accounted for by the fact that for nearly 30 years, from 670 to 700 A.D., Dáhar was not in possession of the southern part of Sind and it came into his possession only about 10 years before the expedition of Muhammad ibn-Kásim. While Dáhar was busy fighting with the Muslims near his frontiers at Kíkánán, the rival king Daharsiah was probably making a friendly gesture to the Arabs against their common enemy. In any case the subsequent events show that the southern parts of Sind were favourably inclined to the Arabs. Both Nerun and Siwistan, the two main strongholds of Sind in the south, opened their gates to Muhammad ibn-Kásim without any resistance, and the details given in Chach-náma certainly indicate that an alliance already existed between the leading people of Nerun and the Muslim power.[1] In addition to rivalry between the kings Dáhar and Daharsiah, religious differences also helped to further the split between the north and the south. The latter was the stronghold of the Buddhists and, for reasons stated above, the Buddhists fraternized with the Muhammadans, instead of rallying to their king and defending their country.[2]

This unpatriotic character of the Buddhists is, no doubt, partly due to their aversion to war and bloodshed insisted upon by their religious creed, but it is also partly due to the international character which was associated with the religion from an early date. The spread of Buddhism outside the frontiers of India, gave it a catholic character and the ideal of universal religious fraternity transcended that of a nation or country. That is at least the most favourable interpretation we can give of their desertion and treachery.

But even if the absence of the navy may be explained, it is difficult to account for the way in which Dáhar allowed the Muslim army to cross unopposed the mighty river Sind. Chach-náma has preserved a story which ascribes it to the mediæval gallantry on the part of

[1] Chach-náma states (p. 72) that the Buddhist governor of Nerun sent his confidential agents to Hajjáj and entered into an agreement with him, even before Muhammad ibn-Kásim set out on his expedition.

[2] *Cf.* Ch. IV. f.n. 14; cf. also the speech attributed to the Buddhist priests of Siwistan in Ch°, p. 93.

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Dáhar but we can only describe it as an incredible folly.[1] According to Chach-náma, an Arab chieftain advised Dáhar to oppose the crossing of the river and to harass the enemy and intercept their supply of provisions by means of guerilla warfare.[2] Whether this be true or not, the course suggested was one which should have commended itself to any one possessing an ordinary degree of military skill. The position of Muhammad ibn-Kásim was a difficult one. With the mighty river in front and the hostile hilly country behind, he could have easily been harassed, in the way suggested, for any length of time. But Dáhar failed to take advantage of his strategic position. Compare this with the skill with which the kings of Kabul and Zabul fully utilized the natural advantages of their hilly country by luring the enemy into inextricable situations amid the hills, and we shall find adequate reason for the failure of one and the success of the other against the Muslims.

To the inexplicable want of strategy on the part of Dáhar, and the treachery of the Buddhists of the south, we must add the base betrayal of the chief officials and grandees of Sind to account for its ruler's ignominious end. All important chiefs and officials seem to have deserted his cause. This is partly accounted for by the superstitious idea prevailing among the people that according to the Hindu Śāstras (sacred books) the country was destined to fall into the hands of the Muhammadans, and it was therefore useless to fight.[3] But the attitude of the chiefs was perhaps also due to personal feelings against the son of the usurper who had driven out the old royal family.

All these causes, and perhaps others which we do not know, account for the fall of Sind. The conquest of Sind should not,

[1] Cf. Ch. V. f.n. 31.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] When Muhammad was besieging Debal, 'a Brahmin came forth from the garrison, and cried for mercy. He said 'We have learnt from our science of the stars that the country of Sind will be conquered by the army of Islam and the infidels will be put to flight' (Ch°, p. 81). Again, the chief of Budhiah told Muhammad ibn-Kásim; 'our astrologers and interpreters of dreams have found out by means of the astronomical science, and have openly given out, that this whole country will fall into the hands of the army of Islam' (Ch°, p. 97). Mokah, son of Basáyeh, deserted his master and joined Muhammad ibn-Kásim because 'the sages and philosophers of Hind, who are the original residents of this country, have found from their books of antiquity, by the use of their astrolabe and their astrology, that this empire will be conquered by an army of Islam' . . . (Ch°, p. 107).

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therefore, be regarded as indicating in a general way the superiority of the Muslims over the Indians, from a military point of view. This is further borne out by the fact that the conquest of Sind was the first and the last great achievement of the Arabs in India. Junaid, no doubt, was triumphant for a time over the petty states in the neighbourhood of Sind, but as soon as he came into conflict with the powerful states like those of the Pratihāras and the Chālukyas, the spell of his success was broken. Even the greater part of Sind was lost in a short time. Ultimately, after three centuries of unremittent efforts, we find the Arab dominion confined to the two petty states of Mansura and Multan.

The Arab penetration into India and Europe presents some striking parallels. The Arabs got a footing in a corner of Europe through the conquest of Spain, almost about the same time that they obtained a similar hold on India by the conquest of Sind, treachery playing no small part in either case. In both cases they started from the base, thus secured, to make further conquests and enter into the very hearts of Europe and India. For a time they seemed to carry everything. But Charles Martel saved Europe by the famous victory at Poitiers, and about the same time the Arabs received a similar check in India, in the hands of Nāgabhaṭa and Pulakeśi. But neither history nor tradition has preserved the name and fame of these Charles Martels of India. Only the study of archæology in recent times has rescued from oblivion the names of the two heroes to whom belongs the credit of saving India from the hands of the Arabs. The check in both cases proved effective. The Arabs occupied Spain, but had to give up the ambition of conquering Europe. In India the Arabs continued to occupy the valley of the Indus, but their attempts to penetrate further inland proved abortive. Even on the Indus their position was a precarious one and the hardy trans-Indus tribes like the Jáṭhs of Kíkánán were far from being thoroughly subdued.

The decline of the Arab supremacy in India, after the short but brilliant successes of Muhammad ibn-Kásim and Junaid must be attributed to two main causes, viz., the internal condition of the Muslim empire in the last days of the Umayyids, and the alertness and strength of Indian States. The conquest of Sind made the Indians realize the gravity of their danger, and fortunately there were powerful kings who had enough military strength to inflict crushing defeats upon the

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foreigners. Reference has been made to the Pratihāra king Nāgabhaṭa, Chālukya king Pulakeśirāja and the king of Kaśhmir, Lalitáditya, who all defeated the Muslims. The extent to which the Indians realized the nature of this danger appears from the fact that sometime between A.D. 713 and 741 a king of Central India, (most probably king Yaśovarman of Kanauj, which, as we have seen above, was threatened by Muhammad ibn-Kásim), sent an ambassador to the Chinese emperor with a view to make a common cause against the growing menace of Islamic power.[1]

The Arabs scored their early successes against one great border kingdom when the mainland had hardly realized the importance of the rise of the new power. But in the second quarter of the eighth century A. D. the latter became alive to the danger and proved fully equal to meet them. Even the establishment of the strong Abbassid power could not materially alter the situation. For about the same time arose two great powers, the Pālas and the Pratīhāras which were able to defend their country against the aggressive Islamic power. King Dharmapāla is said in Khálimpur plates to have compelled the Yavana king to acknowledge his suzerainty,[2] and the term *Yavana* can, at this period, refer only to some Muslim power. The Pratīhāra king Nāgabhaṭa II, who flourished early in the ninth century A.D. and was a contemporary of the great Caliphs, Hárun Ar-Rashid and Al-Mámún, is described in the Gwalior inscription as having defeated the kings of Sind and captured the strongholds of the Turushkas.[3] Here, again,

[1] Muhammad ibn-Kásim sent a message to Rai Harchandar Jahshal, king of Kanauj, asking him to submit (Ch°, p. 192).

Jahsal may be Arabic corruption of Yaso (varman) who, we know, was ruling in Kanauj at the time. For the embassy to China cf. Sylvain Levi—Le Nepal—Vol. II, pp. 174–175.

[2] *Ep. Indica*, Vol. IV, pp. 243 ff. Dharmapála, according to verse 12 held at Kananj an assembly of his vassal chiefs, viz. kings of Bhoja, Matsya Madra Kuru, Yadu, *Yavana*, Avanti, Gandhara and Kira. As he conquered the states in western and Central Punjab (Gandhara and Madra) and also Malwa and probably Kathiawar Peninsula (Avanti, Yadu) he might have approached the *Yavana* (Muslim) territory either from the north or from the west.

[3] *Ep. Indica*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 99 ff. In verse 8 we are told that the king of Sindhu submitted to Nāgabhaṭa. Again in verse 11 Nāgabhaṭa is said to have forcibly seized the hill-forts of the Turushka king. The reference in both cases, and at least in the latter, seems to be to the Muslim ruler of Sind. The reference to Turushka may be explained by the fact that sometime the governors of Sind came from Tukharistan (cf. Baládhuri, p. 230).

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the reference is undoubtedly to the Muslim power in Sind. This evidence from Indian side is fully corroborated by the significant fact that Muslim chroniclers do not record any successful Indian campaign since the days of Junaid. [1]

We have got a picture of the Muslim power in India about the middle of the tenth century A.D. from the pen of Al-Mas'ùdì.[2] At that time the Islamic power was confined to the two principalities of Multan and Mansúra. The latter extended, roughly speaking, from the sea to Alor where the former commenced. None of these seems to have been a very powerful state. As regards Multan we are told that one army of the Pratīhāra emperor of Kanauj was engaged in fighting with its Muslim ruler. The latter, however, found his security, not so much in his own military strength as in the religious superstitions of the Hindus, for Multan possessed the famous idol which was venerated all over India. 'When the unbelievers' says Al-Mas'údí, 'march against Multan, and the faithful do not feel themselves strong enough to oppose them, they threaten to break their idol, and their enemies immediately withdraw'. Similar statement is made by Iṣṭákhrí who adds that otherwise the Indians would have destroyed Multan.[3]

The position of the kingdom of Mansúra, according to Mas'údí, was equally unsafe. 'It was constantly at war with a nation called the Meds, who are a race of Sind, and also with other races on the frontiers of Sind.'[4]

Besides the two principalities of Mansúra and Multan in the Indus valley there were other Muslim principalities in the west beyond the Indus, such as Turan and Kushdar, corresponding to old Kíkánán, Makrán, and Mushki on the border of Kirmán. Thus even after efforts of 300 years the Arabs were unable to get much beyond the western trans-Indus frontiers of India. When we remember their wonderful

[1] The Dholpur Inscription (Z.D.M.G., Vol. xl, pp. 39 ff.), dated 898 V. S. (= A.D. 842) states that powerful Mlechchha rulers on the river Chambal made obeisance to (*Praṇatā Sevāṁ Kurvvanti*) the Chāhamāna king 'Chaṇḍa Mahāsena. If the 'Mlechchha' denote the Muslim, we have another interesting evidence of the breakdown of the Muslim power in the first half of the ninth century A.D. in consequence of the rise of powerful Hindu ruling dynasties.

[2] Elliot, Vol. I, pp. 23-24.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 28.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 24.

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military success in other parts of Asia and Africa, the comparatively insignificant results they achieved in India certainly stand out as a marked contrast. The cause of this, however, does not lie in the religious and social peculiarities of India as old historians like Elphinstone vainly attempted to establish. The cause lies undoubtedly in the superior military strength and state-organization of the Indians as compared with most other nations of the time. However incredible this might appear in the light of subsequent events, this is the plain verdict of history.

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APPENDIX

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE

A. The Territorial Division of the Kingdom of Sind

The extent of the kingdom of Sind in the reign of king Sahiras, son of King Sáhasi Rai, is described in Chach-náma, Táríkh-i-M'asúmi and Tuhfat-ul-Kirám (Ch° p. 11 f.n.). From these it would appear that the kingdom at that time included the modern province of that name together with a large portion of the Punjab and Baluchistan. The Táríkh-i-M'asúmi and the Tuhfat-ul-Kirám, no doubt, bring its southern limit up to the port of Surat, but there is no authority for it in Chach-náma and it does not seem likely.

The kingdoms of Kashmir and Kanauj formed its northern and north-eastern boundary; but these must have included a portion of northern and eastern Punjab. On the west and north-west the boundary must have been variable and can not be exactly defined. But it seems to have included, Makrán and the hills of Kíkánán, the region round Bolan Pass.

The central portion of this kingdom was under the direct sway of the king with his capital at Alor. The rest was divided into four provinces, with headquarters respectively at Bahmanábád, Siwistán, Iskandah and Multan. These governors were more like feudatory princes, and not unoften rebelled against the royal authority. They seem to have all rebelled against Chach when he usurped the throne, and he had to undertake a prolonged and tedious campaign against all the four provinces in order to establish his authority over them. From details of this campaign as given in Chach-náma, we get a fairly accurate idea of the nature and extent of the kingdom of Sind, shortly before the invasion of the Arabs.

We proceed to discuss the four provinces mentioned above, separately, beginning from the north.

I. The division of Iskandah with 'Bábiah, Sawárah, Jajhór and Dhanód as its chief places'. (p. 12).

As this division was subdued by Chach before he proceeded to Multan, it must be located between Alor and that place.

Bábiah was the first stronghold in this division which was conquered by Chach (p. 26). Bábiah is also written as Páya, Báhiya, Páhiya etc., in different manuscripts. [Cunningham has suggested its identification with Bhatia (*Anc. Geogr.* (p. 294) and this is very plausible in view of the fact that apparently the same place is elsewhere named Batia in Ch° (p. 156). But Raverty denies this and takes Bhatia in the sense of the city of the Bhatti tribe (*J. A. S. B.* 1892, p. 247, f.n.). According to Alberuni, Bhati was midway between Aror and Multan]. Ch° places Bábiah on the southern bank of the river Bias which then flowed as a separate river to the south and east of Multan (Cunningham, p. 271). It may be safely identified with 'Pabiyah-Puberwalla' on the maps about 29 miles to the eastward of Uchch (Raverty *J. A. S. B.* 1892, pp. 388–9).

From Bábiah Chach proceeded to Iskandah, the chief city (p. 27). This name is also written as Askalanda (Elliot I, p. 138) and various other ways. Cunningham identified it with Uchch, which was also supposed to be the site of Alexandira

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(pp. 277 ff). But Raverty has shown good grounds for rejecting this (*J. A. S. B.*, 1892, pp. 251–2, f.n.).

Among the other places Sawârah may be identified with Seorai, the strong fort, which was captured by Husen Shah Arghun on his way from Bhakar to Multan. Cunningham identifies it with the village of Sirwahi, 96 miles below Uchch and 85 miles above Alor (*Anc. Geo.*, p. 292).

Jajhôr and Dhanôd cannot be identified at present.

II. The Multan division which comes next was a fairly extensive one. Chach first captured the fort of Sikkah, opposite Multan, towards the east, and then Multan itself fell into his hands. Sikkah, according to Cunningham, 'must have been somewhat near the present Mâri Sital which is on the bank of the old bed of the Ravi, 2½ miles to the east of Multan' (*Anc. Geog.*, pp. 273–4). Chach then proceeded forward. 'The governors of Brahmapur, Karur and Ashahar paid their homage to him and from these places he came to the borders of Kih (Kumba) and Kashmir'. He gradually reached the fort of Shakalhar higher up the town of Kih, which is said to be the boundary of Kashmir.

Of these places, Karur is a well-known city situated on the southern bank of the old Bias river, 50 miles to the south-east of Multan, and 20 miles to the north-east of Bahawalpur (Cun. *Anc. Geog.*, p. 277).

The town of Shakalahar I would identify with the famous ancient town of Sâkala, represented by modern Sialkot. Ch° says that it was the boundary of Kashmir. According to Hiuen Tsang, Sâkala was the capital of Cheh-Ka, which lay immediately to the south of the dominions of Kashmir. It is further to be noted that Hiuen Tsang does not refer to any kings of Cheh-Ka and the neighbouring states in the eastern Punjab though he has referred to the political status of the countries which he describes immediately before and after them. Hiuen Tsang visited these countries during the reign of Chach and the statement of Ch° therefore finds an indirect support in his account.

The town of Ashahar may be identified with Asarur in the Gujran-wala district, the extensive ruins of which are described by Cunningham (*Anc. Geo.*, p. 219).

Brahmapura may be identified with Brahmapura (modern Brahmaur), the ancient capital of Chamba. It is situated on the river Budhil, the southern affluent of the Ravi (*Ann. Report Arch. Survey*) 1902–3, pp. 266, 269). It may be noted in passing that as Brahmapura ceased to be the capital when Ch° was written, a reference to it is an evidence of the genuineness of the account.

It would thus appear that the Multan division included nearly the whole of Eastern and Southern Punjab, and the dominions of Chach in this direction touched the frontiers of Kashmir. It is said in Ch° that Chach planted trees on the boundary of Kashmir upon the banks of a stream called the Panj Mahiyat (or Panj Nahiyat) which is close to the hills of Kashmir (pp. 30, 192).

III. The third division had its headquarters at Siwistan. Its principal places were Ludhia (or Budhiah or Budhpur) and Chingân (or Jankan) and it included the hills of Rojhân up to the boundary of Makrân (p. 11). [Haig writes Jangal in place of Chingân and identifies it with Jhangar, 13 miles west of Sewan (*Indus Delta country*, p. 57 f.n. 79)].

This division corresponded roughly to modern Baluchistan. When Chach proceeded to restore his authority over it he crossed the Indus and advanced towards Budhiah. Its ruler is said to have had his capital at Kâkâráj which is called by the natives Siwis (Ch°, pp. 30 ff.). For a proper understanding of the geography of this region, we may quote the following from Le Strange :—

'On the north-eastern frontiers of Makrân and close to the Indian border, the Arab geographers describe two districts; namely Ṭûrân, of which the capital was

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Kuṣdár and Budaha to the north of this, of which the capital was Kandábíl (p. 331).

'To the north of these districts was Bális or Wálishtán with the towns of Síbí and Mastanj (p. 332). The capital city according to Iṣṭakhrí was Síbí, spelt Síví or Siwah (p. 347).'

'Kandábíl has been identified wtih present Gandava lying south of Síbí and east of Kelat (p. 332)'.

Budhiah of Ch° is no doubt the same as Budaha, and this principality seems to have included the district of Bális or Wálishtán. The capital Kákárája or Siwis is no doubt the same as modern Síbí, north of Kandábíl (Gandava).

From Síbí. Chach marched to Siwistan, the headquarter of the division. Siwistan can be easily identified with Sehwan, situated on a lofty isolated rock, near a large lake in the vicinity of the Lakki Hills (Cun. *Anc. Geo.*, p. 304)

As has been said above, this division reached up to Makrán and Chach proceeded in course of his campaign to its furthest limit.

First he proceeded towards Armanbel. This is the same as Armabíl. To quote again from Le Strange:—

'Armabíl and Kanbalí were two important towns, on or near the coast, about half-way between Tiz (a sea-port, and capital of Makrán) and Daybul (Daibal) at the Indus mouth. Iṣṭakhrí describes these as cities of considerable size, lying two days' march apart, and one of them was situated half a league distant from the sea. Their people were rich traders who had dealings chiefly with India' (p. 330). 'The ruins of Armabíl are probably at Lus Bela and those of Kanbalí at Khayrakot' (p. 330 f. n.).

From Armanbel, Chach proceeded to the district of Makrán (p. 38). When he went beyond the steep declivity and the hills of Makrán. he found himself in the division of Bakr. There was an ancient fort in that town called Kanbar (or Kang, or Kanarpur or Kinarpur). Kanbar may be identified with Kannazbur in Makrán which is frequently written as Kannajbur (Le Strange, p. 329, f.n. 2).

From this Chach proceeded towards Kirmán and encamped on a small stream running between Kirmán and Makrán. Certain date trees on that stream were fixed as the boundary between Kirmán and his own dominions. It is difficult to fix this line. In the mediæval period the boundary line between Kirmán and Makrán ran to the east of Banpur near Fahraz, and Chach's dominions may be said to extend to its neighbourhood.

'From there Chach returned to Armanbel, and passing through the district of Túrán, he came into the desert and no one dared to fight with him till he arrived at Kandáíl (or Kandhábel), otherwise called Kandhár.' (p. 39). The identification of these places has been discussed above on the authority of Le Strange.

IV. The Fourth Division, with Bráhmanábád as its headquarters, included the southern part of the kingdom up to the sea-coast. The famous city of Bráhmanábád was 'situated in the hitherto deserted plains which stretch away to the east of the Indus, eight miles south-east of the railway station of Shahdadpur, and forty-three miles north-east of Haidarabad'. (Cousens—*Antiquities of Sind*, p. 48; for a detailed account of the topography of the locality, and the results of recent archæological excavations, *cf.* pp. 48–71). Bráhmanábád is now spelt as Bahmanábád on the strength of a legend that it was founded by a Persian king Bahman, but its truth may be doubted.

According to Ch° the governorship of Bráhmanábád included 'the fort of Nerun and Debal, Luhánah, Lákhah, Sammah and the river.' (p. 11). The identification of the first two is discussed in Appendix B. Luhánah, Lákhah and Sammah were three tribes, and apparently they gave their names to the districts in which they settled.

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V. The Central Division, directly under the king, with headquarter at the capital city of Alor, included Kurdán, Kíkánán and Barhamas. Alor, also spelt as Aror, Al Rur and in various other ways, is now represented by a small village of the same name about five miles south by east of Rohri (For topography, *cf*. Cousens—*Antiquities of Sind*, pp. 76-79). Kurdán and Barhamas cannot be identified.

But Kíkánán, which is referred to in Balâdhuri as al-Kíkán played an important part in history. Le Strange identifies it with modern Kelat (p. 332). There is no doubt that Ki-Kiang-na mentioned by Hiuen Tsang (Beal, vol. ii, p. 282) is to be identified with Kíkán, all being variants of the Sanskrit Kekkāna. Hiuen Tsang places this region to the west of Fa-la-na, about 350 miles south-east of Tsao-Kuta, the capital of which has been located at or near Ghazni. The position of Ki-Kiang-na would therefore very well correspond with a region 'in the vicinity of Pishin and Quetta' as Cunningham supposed, in spite of the criticism of Watters (vol. ii, p. 262). Kíkán may thus be located in the hilly region containing the Bolan Pass.

Balâdhuri says: 'al-Kíkán is part of the land of as-Sind where it borders on Khurásán.' As Le Strange has observed, Khurásán at that time included all the Muslim provinces east of the Great Desert, as far as Sijistán (p. 382). Kíkán would thus be located in the hilly region to the east of the Helmund and Kandahar rivers, and this agrees well with the identification proposed above, viz. the hilly region round the Bolan Pass.

B. The Expedition of Muhammad ibn-Kásim

Muhammad Kásim marched from Shiraz (p. 76) to Makrán. He then proceeded via Kannajbúr to Armanbel. The identification of these two places has been discussed above. It seems that he followed the route described in detail by Ibn Khurdádbih, which starting from Fahraj, in Kirmán, on the border of the great desert, led by 14 stages to Fannazbúr or Kannajbúr, the then capital of Makrán. (Le Strange, p. 332).

From Armanbel, Muhammad followed the road along the coast to Debal, where he expected to be joined by the force under Hazim and Mughaira, and the boats carrying the siege materials.

The identification of the famous sea-port of Debal is still a matter of dispute. Formerly it used to be identified with Ṭhaṭhah, but Raverty ably refuted this view by quoting several passages from old writers wherein Debal is distinguished from Ṭhaṭhah (*J. A. S. B.* 1892, p. 317 f.n. 315). Since then Mr. Cousens has reaffirmed the identification with slight modifications. 'There was', he says, 'Dewal proper, the city that the Arabs assaulted, and, later, as the state of the river necessitated, a port nearer the mouth, to serve the city . . . . . This port became known as Bandar Dewal (port of Dewal) as the Tuh fatu-l-Kirám calls it . . . . . Later writers, losing sight of the connection of Dewal with Ṭhaṭhah, thus came to speak of Dewal Bandar as Dewal only.' (Op. cit, p. 124). This view has been supported by Oldham (*Ind. Ant.*, 1931, p. 20).

Thus, according to Cousens, Debal, at the time of Muhammad ibn-Kásim, occupied the site of Ṭhaṭhah, but later on, as the mouth of the river advanced further south, the name was transferred to the port that served the city. This is undoubtedly a good hypothesis, but does not carry immediate conviction, and so the question must be regarded as open. Cunningham places Debal on the western bank of the Baghár river, below the junction of the southern branch of the Ghára, about 5 miles to the north of Lari Bandar (Cunn. *Anc. Geo.*, p. 342). According to Raverty, the town was about 15 miles from Ṭhaṭhah and stood near to the shrine

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of Pír Patho, or a little further to the south-west, at the foot of the Makkahlí hills and near the Bhágar branch of the Indus which was in those days a great stream (*J.A.S.B.* 1892, p. 322 f.n. V. Smith—*Early Hist. Ind.*, p. 104).

According to Haig, Debal is now represented by the ruins at Kakar Bukēra, 20 miles south-west of Ṭhaṭhah (*Indus Delta Country*, pp. 44. ff. where other views on the subject are discussed).

According to *Sind Gazetteer* (1919), the most probable site of the seaport of Debal seems to be Bhambor. The following account of the place is taken from the *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, B volume I (1919), p. 53.

'Bhambor is the local name of a mound of ruins on a low rocky elevation situated on the north bank of the Gharo creek 3½ miles westwards from the village of Gharo in the Taluka of Mirpur Sakro . . . The remains of a fort, with walls and bastions, are distinctly traceable, and from among the heaps of broken bricks, old coins have been frequently picked up after a fall of rain . . . As the Gharo creek is the most westerly channel of the Indus, it is probably the oldest . . . This also gives an air of probability to the hypothesis that Bhambor, and not Ṭhaṭhah, nor any of the other places that have been suggested was the great Hindu town known as Debal.' Raverty, of course, says that the identification of Bhambor with Debal is wholly out of the question (op. cit., p. 322) but I do not see any adequate reason for this sweeping assertion in his elaborate note. But the objections urged by Cousens (op. cit., p. 80) are most cogent. The writer in the Gazetteer himself admits that 'there is not room on the site for a town of any size and no direction in which it could have extended.' This seems to be a vital objection, for according to Ch° Debal must have been a town of considerable area.

From Debal, Muhammad proceeded to Nerun which is represented by modern Haidarabad. It was situated on a hill which is now called Ganja, 1½ miles long, and 700 yards broad with a height of 80 ft. (Cun. *Anc. Geo.*, pp. 320-22).

From Nerun, Muhammad advanced to the fort of Siwistan or Sehwan (cf. Haig, *Indus Delta country*, pp. 54-55), and its ruler fled to Sisam, on the bank of the Kanba, the residence of the ruler of Budhia. After Siwistan fell, Muhammad proceeded to Sisam. The place cannot be definitely located, but Haig thinks Sisam may be identified with Shah Hasan, a place at the western end of Manchchar lake (Haig, op. cit., p. 58). Kanba is apparently the Kumbh river (*J.A.S.B.* 1892, p. 470-Map ; but Haig takes it to be the Manchchaur lake, op. cit., p. 58).

Muhammad returned to Nerun. From this place he began his great campaign against the king of Sind. Proceeding along the western bank of the Indus, he passed through the countries known as Raor and Jitor and encamped on a site opposite Dáhar's army. We further learn that he crossed the river near Sakrah, opposite the fort of Bet, the ruler of which had already gone over to him, and that the passage was facilitated by posting strong garrison at the island of Bet.

After Muhammad had crossed over to the eastern side, only a lake stood between him and Dáhar's army. As soon as Muhammad crossed this lake, Dáhar went to the fort of Raor, and having left his baggage and retinue, took up position in front of the Arab army. There the great decisive battle was fought. The line of advance followed by Muhammad from the time he left Nerun till the decisive battle was fought, cannot be properly understood in the absence of definite identification of any of the places mentioned above. It is obvious that there was an island (Bet) in the river Indus opposite Sakrah where Muhammad crossed it, and that the fort of Raor could not be very far from the landing place of the Muhammadan army on the eastern side of the Indus. But views diverge very widely regarding the location of these places. Haig places Raor in Lower

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Sind 'about 80 miles from Brāhmanābad and 70 miles to the south-east of Haidarabad, on the far side of the delta from Debal' (op. cit., pp. 63-4). But this position, which would place Raor almost on the Ran or sea-shore is hardly acceptable in view of the physical condition of the country (cf. Cousens-*Antiquities of Sind*, p. 23 f.n. 1). Raverty places Raor within ten miles of Brāhmanābad. But his mistaken identity of Nerun, which he places about eighteen miles south of Haidarabad, deprives his identification of other places in the neighbourhood of much real value (cf. Raverty's long note on this subject in *J.A.S.B.* 1892, pp. 231-44 f.n. 183-189).

I am inclined to place Sakrah at or near modern Sukkur, and to identify the island of Bet with the rocky island of Bhakar or Bakhar, which is such an important landmark in the topography of that part of modern Sind. Raor would then be naturally identified with Rohri.

After I had arrived at this conclusion by a study of the details given in Ch°, I came across the following remarks of Cousens.

'In connection with Muhammad's movements, up and down the west bank, to find a suitable crossing, he is at one time, within the district of Jhim, and this name may possibly be perpetuated in Jhim Pīr, the name of the tomb upon the islet in the river opposite Rohri. Indeed, we might almost have identified the Bet of our story with the island of Bakhar, did we not know for certain that the river did not flow in that bed in those days, and Bakhar is also known as Bet'. (op. cit., p. 23 f.n. 2.)

The difficulties of identifying the old courses of the rivers in Sind with absolute precision are such that nobody is justified in making any dogmatic assertion as to whether a river did or did not pass by a place at any particular time. Raverty has discussed the problem in a long and masterly paper (The Mihrán of Sind and its tributaries, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1892, pp. 155-508). He has traced the courses of the two rivers Indus and Hakra at different periods, and his discussion includes not only the main beds of these rivers but also the various channels through which their water found its way to sea from time to time. But although Raverty's work is the most painstaking, nobody would possibly pretend that all or even most of his conclusions can be readily accepted. His wrong identification of Nerun, on which he greatly relied in fixing the courses of the rivers, certainly vitiates many of his arguments and conclusions.

According to Raverty, the river Sindhu was a tributary, along with the other rivers of the Punjab, of the Hakrah which having all united into one great river at the *Dosh-i-ab* formed the Mihrán of Sind. 'Lower down than this point of junction,' says he, 'it sent off a branch to the westwards which passed Aror, the ancient capital of Sind, on the east.' (p. 316).

But whether this view be true or not, according to Ch° the Muhammadan army coming from south and west had to cross the Mihrán before reaching Aror. Therefore the Mihrán of Ch° cannot mean the river which is in the view of Raverty, as that was to the east of Aror. Hence Raverty has postulated the existence of another river the Kumbh, which branched off from the Indus near Ghyarispur, and following a westerly course passed to the east of Sehwan. According to the sketch-map of Raverty, this river passed quite close to Rohri at the time of the Arab conquest (*See* Map facing, p. 470—Plate VI.). Whether this river was the Mihran, or mistaken as such by the author of Ch°, is immaterial for our present discussion. The fact remains, that the river which Muhammad ibn-Kásim had to cross in order to reach Aror, did pass quite close to Rohri. Raverty, of course, places this river at a little distance, about 10 miles from Rohri, but no data have been put forward to show that we have any reason to precisely fix it where Raverty has put it and not a few miles to the east of his line. On the whole

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therefore, while the ever-shifting course of the rivers of Sind, must make any identification at best a hypothetical one, there is nothing in the proposed identification of the island of Bet with Bhakar, and Raor with Rohri, which may be regarded as *prima facie* impossible. Haig, who studied the course of the rivers of Sind very thoroughly, believes that as early as Alexander's time a channel passed through Rohri-Bakhar gap, its bed becoming in later times, the channel of the main river.

The traditional legend which accounts for the shifting of the river from Alor to Rohri, may be based upon an actual change of the river-course, but it is obviously impossible to fix the time of the change by an attempt to find out the date of the legendary king Dilu Rai (Cousens, op. cit., pp. 148–149) or otherwise (Haig, op. cit., pp. 133–4).

It may be mentioned here that Cousens has placed the fort of Raor, 'some twenty to twenty-five miles to the west or west-by-south of Alor, just below Kingrí' (*Ibid*, p. 23, p. 24. f.n. 1).

Certain passages in Ch° indicate that the place where the Muslim army crossed the river was not very far from Alor. Thus while Muhammad ibn-Kásim was encamped on the other side of the Mihrán, ready to cross the river, Bhandwir Samani came to Dáhar and said: 'O King . . . you are amusing yourself with the games of chess and dice while the Arab army has already arrived and alighted by your capital' (Ch°, pp. 121–122).

This shows that the point where Muhammad crossed the river may be in the neighbourhood of Rohri or Kingri but cannot be placed very far to the south as proposed by Raverty and Haig.

This view is strengthened by the accounts of Mir M'asúm. According to this writer, Muhammad, after the fall of Sehwan, rejected the advice given him to attack Bahmanábád first, and instead, marched direct to Alor, and killed Dáhar in an engagement near the city. Mir M'asúm has here confused Raor with Aror, but as the two places were quite close and their names resemble each other, the mistake is easily explained. But Mir M'asúm definitely states that from Siwistan, Muhammad did not march towards Bahmanábád but towards Áror. This is also corroborated by the fact that after Bahmánábad fell, Muhammad marched towards Aror and Bagrur, although the last-named place was first mentioned with Raor. Raverty's attempt to explain it away is not convincing (op. cit., pp. 237, 241–44).

The question naturally arises why Muhammad, after defeating Dáhar's army near Raor, proceeded towards Bahmanábád without first attempting the conquest of Alor which was quite close by. The reason seems to be that the main army had followed Dáhar's son Jaisiṁha to Bahmanábad, and so instead of wasting time by prolonged siege of Alor, Muhammad wanted to beat the hostile army before it could gather strength.

After the defeat and death of Dáhar in an open engagement near Raor, the Sindhians avoided pitched battles and defended the strong fortified towns of the kingdom such as Raor, Bahror, Dahlelah, Bahmanábád and Alor. Bahror and Dahlelah cannot be identified with certainty, but they were on the way from Rori to Bahmanábád. Dahlelah may be the same as Darbela referred to by Raverty (*J. A. S. B.*, 1892, p. 317).

After the fall of Alor, Muhammad proceeded towards the north. He conquered successively Bábiah, Gholkonda, Sikkah and Multan. Gholkonda cannot be identified, but the position of the other three has been discussed above.

Al-Baládhuri records several other expeditions of Muhammad after his return from Multan. The places named are al-Bailamán, Surast and al-Kíraj. It appears that Muhammad personally went to Kíraj, and sent forces against the other two.

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Later on, Junaid raided Kíraj, which had broken the covenant, and sent his lieutenants against Mirmad (or Marmad—Elliot, vol. i, p. 126) al-Mandal, Dahnaj, Barwas, Uzain and al-Malibah. The identification of most of these places has been suggested in the text (p. 41). Surast is evidently Surāshṭra and Dahnaj cannot be identified.

As to Kíraj against which both Muhammad and Junaid marched in person, it is evidently the same as Kurij mentioned in Ch° (p. 181 ff.), for Balâdhuri gives the name of the king of Kíraj as Duhar while in Ch° the king of Kurij is written as Drohar.

Kíraj may be identified with Kīra of Indian literature, which according to *Brihat Saṁhitā* belongs to the North-East division of India.

The details given in Ch° enable us to locate more definitely the site of ancient Kīra. Ch° tells the romantic story how Jaisia, the son of Dâhar, the deceased king of Sind, was at first given shelter by Drohar, the king of Kurij, but was afterwards driven away by the machinations of Drohar's sister whose immoral proposals he refused with scorn. It is related that having learnt of the plot to murder him, Jaisia left Kurij and 'journeyed on, till he arrived at Jālandhar in the land of Kashmir.'

Thus this country should be placed in the neighbourhood of Jālandhara. Now two inscriptions from Baijnath give the name of that place as Kīragrāma, and refer to its rulers as subordinate vassals of the lord of Jālandhara. Burgess supplies the following note about the place. 'Kīragrāma or Baijnath is a small town in the east of the Kangra district about thirty miles east of Kot Kangra, in latitude 32° 3'N. and longitude 76° 41' E. The number of old temples about the village point to its having been in early times a place of some note.'

The identity of the name and its proximity to Jālandhara naturally point to Kīragrāma or Baijnath and the surrounding tracts as the ancient Kīra country, referred to by the Arabs as al-Kíraj or al-Kurij.

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INDIAN HISTORY

Abul Hasan Qutub Shah and His Ministers, Madanna and Akkanna

BY

RAO BAHADUR DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., PH.D., M.R.A.S., F.R.HIST.S., F.A.S.B.

(Paper presented to the 10th Annual Meeting of the Osmania University Historical Society, revised and reprinted by permission)

MADANNA and Akkanna were two brothers, who had risen to the position of the chief minister and controller of the military administration of the Qutub Shahis under the last Qutub Shah Abul Hasan who ruled from A.D. 1672 to 1686–87, when Golkonda was overthrown and the kingdom was absorbed into the empire of the Mughals under Aurangzeb. Among the collection of copper-plate records belonging to the Maṭha of the Sankaracharya of Kumbhakonam, there is one, No. 6, which according to the Epigraphist, refers to the Maṭha when still at Kanchi, from which it shifted later on, according to tradition, to Kumbhakonam. It refers to a grant made in Śaka 1608 (A.D. 1686) in Mēlupākkam to one Rama Sastri on a lunar eclipse from a village already granted to Mahādēvendra Sarasvati, the predecessor of the teacher of the Maṭha at the time, by Madanna and Akkanna. The plates register a grant of land by the teacher to the said Rama Sastri. The land happened to be in a village granted to the Maṭha by the Golkonda ministers, and hence the reference to them. In

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referring to this record, the Madras Report on Epigraphy extracts, in section 64 of the report for the year 1915, what the Dutch journal *Hawart* has to say about these two ministers, and reproduces from the journal the original plates containing representations of Abul Hasan Qutub Shah, the king, Madanna, the Minister, Akkanna, the general or controller of the forces, and the scene in which these two were killed and dragged along the streets of Golkonda just before the fall of the city. According to this journal, they were two brothers born of a very poor family and entered service as shroffs in A.D. *1666* on a pay of ten guilders per mensem under Saiyyad Mustapah, a nobleman of Golkonda, *known to fame as Mir Jumla*. Madanna, alias Suryaprakasa Rao, is stated by the Dutch journalist to have been an intelligent man, whereas his brother Akkanna was a man of cunning and roguery with very little of understanding. The brothers are said in the journal to have risen to rank by an act of treachery, which deprived Mir Jumla of his high office under the Quṭub Shah of Golkonda. Madanna is said to have become a prominent figure in the administration of the kingdom which the Sultan left entirely to his management and was satisfied with 75,000 dollars for his personal use. Madanna is said to have been a man well versed in Persian, Hindustani and the vernaculars of the country. According to this authority, he lived in a kingly style, and, at sight of his golden palanquin in which he went about the streets, people showed their respect by stopping on the way. This journal acknowledges that he was very kind to the Dutch, and that the author 'had the honour of seeing Madanna often'. The author of the report on epigraphy follows it by adding the information that the high position, to which they attained under Abdullah Quṭb Shah, they were not able to maintain for long, as Aurangzeb marched with his army into Golkonda, and plundered the house of Madanna, who is stated, on what authority, we do not know, to have been accused of high treason by the people, and, under the orders of the Sultan, were murdered. What follows is not of very particular interest to the history of these ministers. The only other piece of information that this report gives regarding them is that it mentions their nephew, Ramadas, who was the Tahsildar of Bhadrachalam. He spent away the money of the government in building a temple to his favourite god Rama, suffered imprisonment and torture therefore, and was ultimately miraculously saved by the intervention

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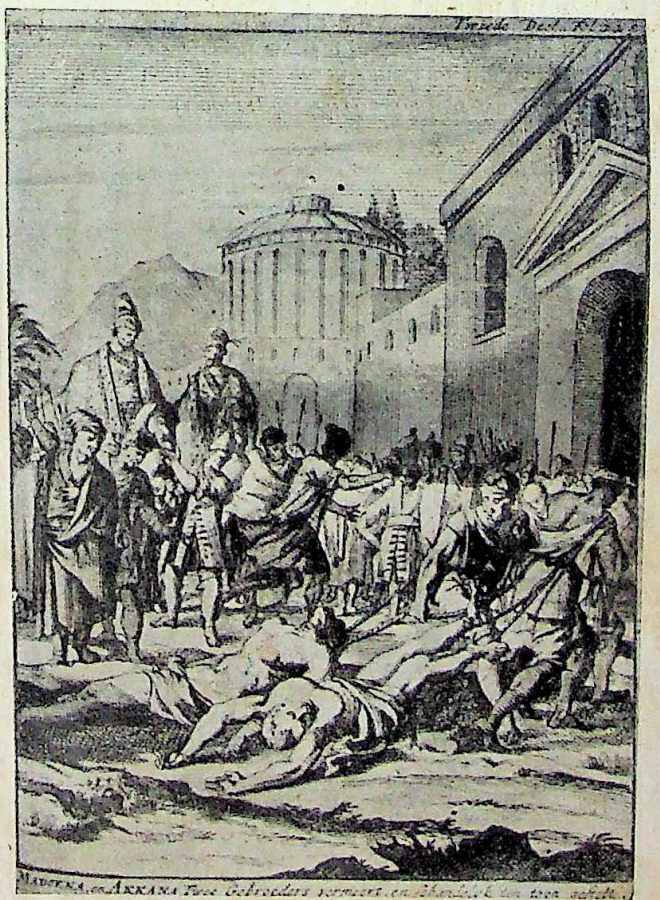

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of Rama and his brother Lakshmana, who appeared at dead of night, paid the Sultan the amount due personally, and obtained a receipt of acquittance therefor.[1] That is as far as the information, in the Dutch journal, can take us.

Madanna and Akkanna were undoubtedly ministers of Golkonda under the last Quṭb Shah, Abul Hasan, generally known as Tana Shah, the gay and happy king. According to Professor Sarkar, Abul Hasan Quṭb Shah succeeded to the throne of his predecessor under somewhat peculiar circumstances. Abdullah Quṭub Shah died in A.D. 1672 leaving behind him only three daughters, and no son. Of the three daughters of Abdullah Quṭb Shah, Aurangzeb's son had married the second daughter. The first was married to one Sayyad Aḥmad, a pure-blooded Arab claiming descent from the noble families of Mecca. He was at the time *de facto* ruler of the state. The third daughter was to be married to a protegé of this Sayyad Aḥmad, but the arrangement broke off as the result of a domestic quarrel. In order to serve his interests best, this powerful son-in-law Sayyad Aḥmad brought about the choice of Abul Hasan, said to have been descended on the father's side from the Quṭb Shahhi family itself, and was at the time leading a lazy life, as a disciple of the saint Sayyad Raju Kaṭhal. He seems to have served his master well, and a jocular remark of the saint is said to have turned true when he was, to his great surprise, dragged from his humble position, and elevated to the rank of a son-in-law of the Sultan. When Abdullah Quṭb Shah died, everything indicated that the powerful first son-in-law, Sayyad Aḥmad should, in the ordinary course, have succeeded to the throne. His everweening character, and perhaps the rigour of his administration, made him unpopular, and an influential party at court headed by Sayyad Muzaffar, a general of high Persian origin, and Musa Khan Mahaldar, managed to overpower Sayyad Aḥmad and put Abul Hasan on the throne. Accordingly Abul Hasan was crowned king, Sayyad Muzaffar became his minister, Musa Khan, officer in command, almost next in rank. The new Wazir is however said to have attempted to turn his master into a cypher by his greed of power and policy. Exasperated at this attitude of the minister ' Abul Hasan bought over Madanna, the Brahman factotum of Muzaffar, and through

[1] See also Sarkar's *Aurangzib*, iv. 353–5.

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him corrupted most of the captains to his personal followers, so that one day Muzaffar was quietly deprived of his wazirship, which was conferred on Madanna with the title of Suryaprakasa Rao.'[1] This change of ministers is said by the same authority to have taken place about A.D. 1673. Sir Jadunath continues 'his brother Akkanna became commander-in-chief, and his nephew, the gallant and learned Yengena, surnamed Rustum Rao, was given high command. Musa Khan too was sent into retirement and Muhammad Ibrahim, a creature of Madanna, was created Sar-i-kel, master of the horse, and then premier peer (great Nawab) for a bribe of 1,10,000 *hun* paid to Madanna.'[2] The learned Professor does not indicate the exact source for this particular statement, but we have to take it that the statement is made on authority. It would be clear at once that there is really something incompatible between the two statements if Madanna started life as shroff on a salary of ten guilders, as is stated by the writer in the *Hawart*, in 1666, he could not have risen to the commanding position that he held in 1673. That that statement of the journal is absurd is clear when it says that he started on his humble career as shroff in 1666, and under Mir Jumla. Mir Jumla was not in Hyderabad in 1666, nor is it correct to say that Mir Jumla suffered at the hands of Abdullah Quṭb Shah through the intrigues of Madanna and Akkanna. Therefore notwithstanding the knowledge that the writer claims of having been in personal touch with Madanna, his information relative to the earlier career of Madanna cannot be held to be correct. Sir Jadunath, who quotes this in an appendix, omits the name Mir Jumla, although he quotes from the same epigraphist's report. It is clear therefore that the two accounts leave something to be desired. According to Sir Jadunath, Madanna already occupied the position of *de facto* minister under Sayyad Muzaffar, and so his rise to the position of chief minister was due to the masterfulness of Muzaffar, and the fear of Abul Hasan that his position in the state was being reduced to one of no influence. That such an important official as Muzaffar should be removed from his office, and that a Brahman official like Madanna should have been raised to his position, as quietly as it is described to have taken place, would naturally lead to the inference that there was perhaps nothing very unusual in the step taken to

[1] Śarkar's *Aurangzib*, iv, 334. [2] *Ibid.*

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deprive one minister of his power or to instal another in the place for one thing; and it would show Abul Hasan Tanashah was not such a hapless, reckless and ease-loving administrator that he is generally represented to be by this author himself. Suryaprakasa Rao was not a title conferred on Madanna. Suryaprakasa Rao must have been his name, Madanna being more or less a familiar name, by which he must have been known among his own people, the proper name being the other. Assuming therefore that both Madanna and Akkanna started life, as in fact most people of that class did, in a comparatively humble position they must have risen to the high place that they occupied by sheer dint of work, and not without worth. While it is probable that they started service in such a small position under Mir Jumla, that start could not have been in A.D. 1666. It must have been very much earlier, and in the circumstances, it seems very probable that their entry into service was owing to Mir Jumla's capacity for discerning merit where it could be found. That apart, we may take it that these two Brahman brothers entered service early in their life, and very probably under Mir Jumla in a comparatively small capacity as revenue officials of some kind. Through perhaps a score of years they had risen to the high position, and had attained, if not to the titles and dignities, at any rate, to the real power of being controllers of the finances of the state under ministers during the reign of Abdullah Quṭb Shah himself. When therefore Abul Hasan ascended the throne, he had naturally to fall back upon the party that was in power, and as that party was headed by Sayyad Muzaffar and his friend Musa Khan they were both of them entrusted with power; and when Abul Hasan discovered, that he was being reduced to a cipher in the administration, he naturally had the foresight to take opportunity by the forelock and deprive the ambitious minister of his power before it became too late for him to do it, as it happened in the case of Mir Jumla under his predecessor. In those circumstances, if Abul Hasan fell back upon the Brahman ministers instead of some of his Muslim officials, it must have been on the ground that to him it seemed, in the circumstances, that he could depend upon officials of his own creation rather than the hereditary nobility, or even men of rank, who had attained to their position under his predecessor. Whatever be the motive of Abul Hasan, we have so far the fact that Madanna and Akkanna, the brothers, were chosen to carry on the administration for Abul Hasan

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Quṭb Shah, sometime in the year 1673, and perhaps 1674, as one of the letters from Fort St. George mentions the change to have taken place just before the date of the letter in 1674.[1]

We have some little information from extraneous sources for what Madanna and Akkanna did as ministers, and what sort of a ruler Abul Hasan turned out to be, though such information as is available to us is hardly enough to help us to a complete history of the careers of these. The main events or incidents that took place under the administration of these are more or less indisputably on record. The differences which are certainly wide, are in respect of the motives that induced the particular lines of action adopted and policies put into effect during the last years of existence of the state of Golkonda as a kingdom. To understand therefore the career of either the sovereign, Abul Hasan or his ministers, the Brahman brothers, we shall have to take into account the condition of affairs in the years following 1672 and cast about for the events of importance in which they played an influential part. It is only then that we can arrive at something like a tenable judgment as to the character and motives of action of any one or all of these.

The year 1672 is a year of great importance in the history of South India in various ways, and the position of parties and affairs were in an unstable equilibrium and held out no promise whatsoever of any permanence. Since the extinction of the Nizam Shahi state, the Mughals had become, in a sense, a Dekhani power as well; and their movements had an important influence upon the shaping of the politics of South India. A Mughal Viceroy was stationed in Daulatabad, and his function was to keep watch over his neighbours in the south, and advance the Mughal power southwards as opportunity offered to gradually reduce his southern neighbours to a condition of complete tutelage to the Mughals, if not of reduction to subordination, which perhaps may be considered the ultimate end of the Dekhan policy of the Mughals. The three powers, whose position the Mughal viceroy of the Dekhan had to keep watch over were: the Mahrattas under Shivaji occupying the territory on this side of the Ghats and making an effort at conquering and occupying the coast region as far as could be done without getting into a regular conflict with the Mughals. This

[1] Letter dated November 21, 1674. No mention of the new minister in letter of May 15, 1673.

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activity took him all over the Konkan coast from Surat down to South Kanara under the Nayaks of Ikkeri, one of the provinces of the empire of Vijayanagar at the time. The Mahratta power was nominally subordinate to the kingdom of Bijapur, but actually it comported itself as though it was an independent state with a policy of its own, and called for the first attention of the Mughal government in the Dekhan. In Bijapur itself Ali Adil Shah died, and was succeeded by a baby, Sikandar; and the state suffered from all the evils of a regency in a state dominated by factions contending for the most influential position. In Bijapur as in the Dekhan States before, there were the three parties, the Mughal, the Afghan, and the Habshi, sometimes resolving itself into the Dekhani, the Afghan and the Mughal. The regency was to begin with under Khawas Khan, the head of the Dekhani party. He was overthrown and assassinated by the Afghan party, and this Afghan party tried to secure the support of the Mughal governor for the time being under Diler Khan, who was himself an Afghan. In this confusion and struggle, the state was hardly in a condition to exercise its authority normally, and had therefore been politically paralysed. For the time therefore, Bijapur was in no condition either to molest Shivaji, or to be a source of anxiety to the Mughals.

As was pointed out already, there was a change of rulers in Golkonda, Abul Hasan Quṭub Shah being put upon the throne in succession to Abdullah Quṭub Shah his predecessor, the government being in the hands of Sayyad Muzafar Khan and Musa Khan, the two men that were responsible for this succession. In the course of a year, or two, they had made themselves so objectionable to Abul Hasan that he deprived both of them of their power, and had advanced instead the Brahman brothers, Madanna and Akkanna to the chief positions in the state. Golkonda was therefore in a condition, as formerly, to quietly extend its authority to the southward with some effect, and showing itself to some extent active on the northern side, at least to put up an effective defence against the advance of the Mughals. From this position of parties, it will be clear that the Mughal danger was real and the Mughal power hung like a Damocles' sword on the three southern powers, and their position of independence depended entirely upon their capacity to defend themselves against Mughal aggression, which was likely to come whenever an opportunity offered itself. It

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was not like providing for a possible contingency ; much rather it was a real danger, a watchful attention to ward off which having become the immediate objective of the southern states.

Behind the territories, under the immediate authority of Shivaji, Sikandar Adil Shah, and Abul Hasan Quṭb Shah lay what was the empire of Vijayanagar which had come to be now divided into a number of principalities. The territory lying on the easternmost side and extending along the coast from Masulipatam to almost, at any rate, as far as Madras, and extending into the interior to the Anantapur District and the Ghats farther south, was the part that Golkonda had conquered from out of the falling empire of Vijayanagar, which under the last emperor Sriranga III had not yet given up the ambition of recovering the lost territory, though the chances seemed against its realisation. Immediately to the west of this lay the Bijapur conquest from out of Vijayanagar, taking into it the eastern half of what is the present state of Mysore, and the margin of territory along its eastern frontier leading southwards through the Baramahals of Salem into the South Arcot District and extending almost to the banks of the Kaveri and the Coleroon in the lower reaches of the delta. This territory was ruled over by a number of petty chieftains placed in salient positions who were holding their power in subordination to Bijapur so long as that state was in a condition to assert its authority. But in a period of weakness, such as at this particular time when the state was hardly in a condition to exercise effective authority, they ruled almost independently of the headquarters. South of this region was the Nayakship of Tanjore immediately on the other side of the Kaveri, with Tanjore as its capital. The Nayakship of Madura was the next principality with its capital at Trichinopoly, Madura still retaining its importance as the historical headquarters of the viceroyalty of Madura under Vijayanagar. To the north of the Nayakship of Madura, and in touch with the whole of its northern frontier lay the territory of the Odayars of Mysore, and in the year A.D. 1672 a change of ruler had taken place. The old Maharaja Devaraja Odayar I died, and was succeeded by a nephew, Chikkadevaraja Odayar, a younger and more masterful man, who cherished the ambition of extending his power and enhancing his prestige, as the imperial power seemed almost at its last gasp. Just to the north of it, in what is now the Malnad Districts of Mysore, lay the state of Ikkeri, which, at this time, had

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extended its authority down to the west coast and came into touch on the western and northern frontier with the territory of the Mahrattas under the authority of Shivaji. This state had to maintain its position as against the European powers, the Portuguese and the Dutch struggling for possession of salient positions on the West Coast, and against the Mahrattas in the north.

Through the whole of this region, the position at the time was complicated by the presence of the last emperor of Vijayanagar, Śrī Ranga Rayal, making an effort as yet to retain the imperial authority and regain something of the suzerainty that he had been gradually losing through a struggle of over a score of years. His position had so far been damaged that the feudatory powers were going on with their wars and campaigns without reference to him, and it looked as though his power had effectively vanished. He had not yet given up hope, and, in spite of the Bijapur conquests of Gingee under the joint command of Shahji and Moula, he still made one effort, and seems to have had, in that effort, the support of a number of his feudatories who had previously showed themselves hostile to him. This grand effort was made in the reign of Chokkanātha Nāyaka of Madura, when all the powers supported the claims of Śrī Ranga Rāyal as against the ruler of Mysore. A battle was fought near Erode. The Mysoreans gained the victory in that. That seems to have dispelled such hope as the Emperor Śrī Ranga Rāyal has had of reviving his authority for ever. The emperor became a fugitive, and found an asylum in the court of Ikkeri, which made one more effort on Mysore. This resulted in no good to the emperor, and his pretensions so far as Mysore went. We hear no more of the emperor afterwards, and we might mark the end of Vijayanagar practically with that.

We have to make ourselves clear in respect of dates for these events, and particularly the two attempts in favour of the emperor. According to the Mysore accounts, the effort made in behalf of Śrī Ranga Rāyal, in which even the name of Shaji's son Ekoji figures on behalf of the emperor, was defeated by Chikkadevaraja Odayar, who, as a prince, volunteered his services when the kingdom was threatened by this danger. Devaraja was an old man, and was rather perplexed as to the general to whom the campaign against this formidable combination was to be entrusted. In that position

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Chikkadevaraja Odayar volunteered his services from Tirukanambi, where he was living with his tutors undergoing education as yet. The battle therefore of Erode in favour of the emperor Śrī Ranga Rāyal must have taken place near the end of the reign of Devaraja, and before Chikkadevaraja Odayar ascended the throne in 1672. Inscriptions of Chokkanātha, the ruler of Madura are found in Kumaralingam and Tiruchengode ascribed to the years 1667-1668, while inscriptions of Devaraja Odayar of about 1670 are found at and near Satyamangalam. The battle must have been fought between these years. Very probably the battle was fought in the year 1669–70. Śivappanāyaka of Ikkeri is said to have sent an expedition against Chikkadevaraja Odayar soon after his accession in 1672. It is just possible that this invasion took place in the year 1672 or 1673. Thus the last shred of hope of reviving the empire under Śrī Ranga Rāyal vanished with 1674 or 1675, the last possible year. As a matter of fact, about this time or a little later, we hear of an invasion, according to the *Rama-Rājīyamu*, undertaken by another scion of the ruling family, Kodandarama, who advanced at the head of an army as far as Hassan and Sakkrepatna, and was driven back by Chikkadevaraja Odayar. This invasion under Kodandarama must have been after the death of Śrī Ranga Rāyal, and therefore about 1675—it may be even 1674—perhaps the last date known for Śrī Ranga III. With him vanished perhaps the empire of Vijayanagar as a real, political entity, and what constituted the provinces of the empire therefore could regard themselves rightfully as independent kingdoms, as in fact they had been doing for some time before. Thus the province of Gingee was under Bijapur. The territory belonging to Vijayanagar to the north of Madras belonged to Golkonda. The Nayakships of Tanjore and Madura were in perpetual conflict with each other, and the Tanjore Nayakship was nearing its end. Mysore and Ikkeri on the plateau maintained themselves in a position of some importance, and could not be said to have adopted an effective policy of mutual friendship and alliance. Ikkeri had to maintain herself against various enemies of her own, which kept her engaged on her western frontier, and the activity of the Mahrattas kept them engaged on the northern. So Mysore was free to pursue her own policy of active expansion into the territory on its northern frontier. Such was the position of affairs in the south when Shivaji's attention was turned that way, and called for the

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adoption of a policy of intervention in the affairs of the south, for which he sought the assistance of Golkonda, and brought the diplomatic and administrative talents of Madanna and Akkanna into play.

Affairs in Tanjore were moving fast, and effectively called for the intervention of Shivaji. The last Nayak Vijayaraghava of Tanjore had shown himself by no means friendly to Chokkanātha Nayaka of Madura. Hostility seems to have been the cardinal principle of policy between these two states ever since the Civil War that followed the death of the great Venkatapati Rayal in 1614. That attitude continued generally unbroken, and as occasion offered itself, the two states went to war with each other without any influencing cause other than this. Occasions offered themselves now and again for one reason or another. Chokkalinga in the course of one of his wars against the Maravas of Ramnad took the fortress of Vallam on the Tanjore frontier, which Vijayaraghava soon recovered. The hostility thus engendered increased when, as the local accounts have it, Chokkanātha asked for the hand of one of the daughters of Vijayaraghava in marriage. The reply given to this was negative, and referred to an older incident of a domestic character not complimentary to Madura, and thus fanned the flame. In the war that ensued Vijayaraghava was defeated and killed as also his son, and, in the holocaust of the victims of the royal family in that falling fort of Tanjore, a baby Chengamaladas, as he was called, son of Vijayaraghava's son, alone escaped through the efforts of his dying mother and a nurse. When Madura conquered Tanjore, Chokkalinga appointed a half-brother of his to conduct the administration of Tanjore on his behalf. That half-brother turned traitor, and possibly he sought the intervention of Shahji in Gingee; but Shahji's intervention seems to have been brought about in behalf of the baby, and nominally under the authority of Bijapur. Shahji's officers under command of Ekoji, otherwise known as Venkaji, marched forward, turned out Chokkanatha's cousin for lack of assistance from him, and placed Chengamaladas on the throne. Very soon there was trouble, and the administration under a baby suffered from the disadvantages natural to such an administration, and Ekoji's intervention was sought again, and this time Ekoji conquered and occupied Tanjore, not to give it back again to any scion of the Tanjore family. He might have taken possession even of Trichinopoly if he had made a

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strenuous effort, but he thought it prudent not to draw upon himself the whole force of Madura—it may be even others in alliance—and therefore was content with the conquest of Tanjore. The first years of the administration are reported to have been very good.[1]

The government seems to have been placed in the hands of experienced administrator, the two brothers Raghunatha Narayan Hanumante and Janardana Narayan Hanumante, sons of the old Karbari of Shahji by name Naro Tirumal Hanumante. The father was a faithful servant of Shahji, and naturally the sons were trained for the same service, and were already occupying responsible positions under Shahji in the administrative line. They were entrusted therefore with the civil administration of Tanjore, while Ekoji was placed at the head of the administration. The father's officers naturally assumed a paternal attitude in carrying on the administration, and caused dissatisfaction probably to the rising ambition of Ekoji, whose army and officers seem to have contained a good contingent of Musalmans, as armies even nominally of Bijapur were bound to contain. Young Ekoji began to chafe under the authority assumed by the older officials, and in this attitude was perhaps egged on by some of the Muhammadan officers near him, as against the Brahman civil administrator, an attitude not unusual under the Muhammadan governors of the Dekhan generally. This made Ragunath Narayan throw up his office, and, without doing damage to his state, he thought it best to lay the whole matter before Sivaji, who, in the opinion of the Karbari, was likely to take a more reasonable line of action, and whose opinion might possibly prevail for good over the brother. So Ragunath Narayan broke up his establishment, and with his brother and nephew and two other trusted officers of the group marched up through the territory of Gingee northwards through Golkonda back to Sivaji. This journey of Ragunath Narayan happened to synchronise with the vanishing of the power of the emperor of Vijayanagar, and it must have struck him that the authority of Vijayanagar having become non-existent practically, the territories over which the empire had suzerain claim were likely to be going without a suzerain. As an old official with the most thorough knowledge of the condition of affairs in the kingdom of Bijapur, he must have also realized that there

[1] Jesuit Letters : *Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 279-80.

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would be no possibility of assertion of Bijapur authority over the territories conquered by Shahji in behalf of Bijapur; so that the territory included in the government of Gingee, the territories under the governments of Tanjore, and the other small governments under Bijapur to the northward of Gingee, all of them alike seemed to him to be in a condition fit for appropriation by one that could conquer them and hold possession of them effectively. He therefore thought that the best service that he could do to his master Shahji, and, after his death, his sons, more particularly Sivaji, was to make it possible for him to take possession of all that was Shahji's, and add to it his own part of the territory in Maharashtra, so that the so-called Bijapur Jaghirs of Shahji may remain intact in the family. Whether the idea dawned upon him that the disappearance of the empire of Vijayanagar opened a new vista of imperial ambition may well be doubted though it does not seem impossible if Gāga Bhatt could entertain a similar idea that led to Sivaji's coronation. It would be nothing strange if the vision dawned on him. Anyhow there was the more practical question which the *Sar-karkun* could, and did understand, in going forward to lay the matter before his master. He thought he might as well prepare the way for the carrying out of the project, as far as he could do it without authority from his master Sivaji. He visited Golkonda where already Madanna and Akkanna were in the ascendant so far as the actual exercise of power and the formulation of a policy went. Ragunatha learnt the partiality of Madanna for Sanskrit learning, particularly on the side of religion and philosophy, and, being a very learned man himself, he thought he could turn his talents to purpose. He went there as a mere learned Brahman, and soon showed his talents which received the fullest mead of appreciation from Madanna. Raghuntha soon became the much-respected guest of the great minister. He sought and obtained opportunities for confidential discussion of the matter occupying his mind at that time, and prevailed upon the minister to consent to a policy of an offensive and defensive alliance with Sivaji as the best course of action to be adopted in the circumstances, both as against the advancing tide of Mughal aggression, and as the best safeguard for the preservation of, what was worth preserving, the Hindu India of the south that was fast vanishing before their very eyes. Madanna's part in this affair is one of the cardinal facts of the Quṭb Shahhi administration upon which

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Madanna is to be judged as to his loyalty and capacity for rule. We shall consider therefore, in the circumstances, whether the course of action adopted by him was in the best interest of the state that he served or no.

At the time that Ragunath Narayan was returning to the Mahratta country from Tanjore, and passing through Golkonda on his way, the position of affairs happened to be somewhat as follows :—the kingdom of Bijapur was under the regency of Abdul Karim Buhlol Khan, the Afghan, who was in alliance with Diler Khan, the Mughal governor, and the Afghan party was in the ascendant. This personal relationship naturally threw Bijapur into the arms of the Mughals ; and Bijapur thus detached, the Mughal danger became far more real both to the Mahrattas and the rulers of Golkonda. It was about that time that Bahadur Khan came into the command of the Mughal government. Diler Khan in combination with Bijapur made a joint attack on Shivaji, and the war was conducted on both sides somewhat languidly, as the emperor himself was moving towards Hasan Abdal against the Khaibar Afghans, who had risen in revolt. Diler Khan was called to the north-western frontier, and Bahadur Khan was sent in his stead for the charge of the Dekhan. A successful expedition against Bahadur Khan was undertaken about the end of October, and the war was carried on in the following months till about the February of the next year. Then Shivaji opened negotiations with Bahadur Khan, and ultimately came to an understanding with him. But the negotiations proved futile, as they were probably intended to be on the side of Shivaji, and Aurangazeb cautioned Bahadur Khan from falling into the snares of Shivaji again. Having garrisoned his forces and supplied them with provisions, Shivaji threw off the mask, and brought down upon him an invasion from Bahadur Khan of a more active character than usual. Sweeping through the Mahratta country, he came down upon Bijapur and pressed Bijapur hard. Bijapur under the regency of Bulol Khan, sought the assistance of Shivaji, and, in return for a contribution of 300,000 *huns* annually, he undertook to assist Bijapur against the Mughals. But very soon this understanding broke off and Shivaji felt free to proceed further. Bahadur Khan continuing his attack on Bijapur, Shivaji had nothing to fear from that government. But it was worth while coming to an understanding with Bahadur Khan. On the initiative of Bahadur Khan a peace was

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concluded between Shivaji and the Mughal viceroy, and something like a peace was patched up for the time being. Bijapur being thrown out of action, and the Mughal government of the Dekhan being under alliance of some kind, Shivaji was able to put into practice the scheme adumbrated by Ragunath Narayan. He naturally therefore looked towards Golkonda, the passivity of which, if active co-operation was impossible, was absolutely essential to him, in case he should mature his plans of carrying out the schemes of Ragunath Narayan in the Karnatak.

The Golkonda government under Abul Hasan Quṭb Shah and Madanna Pandit, his chief minister, found themselves in a rather more dangerous position than usual. We pointed out already that the safety of these southern governments lay in their acting together and adopting a common policy at least as against the Mughals. That was the really advantageous policy for them to adopt, and, at any rate, they tried to do so on occasions. Now more than ever, it was necessary for them to provide themselves against the activity of the Mughals under Bahadur Khan. Bahadur Khan having got into an agreement with Shivaji, and seeing that the Bijapur government was powerless to do anything effective against him, was bound to pursue a more active policy as against Golkonda. The immediate neighbour of Bijapur being out of action, it was to the best interest of the Golkonda rulers to get into alliance with Shivaji if possible, and thus provide themselves against any successful attack by Bahadur Khan, whatever be the Quṭub Shahi policy in respect of the Karnatak. An alliance with Shivaji therefore, apart from his intentions in regard to the Karnatak, was essential to the Quṭub Shahs. If Shivaji was impelled towards gaining the alliance of Golkonda for his Karnatak enterprise, Golkonda was under no less imperious need for getting into alliance with him to keep off the Mughals. But so long as the Mughal general was occupied with Bijapur, they can countenance such movements as Shivaji might make on the southern territories of Bijapur, which certainly did require being put into order even in the interests of Golkonda. Shivaji therefore persuaded the Golkonda government to come to an agreement with him; and both Madanna the minister and Abul Hasan Quṭb Shah, the sovereign, found it to their interest to enter into a definite agreement with Shivaji, and permit him to carry on his southern campaign, which after all was to all appearance, to put his father's

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jaghir into order and put an end to the anarchical condition of the south. So the two states entered into offensive and defensive alliance after a visit to Golkonda by Shivaji. Shivaji was allowed to undertake a campaign in the south, Golkonda providing him with the sinews of war, and a contingent of troops, particularly artillery in which arm Shivaji's army was weak. Shivaji was to receive a subsidy of 3,000 *huns* a day and should be assisted by an army of 5,000 men together with a train of artillery. Shivaji was to give Golkonda in return therefor such parts of the conquest in the Karnatak as did not belong to his father Shahji. The treaty did contain a condition of a common defensive alliance against the Mughals.

In regard to this treaty and the consequent facilities provided for Shivaji's invasion of the Karnatak, it is beyond question that Madanna had a very important share of responsibility, notwithstanding the fact that he had the completest support of Abul Hasan Quṭb Shah. Whether that was a policy which was to the advantage of Golkonda or no, is really what ought to guide us in our judgment of the part that Madanna played in bringing about this. What was the position of Golkonda at the time, and whether it stood to gain or lose by the alliance are really the only issues that ought to decide this question. Golkonda was in constant danger of being overrun by the Mughal army and her frontiers, particularly the north-western frontier, were entirely open to Mughal operations. The Bijapur government having been thrown out of action, as was stated already, the only security for keeping the Mughal from the frontier consisted in an alliance with the Mahrattas. To that extent so far as that part of the treaty is concerned, it was undoubtedly for the advantage of Golkonda that they should get into an alliance with Shivaji. What was the interest of Golkonda in the operations of Shivaji in the Karnatak? It was pointed out before that the Karnatak was hardly in a satisfactory condition, particularly the Bijapur part of it. The greater part of Bijapur conquests in the Karnatak was directly or indirectly under the rule of Shahji, and after him his son Ekoji; and such portions as were not directly under Ekoji's rule were more or less in a condition of anarchy, ready to fall an easy prey to any enterprising power that was in a condition to take advantage of it. Mysore and Madura showed themselves to some extent active in this direction. Their ascendancy would inevitably bring on the destruction of Tanjore

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sooner or later. In the condition of affairs that prevailed, the state that attempted to remain stationary was bound to suffer in the long run. The authority of the Bijapur government over her southern possessions was of the slightest. Even in the interest of Bijapur, it would be very much better that they be brought under one common authority and if possible, under the nominal authority of Bijapur itself. But that was not very much to the interest of Golkonda. The affairs of Golkonda required perpetual vigilance all along the frontier between the territories of Bijapur and those of Golkonda. This can never be regarded as satisfactory so long as the Mughal Viceroyalty of the Dakhan continued to exist. Hence if Shivaji could guarantee a more satisfactory condition of the whole of the Karnatak as a result of the expedition, Golkonda had something substantial to gain thereby, although undoubtedly Shivaji would be infinitely the greater gainer.

There is one other possible question in regard to this. Shivaji had now crowned himself king. At least some of the Mahratta Bakhairs give indications of their not having been unaware of a kingdom going by default in the south, now that the empire of Vijayanagar had passed into the unknown. There might have been that ambition in Shivaji of creating for himself a kingdom, which he could maintain in independence, and out of reach of the arms of the Mughals. If Gāga Bhaṭṭ could think of it, as the Sabhasad Bakhair makes it clear, it might as well have dawned upon himself and upon Ragunath Narayan Hanumante. Whether Abul Hasan Quṭub Shah could sympathise with a movement like that may be open to doubt. But that Madanna could have been in active sympathy if such an idea had been put before him may be presumed; but whether it was put before him or no, we have no means of knowing, although it seems exceedingly likely that Ragunath Pant would have put it before him, and might have received a sympathetic reply therefor. Since the advantages to Golkonda of the treaty were so direct in other particulars it would not perhaps be proper to put this possibility as counting against the actual loyalty of the Hindu minister to the Muhammadan Sultan of Golkonda. We have very good reason to believe that since the accession of Madanna to the chief power in the state, efforts have been constantly made to introduce some kind of an order in the southern acquisitions of Golkonda. That was a matter of great difficulty as long as the emperor Śrī Ranga lived and moved effectively, though practically a

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fugitive. Now that he had vanished, this state of affairs may as well be put an end to, and one way of doing it is to let Shivaji acquire possession of what was his father's territory, in order that the much-needed peace may prevail in the south, even to the comfort of the Golkonda rulers in regard to their southern territory.

According to the records of Fort St. George, Abul Hasan's reign began with Sayyad Muzafar Khan as the chief minister, and Musa Khan, Khan-i-Khanan as the Golkonda governor of the Karnatak, a position almost exactly like that of Mir Jumla before he went over to the Mughals.[1] The document under advertence refers to the death of Neknam Khan, who granted a cowle for Fort St. George in the first instance, and to the arrangements in succession. Neknam Khan was succeeded in the chief ministership by Sayyad Muzafar Khan, and in the Nawabship of the Karnatak by Musa Khan. Venkatapati, the Brahman agent of the Company in Golkonda was sent with presents to the new Nawab, and the record contains a resolution sanctioning an expenditure of 500 pagodas for presents, etc., to the new Nawab on his first visit. The cowle that was given by Neknam Khan for the possession of Fort St. George was confirmed by his successor Musa Khan as Nawab of the Karnatak. This state of things seems to have continued for two years and about the end of the year 1674, or early the next year, both Sayyad Muzafar and Musa Khan were turned out of office, and Madanna and Akkanna took their place respectively. It is after this that a change of local administration took place, and gradually the *tarafdars* had changed and finally the whole administration. Musa Khan was succeeded by a Muhammadan official by name Nandar Khan. He seems to have been succeeded by Ibrahim Khan, and in succession to him Akkanna becomes governor of the Karnatak. This change seems to have taken place somewhere about 1675. We get a reference to it for the first time in a record of date 21st November, 1694, and again in one of 16th July 1675, and Podili Linganna, the nephew of Madanna and Akkanna, became Tarafdar of Poonamallee, within whose territory Fort St. George was situate. With the coming in of Podili Linganna, there was a stiffening in the administration, and the understanding between the government of Fort St. George and that of the Tarafdar was one more or less of open hostility. This

[1] *Factory Records of Fort St. George*, Vol. I, 25th April 1672.

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change of position is fully described in a British document O.C. 4215 dated 23rd July 1676.[1] According to this letter both Muzafar Khan and Musa Khan were set aside; Chinnapalli Mirza, as he is called, in front of San Thome was killed by poisoning, and the former Tarafdar Pollepalle Venganna was removed from office. It was this document that contains a statement that Muhammad Ibrahim was made the great Sarkel, Sar-i-Khel, for a consideration of 1,10,000 Pagodas. The cause of the differences between Lingappa, the nephew of the brothers, Madanna and Akkanna, and of the government at Fort St. George concerned more or less the position of Fort St. George in relation to the Government of Golkonda. The first point at issue was whether they were answerable to the Tarafdar of Poonamallee in whose division Fort St. George was situated. From out of this sprang various others, such as the collection of rent, the trade between the fort and the territory immediately outside, the customs revenue which the fort was bound to pay, the various changes in the condition of Fort St. George that took place as a result of the changed circumstances in its immediate surroundings, all which does not concern us directly. What is to the point is that, after the change had been brought about, the administration in Golkonda under the Brahman ministers made an effort to introduce a more vigorous administration within the limits of the territory of Golkonda conquered from the empire of Vijayanagar. This seems more or less to synchronise with the march of Shivaji to the south, at any rate the proposal therefor, so far as the Golkonda government was concerned. Whether the change was brought about as a normal consequence of the change of ministry, or whether it had anything whatever to do with the agreement between Golkonda and Shivaji, does not appear clearly. The Company's people complained bitterly of the Brahman administration being very exacting, and the demands of the Tarafdar of Poonamallee particularly irksome. The Company's officials at Fort St. George cannot be regarded as altogether unprejudiced witnesses to what took place about them, and all that they say regarding the government of Golkonda at the time perhaps could not be taken at their full value. It is in this state of affairs that Shivaji started on his southern campaign, and in the sources accessible to us we hear nothing of his doings in a military way

[1] Quoted in Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*: I, p. 356.

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in the territory of Golkonda. We get reports of his achievements only when he got actually into the territory of Bijapur. It seems therefore that Shivaji did nothing worth mentioning in the territory which ostensibly belonged to Golkonda, and it is only when he passed that territory and came into the region dependent upon Gingee outside the sphere of Golkonda, that he began his activities one way and another.

So far as his operations in the territory dependent upon Gingee were concerned, they seem to have been thorough-going, as was anticipated. The government of Gingee itself seems to have become effete and fell an easy prey to the attacks of Shivaji, as Martin's Memoirs and other sources seem clearly to indicate. Gingee was mastered possession of, it may be by a stratagem, as is generally believed, Shivaji asking the governors, the sons of the Khan-i-Khanan at Bijapur for an interview, making prisoners of them and taking possession of Gingee. From there he continued his attacks upon Sher Khan, who was governor of the territory south of that with a strong position at Tiruvadi. But Sher Khan was in no condition to meet the attacks of Shivaji on any terms of equality. He was easily driven off from Tiruvadi and from Bluvanagiripattanam into the forests of Ariyalur on the northern banks of the Coleroon. It was only Vellore that offered stout resistance and stood a siege of fourteen months. Abdullah Khan the governor gave it up as hopeless at the end of the period, and stipulated for a provision for himself when he surrendered the fort. This provision is sometimes represented as a bribe offered by Shivaji, which is hardly the only possible inference in the circumstances. Then it is that Shivaji got into diplomatic transactions with his brother which proved far more unsatisfactory than perhaps he anticipated.

Shivaji's main object seems to have been to get his sovereign rights recognised in the southern territory as successor to his father, his brother Ekoji playing the subordinate political role of a feudatory to his brother. As a matter of fact, Tanjore, and the other places dependent upon Gingee, were conquests that Shahji made for Bijapur; and so long as Shahji lived, they were counted as part of his Jaghir, which he administrated in behalf of Bijapur. When Shahji died, the Bijapur government seems to have conferred the Nayakship of Tanjore on Ekoji. In the circumstances it looked rather strange that Shivaji should have been particularly oblivious of recent history to

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have made the demand of his brother. The demand must have had an inner motive, and not merely the almost untenable position of asking his brother to recognise what was perhaps not exactly the actual position. Shivaji's demand amounted to a share of what belonged to his father, and, so far as the moveable properties went, Ekoji made no difficulties. The irreconcilable difference between the brothers was in regard to the territory of Tanjore. Shivaji's position was not exactly that of grabbing for territory. He seems to have been anxious to get the supreme title to himself, while he seems to have been quite prepared to let his brother conduct the administration, perhaps under the safeguard that he was in good hands for carrying on the administration. Notwithstanding all that is usually said about the bad administration of the Mahratta ruler of Tanjore, one of the Jesuit letters [1] makes it abundantly clear that the early years of Mahratta rule in Tanjore were years in which the administration exerted itself to bring about the prosperity of the country with great success. That was the period of administration under Ragunath Narayan Hanumante, who is exhibited as an arch mischief-maker in the whole transaction. It is perhaps after he went away that the administration suffered a certain amount of neglect. Shivaji's motives might have been partially the restoration of good administration under Ragunath Narayan Hanumante; at the same time we cannot altogether neglect the fact that the territory under the control of Shivaji was a comparatively extensive territory fast passing out of the hands of Bijapur. If ultimately it should be that Bijapur lost it, it would be much better that he had a title to it, so that whatever befell his territory in the north, he could claim to a position higher than that of a mere feudatory chieftain that he actually was in the Mahratta country. So he strained every nerve to get his brother to agree to his suggestion that Shivaji may be recognised as Shahji's successor to the title, and when Ekoji would not agree to it, Shivaji offered him terms which limited his government in the south if ultimately he should insist upon continuing there; but offered an equivalent in the Mahratta country itself by preference.

The whole of this transaction does not directly concern the administration of Madanna and Akkanna, and the territories of

[1] *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 280, Letter of 1676 *cf.* also Martin in Dr. Sen's Translation: p. 341, Foreign Biographies of Sivaji.

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Golkonda. They are of concern to this extent; that one of the terms of the treaty consisted of a promise by Shivaji to restore to Golkonda such conquests as he might make of territories which once belonged to the Nawab of Golkonda. It is just possible that there were bits of territory dependent upon Vellore which came into this category, and which Shivaji would have had to make over to Golkonda. We have not come upon any record in which this point is at issue between Golkonda and Shivaji. The whole arrangement made about the year 1676 by the new administration of Golkonda for the carrying on of the government of the territory on this side of Golkonda seems to have had that point in view. There is a reference in Martin's Memoirs that Golkonda wrote to the agency at Fort St. George not to render any assistance to Shivaji in his transactions round Gingee. But the available records at Fort St. George do not throw any very particular light upon it, and Shivaji does not appear to have interfered with the complicated transactions that took place between the English, French, and the Dutch round Mylapore, or in what each one of these parties attempted to get from Golkonda by way of advantage from the fall of Mylapore to the French and its ultimate recapture by the Dutch and the Golkonda forces together. We have therefore to assume that so far as these transactions went, Shivaji committed no breach of the agreement with the Golkonda government. In his conquests in the territory up the plateau in the region of Mysore, it is just possible that he trenched upon Golkonda territory. We have it on record in the Company's correspondence that Podili Linganna, the Tarafdar of Poonamallee at the time had become the governor of the Karnatak in succession to Akkanna, and thus occupied a position corresponding to that of Mir Jumla or Musa Khan or Muhammad Ibrahim in regard to this. He claims having taken the town of Chickkanayakanahalli[1] from the Bijapur territory probably belonging to the province of Sira. That happens to be after the death of Shivaji, and probably he took the place from the Mahrattas, thereby indicating clearly that so far as Podili Linganna was concerned, he exerted himself to discharge his duties faithfully to the state of Golkonda. His struggle throughout, during the administration of Fort St. George

[1] Letter dated October 27, 1682, from Viraraghavayya at Golkonda, p. 113, Letter to Fort St. George, vol. ii, 1682.

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by Sir Streyensham Master, was again a struggle for the assertion of the authority of Golkonda over Fort St. George, and incidentally, of course, of bringing Madras into the sphere of his own official authority first as Tarafdar of Poonamallee, perhaps more clearly afterwards, when he became actual ruler of the whole of Golkonda Karnatak. He was dogged in his demands, and Master adopted highhanded measures as counter-strokes, and the position of the Company at Fort St. George became really uncomfortable. In regard to the demands of Lingappa, the rights of the question were not altogether all of them on one side, and they got complicated by the steps and countersteps adopted, and, on the whole, it cannot well be said that Lingappa was doing anything that was not in the interest of the Golkonda administration. We come across remarks in the Company's records, perhaps more often in Martin's Memoirs,[1] of the stiffening character of the Brahman administration on the one hand and the demand for *peishcush* on the other, and it is an illuminating commentary that the Brahman agent in Golkonda, Venkatapati, himself a Brahman makes a remark that the Golkonda officials being Brahmans put out their hands whenever something had to be done.[2] This statement of the Brahman notwithstanding, the question of *peishcush* was a thing, which, at the time, does not appear to have been the peculiar characteristic of this class or that. The very English East India Company was prepared to offer it, and actually volunteered when Shivaji wanted certain things for which he offered to pay. The Council under Sir William Langhorn solemnly laid down once and again that it would be ridiculous to accept a price for those things supplied to Shivaji notwithstanding the offer of payment, because he was a great man and great advantages might accrue from this consideration. In the circumstances, it would not do to hurl it in the teeth of a particular historical character of the period as if it were a vice peculiar to him.

In regard to the Quṭb Shah Abul Hasan himself, he seems to have begun his administration more or less as a vigorous ruler. At one time, he was on a tour through his territory accompanied by Madanna.[3] The Company's records contain a reference to his anticipated visit to

[1] Letter to Fort St. George, vol. ii, 1682, p. 335.
[2] Letter dated March 3, 1681-82, from Viraraghavayya. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
[3] Fort St. George : Diary and Consultations. November 21, 1674.

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Masulipatam and the details as to how exactly to receive him and what presents to make. Another time a reference is made to the Dewan Madanna being away with the Nawab on business connected with the administration.[1] There is a record of date July 16, 1675 O.C. No. 4100 quoted in Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras* (*Ibid.*, p. 356) where the Quṭub Shah is said for the first time to have given up all his power to the ministry. It is a general remark and no details are given, and it may be that perhaps he did not concede all that he was asked to, while it is just possible that the administration had actually passed into the hands of the ministers. Even granting that the Company obtained the information from their agent in Golkonda, what really lies behind the remark is the influential position of the Tarafdar and the extraordinary difficulty experienced in getting what the company wanted from the Dewan. The records make it clear that in the first instance the factory at Fort St. George wanted to regard themselves as absolutely out of the control of the Tarafdar of Poonamallee, and again taking advantage of the relations between the Tarafdar and the Dewan and his brother, the agent, they sometimes made an appeal even to the Sultan direct, through others such as the Sar-i-Khel, Muhammad Ibrahim. The Company did not get their way, and it would naturally lead to the inference, justifiable from their point of view, that the Sultan had completely neglected the administration, and it was the ministers that were actually carrying it on.

The next important transaction with which Madanna's name is preeminently associated is the series of transactions between the Mughals on the one side, Bijapur and Golkonda on the other, while yet Shivaji was in his southern invasion. This has reference to the campaign carried on against Bijapur by Bahadur Khan, the Mughal viceroy. Bijapur was under the regency of Bulol Khan, the Afghan, who had the sympathy of Diler Khan, the Mughal general. Bahadur Khan gave shelter to the Dekkanis, who suffered at the hands of the Afghan party under Bulol Khan in Bijapur, and in support of the Dekhani party he persisted in attacking Bijapur. This attack of Bahadur Khan fared very badly, and it was with great difficulty that Bahadur Khan could extricate himself from the position. He therefore turned to the

[1] Fort St. George : Diary and Consultations. April 10, 1679.

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south-east and laid siege to the town of Akalkot and Naldrug. Here again the Bijapuris under Bulol Khan inflicted a heavy defeat and forced Bahadur Khan to raise the siege. The position of Bahadur Khan became critical when an army from Golkonda marched under Madanna Pandit himself to reinforce the Bijapuris. Bahadur Khan managed to buy off the Golkonda forces, and collecting together all his own resources and the Dekhani generals from Bijapur, he made even an attempt at securing the friendship of Shivaji. This demonstration in power brought Bulol Khan to fear the consequences, and he agreed to let the Mughals conquer the exposed parts of the Bijapur in the north. Bahadur Khan was able to take Naldrug now in May 1677, and early in July following Gulburga as well. But these successes came too late for him. Aurangzeb already displeased with his failure in diplomacy with Shivaji, recalled him, because of the reverses he suffered at the hands of Bijapur egged on to that end by Diler Khan in combination with Bulol Khan, the Bijapur regent and friend of Diler Khan. The emperor felt so far persuaded against Bahadur Khan, as not only to recall him, but also to give the command to Diler Khan. Bulol Khan, the regent in his attempt to bring about this culmination offered to conquer Hyderabad and to crush Shivaji if only the emperor would be pleased to order the imperial troops to assist him. Aurangzeb agreed, and Diler Khan and Bulol Khan together arranged to invade Golkonda territories late in 1677. Bahadur Khan left the Dekhan in September 1677. The Wazir, Asad Khan, who was sent by the emperor to put matters right in the Dekhan, returned very soon to the emperor's side, and Diler Khan, at the command of forces in the Dekhan, continued operations initiated by Bahadur Khan which resulted in the acquisition of a vast tract of land enclosed by a line drawn from the river Bhima and the Manjera to Bider and Gulburga, turning southwards towards Halsangi, not very far from Bijapur. On the south-eastern side, the frontiers came into touch with the important fortresses of Golkonda on that side particularly Malkhed. Neither the successes of Bahadur Khan, nor the alliance of Diler Khan with Bulol Khan of Bijapur, brought the Mughals any nearer to possession of Bijapur, which was the object that the emperor set his heart upon. In accordance with the terms made by Bulol Khan, a joint attack was made upon Malkhed. While Bahadur Khan himself had been laying siege to Gulburga in June 1677,

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the Quṭub Shah massed his forces on the western frontier under the commander-in-chief, Muhammad Ibrahim, merely to watch the frontier and not to enter into the war. When Gulburga fell Golkonda was threatened with attack unless the Quṭub Shah delivered up to the Mughals Shivaji and Shaik Minhaj, the Dekhani general of Bijapur, who had taken service with him. The negotiations[1] developed ultimately into a demand for a crore of rupees and ten thousand horse as a fine for Golkonda having assisted Shivaji. Golkonda offered to pay five lakhs of rupees and no more. But Diler Khan and Bulol Khan made up their minds to attack Malkhed in reply. After various incidents, the Golkonda forces got the better of it ultimately as the combined forces of the Mughals and Bijapur were hard put to it in the course of the war. Diler Khan therefore solicited peace as his friend Bulol Khan was in his death-bed. In the meanwhile, Golkonda's intervention was sought by Siddi Masaud and other nobles still faithful to the house of the Adil Shah. Abul Hasan Kuṭub Shah's intervention brought the different parties in Bijapur to agree to the following terms. Bulol Khan was to resign the regency, Siddi Masaud succeeding him. Six lakhs of rupees, the arrears of pay due to the Afghan soldiers, should be paid by Masaud and the forces disbanded on condition that these forces quitted Bijapur. Bulol Khan was to retire to his own fief. The Quṭub Shah agreed to see that the Bijapur territory was not attacked for the future, and a Golkonda agent was to be stationed in Bijapur, whose advice was to be taken in regard to the administration of affairs. Akkanna, the brother of Madanna, was chosen for this post. At the same time, Masaud met the Mughal general Diler Khan at Gulburga, and agreed in return for the Wazirship of Bijapur to take orders from the emperor Aurangzeb, and not to make any alliance with Shivaji, but rather to help the Mughals in their attempt to take from him the Mahratta territory. The Adil Shah's sister Padsha Bibi was to marry a son of the Mughal emperor. On the face of it, Masaud had put himself in an ambiguous position. Bulol Khan died in December 1677, and Masaud entered on his regency. His first difficulty was the disbanding of the Afghan soldiery in Bijapur that he undertook to do depending upon a promise of Golkonda to find the money. The Quṭub Shah delayed payment, and the Afghan troops

[1] Martin : p. 331.

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of Bulol Khan went into mutiny, and life became impossible almost in Bijapur. Masaud's power was of the slightest even inside the capital. In this desperate position, he alienated the sympathy of the Mughals by attempting to get into a secret alliance with Shivaji. The disorders encouraged the activities of Shivaji on his side, and, notwithstanding the protests of Diler Khan, Masaud invited Shivaji to help him out of his difficulties in Bijapur. Masaud brought upon himself the troubles that he attempted to avoid. The terms of the treaty with Diler Khan were a negation of the obligations that he undertook to discharge to Golkonda, and naturally Golkonda refused to put him in resources for disbanding the Afghan soldiery. Their mutiny almost paralysed the administration of Bijapur, and drove the regent into the arms of Shivaji as the only means of safety. This alliance with the Mahratta made the Mughal general hostile. So the hostility of the Mughal general on one side and the coolness on the side of Golkonda put Masaud completely at the mercy of Shivaji. Shivaji made an effort to render the assistance that was asked, but even there what the Regent did was hardly what was to have been expected of an ally. Shivaj's troops were looked upon with suspicion. After making an effective diversion against Shivaji, Diler Khan found out the shiftiness of Masaud's policy; and not only withheld further assistance, but felt even compelled to attack the Adil Shahi territory again. With the internal disturbance brought on by misunderstandings between the regent and Sharza Khan, affairs in Bijapur were in such utter confusion that nothing could be done against the advancing Mughals. Shivaji having been looked upon with suspicion, the Mughal general thrown into opposition by the attempted alliance with Shivaji, affairs in Bijapur itself being in a hopeless condition, Bijapur was at the mercy of Diler Khan. Diler Khan wanted to take possession of Bijapur by a *coup*. Information of it somehow leaked out, and those in Bijapur whom he wished to capture had time to escape, and Diler Khan's attempt proved abortive. He was driven to the alternative of bribing Bijapur troops and nobles to betray the interests of Bijapur rather more successfully. Masaud had no alternative but to agree to what terms Diler Khan demanded, and among them was the proposed marriage of the Bijapur princess Padishah Bibi, who by a voluntary act of hers left the city of her birth to become two years afterwards the wife of prince Azam, son of Aurangzeb. Not satisfied with this surrender,

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Diler Khan demanded the resignation by Masaud of his regency. A war became inevitable, and Diler Khan had to carry on the war under very disadvantageous circumstances as the viceroy. Shah Alam was very far from friendly to him. Diler Khan's operations therefore delayed, Masaud was just able to provision the fort and put in such troops as he still had command of into the fort. He had no alternative but to appeal to Shivaji, who rendered prompt and effective assistance. Masaud utilised this and the disadvantages under which Diler Khan laboured to gain time, so that Shivaji might have the chance of crip pling the Mughal power. Shivaji succeeded in raiding the Mughal territory so effectively that Diler Khan's ruin became certain, as complaints were constantly reaching the prince viceroy in regard to the destructive activity of Shivaji's forces, and the incapacity of the Mughal general to render effective assistance. Diler Khan's trump-card in these operations happened to be the person of Sambaji, son of Shivaji in camp. He had run away from his father at the end of the previous year and was well received by the Mughal general in whose-camp he happened to be. But in the midst of these troubles, he managed to escape first to Bijapur and ultimately to Panhala, early in December 1679.

With the return of Sambaji the position of Sivaji had improved much. He had rendered valuable and effective assistance to Bijapur, and had been the means of saving Bijapur for the time being. This would be a very good set-off for all that he may have done against Bijapur, although ostensibly he was still on terms with them as before. Diler Khan's position had been terribly damaged. His efforts to take Bijapur ended in failure. The advantage of having Sham-bhuji in his camp which he regarded as a trump-card had been lost; his operations against Golkonda so far had been only futile, and all this was cause enough to give the emperor the greatest dissatisfaction. The emperor was getting himself involved in a very difficult struggle against the Rajputs of Chitoor and Udaipur; but for this, he might have shown his anger more decisively. What the emperor actually did, however, was to call back Shah Alam the viceroy and Diler Khan the general, and send in their stead minister Khan-i-Jahan to rehabilitate the Mughal position in the Dakhan. The net result of the operations so far had been the promise of subordination that Shah Alam got from the Bijapur authorities

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to the Emperor. Otherwise things had gone wrong all round. The operations that Sivaji began as a counter-stroke to the attack on Bijapur by the Mughals by carrying depredations into the Mughal territory and distracting their attention, still continued and put an end to their authority all along the whole frontier from Burhanpur in the north to the territory immediately round Sholapur in the south. While they were being reduced to stalemate like this, occurred the death of Sivaji and the accession of Sambhuji to power. The disturbance immediately following Sambhuji's accession to the throne kept the Mahratta trouble under control, and gave a certain amount of respite to the Mughal Wazir to bring the whole Mughal Dakhan into some kind of order and give to the subjects of those territories some peace and security which they badly needed. In the meanwhile occurred the rebellion of prince Akbar who set himself up against his father; proclaiming himself emperor, he had dethroned the old great Mughal by proclamation, and had put himself under the protection of Shambhuji. The Mughal resources had to be turned to this new danger and a campaign had to be undertaken against Shambhaji, and prince Akbar. This dragged on for a while till the Emperor himself brought to a close his campaign in Rajputana, and was able to arrive in the Dakhan and take command of the operations about the end of the year 1681. His presence in the Dakhan changed the whole aspect of affairs, and Mughal armies were sent into the Konkan and into the southern Mahratta Country against Shambhaji. But Shambaji showed himself in this campaign a worthy son of Sivaji, and kept the whole Mughal army at bay. The campaign dragged on for two years like this and it was only the application of all the Mughal resources that brought the Mahrattas to bay and finished this campaign successfully.

The Emperor could turn his attention to Bijapur which in his opinion was responsible for the Mahratta trouble. The best way to get rid of the Mahratta power was by concentrating all Mughal forces against them. So the various divisions of the Mughal army were called to headquarters, and were sent down to attack each its own particular portion of the Mahratta frontier. Shambhaji was at that time occupied in a struggle against the Portuguese, and the opportunity for this onslaught was well chosen as the Mahratta feudatories

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were getting gradually discontented against the rule of Sambhaji, and several chieftains of note were ready to adopt a policy of defection to which they were incited by the agents of the Great Mughal. Notwithstanding this Shambhaji was able to carry on for a considerably long time; but gradually he had to give way before the operations under the command of the Emperor himself. At the end of 1684 the Mughal outposts were pushed in along the frontier, and the Mahrattas were brought under control in a way. Then the Mughals hurled themselves against Bijapur as getting rid of Bijapur and annexing it to the Mughal territory would weaken the Mahrattas very considerably. The Emperor discovered that Bijapur was still playing into the hands of the Mahrattas, and rather than overcome the Mahrattas and attack Bijapur, it seemed to him better to get rid of Bijapur first. One way of starving the Mahrattas, it appeared to the Emperor, was to destroy Bijapur and annex it to the Mughal dominions. The operations against Bijapur began actively about the end of 1683, and the war dragged on, along with the operations against the Mahrattas, throughout 1684, and the siege of Bijapur really began in 1685. The Bijapuris put up as efficient a defence of the fortress against the Mughal attack as they possibly could this time, and ultimately the Emperor had to change the original arrangements and to draw himself closer to the scene of operations. He removed his headquarters to Sholapur where he remained during the siege. The Adil Shah in turn received assistance from Siddhi Masaud from distant Kurnool, the Golkonda forces arrived from Hyderabad under Ambaji Pandit, and Shambhuji himself sent an army corps under Hambir Rao. At this stage of the operations the Emperor in spite of all his efforts found the Quṭub Shahis joining forces with Bijapur. The Emperor wanted Abul Hasan not to help the Adil Shah in any way. But Abul Hasan responded to Adil-Shah's appeal in July 1684, and adopted, under the advice of Madanna, the wise policy of standing side by side with the Dakhani powers as against the common enemy. The Emperor found it necessary to divide his forces and send Shah Alam and Khan-i-Jahan to attack Hyderabad. The Mughal siege of Bijapur continued, Bijapur having various successes.

The grand army having been long in occupation of the territory of Bijapur all round, famine threatened the camp; supplies could not come with regularity from the north; communications were closed.

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Prince Azam was in great straits to carry on the operations successfully, and it became a question whether the siege operations were to be continued or given up. The emperor responded to his appeal and sent supplies and reinforcements in time. Simultaneously success attended the operations of Shah Alam against Hyderabad. He was able to enter Golkonda and the murder of the minister Madanna drove Abul Hasan to shut himself up in Golkonda. In March 1686, the emperor shifted his headquarters to very near Bijapur itself, and ultimately Bijapur fell on September 12, 1686, after a siege of very near two years. A week after Aurangazeb himself entered the fort and Bijapur became a Mughal possession.

After the fall of Bijapur the days of Golkonda existing as an independent state could not be many. But before coming to the fall of Golkonda we shall have to note the salient features of its history and mark the evolution of its policy which brought about its downfall. We have already noted the part that Golkonda played in regard to the kingdom of Bijapur in the immediate neighbourhood, and the Mahratta state under Shambhuji. The policy adopted was one of alliance with the Dakhan rulers as against their common enemy the Mughal. This alliance continued unbroken up to the death of Sivaji notwithstanding the fact that after 1677 the relation between Sivaji and Golkonda was not perhaps as cordial as before because of differences in regard to Sivaji's conquests in the Karnatic. The general policy pursued by Golkonda was perhaps the only sound one at the time and in the particular circumstances, namely pursuing a common policy with Bijapur and the Mahrattas as against the Mughals, if the independence of this southern kingdom from the Mughal empire was at all a worthy ambition. The Quṭub Shahi kingdom was not protected by a natural frontier against the Mughals in the north. It was the same case with the Bijapur kingdom to a considerable extent. The only question to consider in regard to this policy is not whether it was right or wise, but whether it was possible and whether the Quṭub Shah's resources were such as to make an effective stand against Mughal attack. The weakness of the policy consisted in the impossibility of the three states cooperating and adopting consistently a common policy. Aurangzib hardly wanted a cause for war. But he wanted a suitable opportunity when he could attack these kingdoms and annex them successfully.

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If Aurangzib was kept from annexing these kingdoms, it is not want of will, but much rather the facility to do so. Sir Jadunath Sarkar tells a story that Mirza Mohammad, the Mughal envoy in Abul Hasan's court, one day took the Quṭub Shah to task by making the remark 'it does not become you to assume the title of the emperor. If Aurangzib hears of it, he will become more angry.' The Quṭub Shah replied promptly 'you chide me by mistake. If we are not called Padishahs how can Aurangzib be styled the Padishah of Padishahs.' This gives an idea of what the Mughal policy was towards Golkonda. 'Resigning his royal position to his Wazir, Madanna, he shut himself up into his palace with an army of concubines and dancing girls.'[1] Whether this character given to Abul Hasan is historically sound we shall consider a little later. But in the meanwhile what we have to consider is the more important sequence of historical incidents which would give an idea of what the administration of the state of Golkonda was during the period. We have noticed already that Abul Hasan actively pursued the policy of Madanna of assisting Bijapur as against Mughal attacks. Abul Hasan and Madanna were responsible for pursuing an active military policy along the Mughal frontier of their dominions, and beating back more than one Mughal invasion. They came to a definite agreement with the Adil Shahi kingdom, and assured themselves of the adoption of a similar sound policy by that state by even appointing a resident in Bijapur in the person of Akkanna as was already stated. During the period (1674–79) of five years we hear already that Abul Hasan and Madanna were making a tour in the course of the administration of affairs. The first which refers to about 1673–74 was delayed, but it was undertaken sometime in 1675. On another tour Abul Hasan and Madanna were reported to have been residing in Bezwada early in 1679 according to the reports to the Company at Fort St. George. This is referred to by Martin in his Memoirs. That does not look exactly like confining himself to his palace, and fuddling himself with wine and women.[2] The Mughal historians and those historians that wrote about these states from outside

[1] The same learned historian relates 'From the thoughts of these humiliations and the impending ruin of his house, Abul Hasan, like Wajid Ali Shah, sought destraction or oblivion by plunging into unrelieved sensuality.' (Fryer, i. 85).

[2] D and C. Letter of 29th February 1675–6; also 22nd April 1679. Letter from Fort Saint George, 6th February 1678-9.

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have little to say of Golkonda or Bijapur when they did not come into contact with the Mughals. The period 1668–86 was a period when these complications of operations demanding concentrated attention upon the Mahratta country put perhaps Bijapur and Golkonda outside the horizon of those histriographers who wrote about the history of operations of the Mughals. But what we are able to gather of this period from the information that is available from the records of Fort St. George gives us an entirely different idea. We have referred already to one feature that a couple of tours were undertaken by Abul Hasan Quṭub Shah; but the facts of history come to us in an entirely different light from the records. These are generally found in letters written by a Brahman who was in residence at Golkonda to transact business for the British Company in Fort St. George. There were similar agents of other Companies such as the Dutch. These people kept sending news of what was taking place at Golkonda. These Companies themselves had to transact items of business of varying importance from time to time. The Brahman ministers of Golkonda, Madanna and Akkanna, appear in these British records in a light which is entirely different from that which one would infer from extracts given above. The Company's servants no doubt complain of the exacting character of the Brahman ministers; but when the actual exactions get to be analysed it is found that it is nothing more than enforcing strictly the incidences of the administration coupled of course with what these people generally called *Sallabad*, the *mamul* of modern times, in regard to presents which were bribes and nothing less. The Company's agents in Fort St. George were struggling might and main to get their possession of Fort St. George out of the official control of the local ruler for the time being, namely, the Tarafdar of Poonamallee within whose territory lay the town of Madras.[1] The Tarafdar was more than equal to these and held fast to his official right, and pointed out to the government that, even to the Company, the carrying on of this administration efficiently would be impossible unless the head-quarters transacted business with the Company's agent at Madras through him. This Tarafdar was no other than Podili Linganna one of the nephews of Madanna. Another of their nephews was the Tahsildar of Bhadrachalam by name Gopanna who is better known perhaps to

[1] D and C. December 1676 and 20th idem.

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tradition in his new devotional name Ramdas. Another nephew of theirs rendered distinguished service as a military man and is known by the title Rustam Rao. Madanna kept his position as chief minister; Akkanna began by occupying the position of the controller of the forces, and had been at one time described as commissioner of the south who had been in a progress of pilgrimage and inspection to the south when he visited Tirupati and Kalhasti not far from each other, and quite close to Madras.[1] Akkanna advanced from that position to that of the Golkonda Resident in Bijapur, and later on, he seems to have held for a while the position occupied by Mir Jumla of the governorship of the entire Golkonda Karnatic. But after 1682 he was occupying a post of great importance at court because we hear of Podili Linganna being promoted to that position, the position held by Neknam Khan who was one of the successors of Mir Jumla. While one does not see very much of Abul Hasan Quṭub Shah's work directly in what appears in this correspondence, one is able to see clearly that the administration was carried on with efficiency. The Company's agents did complain about the *Tashriffs* and demands at various time for various amounts of presents. They did not complain of things not being done. Privileges were demanded, and bribes were offered in proportion to the value of those privileges. It was not always possible to secure the privileges demanded even at the price. One would interpret this as a sign of efficiency rather than that of inefficiency; but that Abul Hasan Quṭub Shah was not a cypher in the administration is clear from the fact that some of the agents of the Company could appeal to him and get things done. Of course that happened only occasionally, and always through other high-placed men of the court such as the Sar-i-Khal Ibrahim through whom, for a certain period of time, the Company's agents of Fort St. George were paying their annual rent of 1,200 pagodas.[2] The matter of contention between Podili Linganna and the Company generally were in regard to the rising in commercial position of Fort St. George through various causes, and particularly the deprivation of the customs revenue of the state of Golkonda which was fast passing to Fort St. George even to the detriment of the harbours in the immediate neighbourhood

[1] D and C. 27th March 1681; 4th April 1681 and 15th idem.
[2] D and C., December 1676.

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such as Mylapore.[1] This spelt the complete ruin of the customs revenue of Golkonda, and meant necessarily the increase of the customs revenue of Fort St. George to that extent and perhaps more. Then again it was another point that Linganna could never forget or forgive, that Fort St. George should pay its rent only through him, and should have no transactions directly with the king and his ministers at Golkonda. He often complained to the head-quarters, and often succeeded in getting the headquarters to agree with him. There is a letter written by Akkanna to the agents of Fort St. George that Linganna had power to transact business, and that the Company's agents would be wise if they did their business through him, as he had the power.[2] To some considerable extent it seems to have been recognised in the days of Sir William Langhorn and when Gyfford assumed the agency. In the interim however, when Sir Streynsham Master held the agency, things went to an unpleasant extent. Linganna was inexorable in enforcing his official rights. Master was equally tenacious and went the length of adopting high-handed measures to enforce what he deemed to be his rights. But these were nothing short of coercive measures put upon the subjects of Golkonda and would have been sufficient cause for war.[3] Master notes in his Diary that minister Madanna and his master Abul Hasan Quṭub Shah were in Bezwada at one time, and even distant Madapollam at another time. He notes that at Madapollam a house built by an Englishman was looked upon as good enough by the Shah to be purchased for his use in case of need.[4] In regard to the time when the two visited Bezwada it is mentioned that both of them were there with a view to inspecting the locality and refortifying the stronghold of Kondapalli to which they intended moving the treasures in case of need.[5] This was sometime about A.D. 1679 while Aurangzib's attack had not begun. In the light of these facts which should be regarded thoroughly historical, that Abul Hasan could be regarded exactly as Fryer describes him would be hazardous. The fact of Abul Hasan's offending the emperor are set down in the latter's own words.

[1] D and C. 29th February 1675–6.
[2] Letters to Fort St. George : Ollampana's letter, June 1681 ; Accanna's letter, 2nd October 1681.
[3] 22nd April 1679, p. 81. [4] 10th April 1679, p. 96. [5] See note 3 above.

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'This luckless wretch (meaning Abul Hasan Quṭb Shah) has given the supreme power in his State to a *kafir*, and made Sayyids, Shaikhs and scholars subject to that man. He has publicly allowed (in his realm) all kinds of sin and vice viz., taverns, brothels, and gambling houses. He himself is day and night sunk in the deadly sins, through his excessive devotion to drink, and fails to distinguish between Islam and infidelity, justice and oppression, sin and piety. By refusing to respect God's commands and prohibitions, by sending aid to infidel Powers, and by promising one lakh of *hun* to the *kafir* Shambhu, he has made himself accursed before God and man.' (K. K. ii, 328.)

Analysed, it comes to this: Abul Hasan appointed a Hindu prime minister to conduct the administration. He has tolerated the Hindus and Hinduism without distinguishing between Islam and infidelity, justice and oppression, sin and piety. He assisted infidel powers like the Mahrattas, and was on terms of peace with Śivaji and his son Sambhaji. These three sets of his acts were inexcusable in the eyes of the fanatic Emperor, and therefore of the orthodox historian.

We shall examine these separately. Abul Hasan Quṭb Shah was a man of humble origin, and was by chance elevated to his high destinies. He found the nobles of the court not inclined to show him the respect that was due to his position—a feature not uncommon in Muhammaḍan history. He preferred therefore those that would be more loyal and deferential to him and his position. He appointed officials in the persons of the two brothers who brought hard work and efficiency to their work; who had risen to a position from which they could be elevated to the highest dignity in the state. If that is a crime, under Islamic law, Abul Hasan could quote illustrious precedents for it. The ultimate test is whether these men conducted themselves efficiently in the interests of the State, and in those of their master Abul Hasan. In regard to the first it is fairly clear that the policy they adopted in regard to it was probably the best in the circumstances, notwithstanding the ultimate adverse result. It was perhaps inevitable that ultimately these kingdoms should be absorbed in the Mughal Empire. About the result, the dictum of history is certainly not united in a chorus of praise. The civil administration seems to have been at least as efficient in this state as in those contemporaneous with that of Quṭb Shah including the Empire. Except for the personal

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hatred conceived, and a general dislike to the ministers carrying on a policy of rigorous retrenchment at the time, there is nothing on record against them as such. Even Sir Jadunath Sarkar notes down: 'Madanna very wisely advised him not to shut himself up in Golkonda but go to Warangal or some other distant fort so that, in the event of Golkonda being besieged by the Mughals, he would be free to move about to reinforce its defenders. But this advice only deepened the king's suspicion of his Wazir's sinister design as suggested by Shaikh Minhaj.' This relates to the time when Aurangzib succeeded in detaching Mirza Ibrahim from his loyalty to Quṭub Shah. As a result of this desertion, Abul Hasan shut himself up in the fort of Golkonda. This does not show Madanna at all in the light of a disloyal traitor to his master.

A desertion like that of Mirza Ibrahim at this critical juncture,[1] as of Mir Jumla on the previous occasion, gives adequate explanation why Abul Hasan on the first occasion, the chance offered itself, appointed the Brahman brothers to the highest offices in the state. So long as Aurangzib, or his agents were in the Dakhan and pursued the Dakhan policy inaugurated long before, the danger of defection of Muhammadan Officers was quite real. The chances of Brahman ministers deserting their ruler and joining the Padishah must have seemed to him unlikely, as in fact it was, not because Aurangzib would not make the effort, but Aurangzib was far from likely to have made himself acceptable to them. While Aurangzib therefore may be regarded as quite right from his own point of view, in objecting to the Quṭb Shah's appointment of Brahman ministers, the Quṭub Shah could offer valid justification for the policy that he adopted in this matter. So neither the appointment of the Brahman ministers, nor the vesting of his confidence in them that Abul Hasan Quṭb Shah did, need be held to indicate weakness on the part of the Quṭub Shah.

Coming to the second point of his offending, which is more or less intimately connected with this, namely, of his placing the *Kaffir* above the faithful, and conducting himself impartially as between the Islamic and alien faiths, the Quṭub Shah may have to plead guilty to the fact, but perhaps, may plead in extenuation, that it was a measure of more

[1] Letters to Fort St. George, 22nd March 1682 and 17th May 1682.

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prudential policy as proved by the experience of his predecessors even. Before becoming the Quṭub Shah, Abul Hasan was of poor parentage and may have been thrown very much into the company of Hindus, and the Islamic Pir, in whose services he happened to be at the time, may have been a teacher of a more liberal form of the Islamic religion than perhaps the Emperor would have approved of. Whatever be the actual reason, in the surroundings in which Abul Hasan Quṭub Shah was placed, he probably felt that he ought, as far as may be, to hold the balance even as between his Hindu and Muhammadan subjects. We have no definite evidence of historical documents in regard to the pursuing of a liberal policy in religion like that; but there is a continuous living tradition in the story of Ramdas and his misappropriation of public funds for the purpose of building a temple, and otherwise providing for the requirements of the temple, to Śrī Rama in Bhadrāchalam. When after long years of demand, the Quṭub Shah took actually coercive measures, the story has it that a miraculous payment of the sum was made, and a receipt obtained directly from the Quṭub Shah himself, by two men calling themselves Rama and Lakshmana, peons of the Bhadrāchalam circar, who came overnight, paid the balance demanded in cash, and obtained a receipt then and there of the Padishah himself. The historian is not called upon to believe in the miracle or its occurrence. But the fact that the Tashildar, a faithful servant of the government till before this, and influentially connected as he was, should have allowed himself to be tortured severely all for the sake of his own faith in Śrī Rama, may possibly have made an impression upon the Quṭub Shah, and, if that, should have happened early in his reign or even later, it might account partially for perhaps a more than usually liberal policy towards his Hindu subjects. Whatever it be, it does not appear to have been so unusual in the history of the Dakhani Sultanates that the Hindus enjoyed high official preferment under the various kingdoms during the first days of their existence, though generally the Muhammadans enjoyed more than their share of the loaves and fishes of office. As it is we have seen that apart from the two brothers, Madanna and Akkanna, three of their nephews occupied positions of importance, and one of them was advanced to as high a position as that of the distinguished Golkonda governors Mir Jumla and Neknam Khan; and this could not have been all through sheer favouritism. The tenacity with which this particular

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man fought for the financial advantages of the Golkonda government against the British Company at Fort St. George and its masterful agent Sir Streynsham Master, and the fact that he even distinguished himself in a military way by carrying on war against Sambhaji's officers, and acquiring for Golkonda the possession of a place like Chikkanayakanahalli in Mysore,[1] redound to his credit and ability no less than his loyalty. It was not unworthy favouritism that brought him up, nor that he was guilty of sacrificing the interests of the state to selfish ends.

The third charge against Abul Hasan Quṭub Shah is the pursuing of a pro-Mahratta policy, the responsibility for which the historian assigns a good measure to the prime minister Madanna. Nothing succeeds like success; but success is not the only test of the soundness of a policy adopted under certain circumstances. In the circumstances in which Abul Hasan Quṭub Shah came to the throne, and, in the surroundings in which he was actually placed, there were only two courses open to him—either submitting himself to the Emperor and 'placing his neck under the yoke' in the language of the Islamic historians, and perhaps becoming one of the mansabadars of the empire,—in other words, bringing about the political extinction of the Golkonda state as such. The other is, so long as there was a chance, to bring the resources of the three states of South India together, and set a term to the advance of the Mughal power in the Dakhan. From the point of view of the Muhammadan Aurangzib this would be a heinous crime, if for no other reason than this, namely, that it would assure the permanency of the Mahratta state in the condition in which it was, if not, give it a new lease of existence. Subsequent history has amply demonstrated the unwisdom of the policy pursued by Aurangzib as against the Mahrattas, and with no great success. This policy would bring no advantage, either for Bijapur or for Golkonda; but would amount to committing a political suicide and becoming merged in the empire, unless it be to put the Mahrattas in a position of disadvantage in the struggle against the advancing power of the Mughals. It was really to the interests of these Islamic states, their political interests, that the Mahratta state should not go out of existence, and the conditions of the problem made it certain that the previous destruction of the Mahrattas could only put off the destruction

[1] Letter to Fort St. George, 27th October 1682.

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of the Muhammadan power for a short while. The previous submission of the Islamic powers would put the Mahratta state at a considerable disadvantage and even immediate jeopardy. But it was not likely to have altered the course of history of the Mahratta struggle at the time. The policy adopted by Abul Hasan Qutub Shah at the time of alliance with Sivaji and Bijapur was one which perhaps was best in the circumstances. If all the three pulled together and put forth their utmost resources and fought hard, the success of the imperial power would have been really difficult; and if they held it for a few years and old Aurangzib passed away, they might have continued to exist as separate states.

If what is said above is justifiable historically, the part that the Brahman ministers played is one which ought to be held to redound to their honour, and to the loyalty with which they served the master that employed them. In the alliance with Sivaji, the part that Madanna played must have been one of smoothening the difficulties in the way and bringing about the alliance with far greater ease than perhaps would have happened otherwise. It is just possible that the minister, or the ministers, sympathised inwardly at any rate, with the ambition of Sivaji; but there is no hint in any of our sources that Sivaji cherished the ambition of annexing Golkonda to his dominions, and of the Golkonda ministers agreeing to a proposition like that. The worst that could be said is that, in allowing and actively assisting Sivaji to make his conquests of Bijapuri Karnatak, Golkonda may have expected a share of the spoil. But in all accounts of the campaign there is no mention that Sivaji carried on operations against any division which might be regarded as belonging to the Golkonda Karnatak. He seems to have confined himself entirely to what he might have regarded as the part of the Karnatak conquered, no doubt for Bijapur, by his father Shahji or his brother Ekoji. As a matter of fact, his operations were confined to the portions conquered by Shahji himself, and he had no thoughts of attempting any military operation against Tanjore. If it is found to be a part of the agreement that a share of these conquests should be given to Golkonda, that question would arise only when his conquests should be definitively regarded as his own. They were so far conquests that he made ostensibly under Bijapur, and, it might be said, held of them as firmly as other portions of the territory belonging to Bijapur held by him. So far as the

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position of the ministers were concerned there is nothing in this transaction that would compromise their loyalty to the state that they served. We have already indicated that in civil administration they carried it on with a little more of bureaucratic efficiency than before. For the bribery and corruption that may have prevailed, the times were responsible, and there is absolutely nothing to show that they were more corrupt than their contemporaries, officials and non-officials, Muhammadans and Hindus. It would be interesting to note in this connection what the French writer Martin has to say of the Brahman ministers in regard to the rigours of whose administration his complaint is as bitter as those of any other.

Referring to the Mughal demands before the invasion by Aurangzib, Martin writes, 'The great lords of his court perceiving the weakness of the government of the prince, and that he entrusted it entirely to the minister Madanna, who daily reduced their salaries, kept some understanding with the court of the Mughals. It is believed that it was by their advice that considerable sums were daily demanded with the object of having a pretext for attacking the kingdom if they were refused, or, if the money or a part of it was paid which would ruin and render the king incapable of raising troops when he would attack.' The administration had to be carried on under the gravest disadvantages possible. The army had to be maintained on a war-footing, and wars were of frequent occurrence and had to be carried on. This would necessitate considerable stringency in regard to money and the raising of revenue for the purposes of the state. A Brahman minister in an Islamic state would, under the best of circumstances, be unpopular; but where the administration was, under the imperious necessity, to adopt measures of retrenchment, the minister chiefly responsible for it should necessarily become unpopular. Certainly he seems to have been unpopular with the Muhammadan nobles and officials at the court; but the ordinary people seem to have regarded him with reverence as the extract from the Dutch journal Havart pointed out. People seem to have respected him and exhibited considerable regard. Even that journal Havart says 'Madanna was well versed in Persian, Hindustani and the vernaculars of the country, and lived in a kingly style; as the golden palanquin in which he went out in the streets appeared, people showed their respect by stopping on the way. He was very kind to the Dutch.' That popular respect

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could not have been obtained without some justification in the administration, at any rate having done them some good. The source of information for this Dutch journal, whatever that be, was anything but favourable to the ministers, as we shall have to note hereafter. But it will suffice here to say that even this hostile witness had to state it that Madanna enjoyed a measure of popular respect, while he was undoubtedly in the last years of his rule unpopular with Muhammadans of position. Speaking of the Brahman administration generally, the following remarks of Martin seem to the point: 'A party of Reddis, these are people who keep most of their lands, withdrew to the woods because Sivaji's officers did not observe the conditions of their treaties with them. There was a general disorder in the province and (this was always) caused by the Brahmans. They also wanted to cause us some damage at the commencement of the month of September. On the pretext of getting measured (surveyed) a garden that we had outside the lodge, the residences of our married Frenchmen who were in the colony and the houses of the people of the country who were in the Company's service and to enforce a tax upon (us). I strongly opposed it.' These remarks have reference to the neighbourhood of Pondicherry in the province of Gingee. It was a new conquest, and it was Raghunath Pant and his officials that were trying to introduce an orderly administration, which certainly must have caused considerable dissatisfaction, legitimate as well as other than legitimate. That the dissatisfaction could be other than legitimate is clear from the instances given by Martin himself. It is not obvious why the garden occupied by them should not be measured like other lands, and why this land should not be put under the usual kind of revenue. This kind of dissatisfaction naturally would be given in a fairly large number of cases, and that was the kind of dissatisfaction that one hears of generally from the records of the foreigners. But, be it said to the credit of Martin, that unlike the average of them he is more discriminating even where he has something to say directly concerning the administration of Raghunath Pant. He says in a passage regarding a conversation that the French Brahman agent had with Ragarnat Pendit (Raghunath Pant). The Governor-General of the province Raghunath Pandit is said to have complained strongly that the French carried on no commerce and brought in no revenue to the

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state, and if anything, they were disadvantageous to the state inasmuch as the Dutch who were carrying on trade and were paying revenue, had to abandon their factory because of the presence of the French. Raghunath Pant offered to wait for another year or two to give them time before he took any measures to eject them from the country; but in the meanwhile he demanded a certain sum of money which he badly needed to carry on the administration, when the agent explained to him that the French had no money, that they would be quite willing to leave the place as soon as they should have facility to do so. Martin notes that Raghunath Pant was actually set up against the French, and the unsatisfactory treatment of the French by him was due to that. And then he proceeds to note, 'It is true that the Governor-General lacked money for paying the troops, but that proceeded from two causes; the first (was) that the Brahmans from the highest officer to the lowest robbed with impunity; the second reason (was) the ill-treatment accorded to the people which drove many to leave and pass on to the territory of neighbouring princes; so that the province did not yield two-thirds of its ordinary revenue. It must, however, be admitted that the Brahmans were more careful in making the lands profitable than those under the government of the Muhammadans had appeared to us to be. A number of places around Pondicherry covered with brambles and brushwood only, of which nobody thought (anything), was reclaimed and these have produced since, but the best part of these improvements went to the profit of the Brahmans.' While appraising the value of the evidence of even a man like Martin, we have to make a distinction between that which appears on the surface and visible to the on-looker, and that which is a little more recondite. In this passage while one may readily accept what he has to say regarding the ill-treatment of the inhabitants and the better character of the cultivation, etc., one might well question how far his remarks regarding the misappropriation of the revenue would be valid. The government of Sivaji, by all accounts, was careful in regard to this particular, and in arranging for the orderly administration and the collection of revenue of a new province, Sivaji must have had the means to ascertain what was necessary by way of revenue, and would have taken steps to assure himself that the bulk of what was collected went into his treasury. Of course in the stages of the initial introduction of administration in a newly

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conquered province recently emerging from war, things are not likely to be quite regular, but that the revenue should all be appropriated by the officials to the extent the words of Martin would imply, one might well doubt. It is hardly necessary to exonerate Raghunath Pant and his official staff from all blame. In regard to the matter it would be carrying credulity too far to accept the statement at its face value, as it would mean that in Mahratta administration, checks from above were non-existent even under Sivaji. Anyhow, as far as the main features of the Brahman administration so much complained against is concerned, it reveals a bureaucratic efficiency which hit hard the dishonest ryots certainly, and perhaps the honest ryot to some extent. If Raghunath Pant had been *Karbari* under Shahji and the son of Shahji, the *Karbari* must have been a trained administrator and administered the province carefully, and if Sivaji placed him at the head of the revenue administration of the new province, the appointment could not have been for the purpose of Raghunath Pant and his official staff swallowing all the revenue for themselves, with a ruler like Sivaji above. But that has nothing to do with the Golkonda administration or Madanna directly.

Judged on the whole, the administration of Madanna may be regarded in some respects thoroughly good; and such unpopularity as attached to him and his administration were incidental to the exigencies of war and the demands of the abnormal position of Golkonda during the period.

We have pointed out elsewhere that the arrangements made for carrying on mining operations at Gollapallee[1] in the Krishna District show themselves in several particulars very much more advantageous than the arrangements under which diamond mining had to be carried on under Mir Jumla in the neighbouring Districts. In the mining localities of Ramallakotta, as Tavernier calls this, actually Ravalkonda and Kollur in the neighbourhood, the terms imposed according Tavernier's account seem very hard, and leave comparatively little to the miners by way of wages or profits. Whereas the mines that were working in Gollapallee earned more and looked very much better in condition as testified to by Sir Streynsham Master who noted it

[1] *Journal of Indian History*, ix. p. 361. Also Proceedings of *the Indian Historical Records Commission*, Patna, 1930.

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carefully in his diary. These Gollapallee mines were brought into work, after having remained abandoned for about two or three years, in 1673, almost with the accession of Madanna and Akkanna to power under Abul Hasan Quṭub Shah, and by the time that Sir Streynsham Master visited the locality the mines have been working for seven or eight years. The following extract gives an idea of the condition of the workers :

'The two towns of Mellavallee and Razipent the mines are very large and populous, but the buildings all thatched hovels ; the people are well fed, well clothed and look as though they fed well to undergo the hot labour, though corn etc., sold at excessive rates ; and the place must needs be full of money to pay thirty or forty thousand labourers in the mines besides many others.'

Further down he notes :

'The country around the locality looked "pleasant like England or London, but Razipent is a large pleasant green valley full of flocks of woolly sheep ; thence to Mustabad where we lodged this night, we travelled through the mountainous country, by very pleasant valleys with tanks of water, and came to our journeys' end about 8 at night, having travelled two gentue leagues."'

In regard to this passage as many as forty or fifty thousand labourers worked, the labourers earned as much as 15 pagodas a year and the town paid a rent of 60,000 pagodas. The customs duties which were usual were 50 per cent here unlike in the other mines where it was quite a 100 per cent. The license fees demanded were two pagodas, and four to five pagodas, per mensem, according to the number of labourers. Where a similar number of labourers were engaged, it was two pagodas per diem, under the old arrangements. If the details be compared, the arrangement made under Abul Hasan Quṭub Shah show themselves liberal and to the great advantage of the growth of the industry. The two sets of arrangements are the arrangements made by that great administrator Mir Jumla under Abdulla Quṭub Shah in the one case, and the arrangements made by Madanna and Akkanna under Abul Hasan Quṭub Shah in the other.

In the light of what has been said above, the estimate of the Dutch journalist which he had set down briefly in the four portraits that he had drawn of (1) Abul Hasan Quṭub Shah, (2) Madanna, (3) Akkanna, and (4) the riotous scene in which the two brothers were murdered and

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dragged about, would seem anything but true. Of the first he says: 'He was king only in name and not in deed. He attained to that dignity from the very lowest position, and allowed himself and his kingdom to be governed by others. He was a stupid and silly man, and not kingly in manners (never behaved like a king); when now fortune had fooled with him for a long time, he was kicked by (deprived of) his crown and throne by his own faults. He crept in the sand, ate dust and had to humiliate himself (behave) like a slave. Woe to that country where kings are mere children.' This certainly is an over-drawn picture. The supersession of the first minister and general was an act of Abul Hasan Quṭub Shah as well as the appointment of the Brahman brothers Madanna and Akkanna. According to the hostile evidence of authorities, otherwise dependable, that he entrusted the administration to others may be admitted as true; but that he took no responsibility therefore nor took any part in it, stands unproved from what has been said above. Certainly he lost his kingdom ultimately as many others had done before. The inaccuracies of this writer do not come out clearly in this. We come upon them fully in the next passage regarding 'Madanna-Suryaprakasa Rao.' 'Here we see Madanna drawn to life who was the plaything of fortune from the beginning of his youth until his death. He has risen from nothing to such a high level that even the king must obey him. He has removed his own master from office and state. (O, sacrilegious act of scoundrelism!) Nay, he dared to do anything. But, while attempting to deliver his king into the hands of his enemy, he was discovered, and lost his life through Sidemakta's sword. In the end, after all, the burden must be borne.' This exhibits to the fullest extent the unsatisfactory character of the information possessed by this illustrious representative of the fourth estate. Madanna started life in a small capacity under one of the most capable administrators of the Quṭub Shahi kingdom—Mir Jumla; and by steady work rose from position to position till he came very near the top when Abul Hasan Quṭub Shah found him ready to hand, in his effort to remove a minister who wanted to reduce him to the condition of a cypher. Such a career is not what exactly could be described as a 'plaything of fortune.' The Muhammadan surroundings were not likely to have been friendly to the advancement of Madanna and his brother. If in spite of it they could rise, it must have been through work, and certainly through

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some little of worth. That is for the first part of the statement. There could be absolutely no truth in either of the two statements that he makes regarding his treatment of Abul Hasan Quṭub Shah. It nowhere appears in any authority that he was handing over the Quṭub Shah into the hands of the Mughal. It was much rather otherwise. He had taken steps years before, in anticipation of this end, to provide a safe position for the Quṭub Shah to retreat into when such a need arose. It was through his efforts actively seconded by the approval and active co-operation of the Quṭub Shah himself, that Kondapalli was being fortified, and a strongly fortified city was almost ready for occupation if the Quṭub Shah was not unduly suspicious. Even when the enemy was at his doors, it was the advice of Madanna that the Quṭub Shah should not immure himself in the fortress of Golkonda, but rather fight in the open and escape, if need be, to the distant fortress of Kondapalli. So the more serious of the two statements could be proved wrong to the very hilt. It is not so easy to demonstrate that he threw his master into the background; that he literally removed him from his office is perhaps un-warranted even for a journalist's information; but that he carried on the administration which, to all external appearances, seemed as though he was ultimately responsible for, and not his sovereign, is quite possible; but that it need not necessarily be, needs no demonstration. As was pointed out above, a vigorous policy of retrenchment was adopted. It could be done only when the minister believed that he had persuaded the king, or the king persuaded himself, that the minister was doing the right thing. When the king had given the minister his confidence, then it would certainly appear as that the minister was doing everything and the master nothing. That this may be only for the look, the fact being otherwise, is quite possible, and seems in this case to have been the truth.

What this authority says of Akkanna certainly is 'tarring with the same brush.' He speaks of Akkanna as 'a beast in human form; whose cunning wicked tricks, whose scoundrelism and pride, should not be uttered (spoken of). No greater villain did the town of Golkonda ever witnessed. Participating the treason of his brother he was never contented; he suffered the same punishment and at the same time as Madanna.' This requires no separate criticism. Akkanna seems to have been a man of overweening character, but that he

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participated in the treason of his brother which has no bottom to rest on, may therefore be dismissed as being no more reliable than the other. In regard to this matter of the treason of the Hindu ministers. Abul Hasan Qutub Shah seems to have been firm in his confidence in the brothers, till the defection of Mirza Ibrahim, the Sar-i-Khel.[1] In spite of the fact that several of his other generals remained loyal to him, the defection of Ibrahim was put before him as though that of a protégé of Madanna's, and, at the critical time, the king's mind was haunted with suspicion whether it was the doing of the minister. It was then that he decided to immure himself in the fortress of Golkonda. Madanna advised him not to shut himself up in Golkonda, but to move out towards Warangal and keep himself free, beating in reinforcements and finding safety in a distant fortress. It was the evil genius of Abul Hasan in the person of Shaik Minhaj that misinterpreted even this advice, and confirmed the rising suspicion in him against the minister. Madanna seems to have believed that the attack on him, and the fate that overtook the brothers were actually given effect to under the orders of the Sultan. Iswar Das, one of the writers of authority contemporary with the event, puts it into the mouth of Madanna, crying out against Abul Hasan, 'O, thoughtless fool, as you are slaying me at the interested accusation of my enemies without investigating the truth of the charge, I know that the term of your kingship has neared its end. You will not sit on your throne for more than six months after this.' Sir Jadunath Sarkar records that Khafi Khan was particularly well informed regarding the affairs at Hyderabad ; and Khafi Khan states clearly that the murder of the ministers was perpetrated without Abul Hasan's knowledge or consent. Even Bhim Singh, the author of the Dil Kasha, who was present at Shah Alam's camp at the time, agrees with Khafi Khan in regard to this point. As against these authorities the statement of the journalist will have to be taken as something worse than bazaar gossip.

This provides a very apt illustration for demonstrating how far contemporary evidence can be positively wrong and even absurdly

[1] In regard to this Ibrahim, Abul Hasan's dissatisfaction was a growing one. As early as 22nd March 1682, he was dissatisfied with the general for his part in the operations against the Mughals, and the taking of Basavapatam by the Naik of Ikkeri. In a letter of May 17 idem, Ibrahim was removed from the Sar Laskarship by Abul Hasan Qutub Shah after a visit to Madanna in his house. See note above. Also, Martin entries for April 1678, p. 325, and August idem, pp. 331–2.

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misleading. The statements contained in the *Havart* in the essential particulars of the career of the Golkonda ministers are every one of them wrong in the light of other evidence. As was pointed out before, it was not possible that Akkanna and Madanna could have started their career under Mir Jumla, and, at the same time, commenced their career in A.D. 1666. The chances are that they commenced their career under Mir Jumla in a humble capacity, that means, in a comparatively small official position to begin with, and from there they gradually worked their way up to the high position that they were in at the time of the accession of Abul Hasan Quṭub Shah. That is the first point.

The next point is that Abul Hasan Quṭub Shah himself was not such a worthless man, that he placed himself in the hands of his ministers entirely and made a nobody of himself. This again seems to be very much aside of the fact according to the authorities relied on by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, and which, in the circumstances, seem very probable indeed. Having regard to the circumstances of Abul Hasan's position before he became Sultan of Golkonda, it was very likely that his Musalman ministers showed themselves to be far from showing the respect due to his position, because of his previous humble station in life. The man that felt this humiliation and took prompt measures to counteract it by appointing those men of his own creation, on whose loyalty he could count, certainly was not the man, who is likely to resign so completely his power into the hands of his ministers, even though they be of his own creation, as to obliterate himself. The chances are, what one often does meet with in bureaucratic administrations, that the officials are allowed to carry on the administration under the authority of the chief, the chief keeping himself not so open to access to everybody for the sake of the attainment of the unity and thorough efficiency of administration. Abul Hasan's position seems to have been something like that. The complaint that is made by the servants of the English East India Company, as well as the Dutch East India Company, is that he was not accessible to them, or to their agents, to do them the favours that they sought, which were really privileges, which, if accorded to them, would lead to the inconvenience of an administration within an administration, which both the minister and the king alike would wish to avoid, but did not wish to say so plainly. If the king therefore was not

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as accessible to these agents as they would have liked it, we should not be surprised if these people chafed under the authority of the ministers and the inexorable character of their administrative demands, and speak ill of the king himself. We meet with passages here and there in the English Correspondence of that tenor and what the Dutch Journal, *Havart* has to say is nothing different in point of character from the complaints that the East India Company's servants actually made.

But the really decisive point in regard to the matter is where the Dutch Journal charges Madanna with having betrayed successfully, or having very nearly succeeded in doing so, Abul Hasan Quṭub Shah into the hands of Aurangzeb. This is not at all possible even to be thought of. The whole head and front of the Quṭub Shah's offending the emperor was his appointment of these Brahman Ministers, and of the confidence he placed in them. That was matter about which these men should have had knowledge; and apart from this particular knowledge Madanna and his brother should have known thoroughly what a fanatic Aurangzeb was, and what little they stood to gain by betraying Abul Hasan Quṭub Shah into his hands. If there was any purpose in this betrayal, it should have been selfish gain. But what sort of a selfish gain would these have made by betraying the Quṭub Shah, perhaps the liberal-minded ruler of Golkonda, into the hands of a fanatic like Aurangzeb? Taken all round therefore this contemporary authority shows himself to be possessed of no information of any authority, and is merely ventilating the gossip of the bazaars, such as he might have heard, some interested Islamic gossiper, who might have chafed under disappointments or inconveniences of his own. So it becomes clear that absolutely contemporary evidence could be about as misleading as later evidence, and the character of contemporaneity gives the information no guarantee that it is more correct than information that might be gathered at a later period, perhaps from more authentic sources. It would be unsafe to accept as true all contemporary evidence, and cast aside all evidence of a later period as necessarily the less reliable.

Before concluding the subject, we would like to invite attention to an interesting note appended to chapter XLVI of Professor Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb*. After giving some details in regard to these brothers, he makes the following concluding reflections;—'He

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(Madanna) had never realised that the ultimate basis of government is force, and that a minister might bask in the sunshine of royal favour and trust, but if he has no army behind him, his position is precarious and his power a hollow show. Evidently long political degradation of the Hindu population of Golkonda had robbed them of the power of self-defence'. The reflection contained in the first sentence of this quotation and its implication would command but little approval among recognised authorities in state-craft. We pointed out before already that Sultan Quṭub Shah's change of ministers at the commencement of his reign was because of this possibility, and even if that were a sound political dictum of general adoption by ministers, how does it serve the ministers really usefully? Muhammad Gawan, the great Bahmani minister and several others, whose names could be cited in a similar position in Bahmani history, had not gained by providing themselves with a military force to fall back upon unless it be to create a civil war, local turmoil and bloodshed. Whatever it might have been in Islamic politics, that certainly was not the principle that was accepted among Hindu politicians. A minister was a servant of the ruler and was not to set up as a rival, and Brahman ministers always pursued it as a solemn policy in state-craft. Even in the matter of the provision of *Jaghirs*, what may have been conferred upon a Brahman was not regarded, and had not become, hereditary. It began with him, and he continued to enjoy the privilege only so long as he held the office. Apart from that, here is a dictum or two from the great Vijayanagar ruler, king Krishnadevaraya, in regard to Brahman ministers in particular:—

'If a Brahman who is a scholar, who is afraid of *adharma*, who is well-versed in *Rajanīti*, and who is between the ages of fifty and seventy, who is healthy in body, whose connection with the king has come down from previous generation and who is not conceited, accepts the ministership under a king and looks after his business would it take more than a day for the *angas* (constituents of royalty) of such a king to increase?'

'In the absence of such a minister if a king is not contented with ruling himself to the best of his genius according to (the science of polity) and with the help of a strong army and a full treasury, and has recourse to a minister who is devoid of virtues, the minister would prove a source of trouble like the pearl of the size of a pumpkin

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and the king would ultimately find himself in the hands of that minister.'

It is not the tradition therefore of Brahman ministership to provide themselves with forces to fight the sovereign in time of need. This would mean a preconcerted act of treason with an elaborate preparation therefor, which is against the grain of sentiment of Hindu politics and Hindu statesmen. The Hindu population might have risen against the Muhammadans if the minister had been one who had been appointed to represent the Hindus of Golkonda. There was no such notion of communal politics in those days even of Mughal rule. The minister was a minister, Hindu or Musalman, and he was the minister of the Sultan; and whether it was physically possible for the Hindus to rise, even if they wished, is another question. But the ordinary Hindu feeling is, if a minister misbehaves and the ruler finds it necessary to punish him, it was a question purely of master and servant, not a question of a civil war between a suzerain and a feudatory.

On the whole, therefore, a synthetic appreciation of the whole mass of evidence would justify the conclusion that Abul Hasan Quṭub Shah was not such an absolutely incompetent ruler, as it is ordinarily taken. The Brahman ministers that he chose of his own free will were men who carried on the administration in the best interests of the sovereign and the state, according to their lights. Their fall was due not to any act of treason on their part, but to the machinations of a greater power, fanatic in the extreme in regard to a Shiah sovereign and his Brahman ministers, who had set his heart upon conquering these southern kingdoms by all means in his own power, without any scruple as to the actual means adopted to gain this end.

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A Puzzle in Indian Epigraphy

BY

Prof. K. M. Shembavnekar, M. A.

More than half a century has elapsed since Fergusson started his novel theory of the foundation of the Saṁvat era. Stripped of its speculative extravagance, yet confirmed in the main, by the later researches of Fleet, it easily attained to the rank of a well-established historical fact, and became, in its turn, a solid basis for many another hypothesis. According to this theory, the present Vikrama era was founded, not by the King Vikramāditya of the Hindu legends, but by the Mālava clan (*Mālava-gaṇa*), in commemoration of their republican government, and Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty adopted it as his own era a few centuries later, and gave it the name which it still bears. It will be easily perceived, first, that this view makes the existence of the legendary Vikramāditya a very doubtful question, if not entirely a nonentity. And, secondly, it reveals the very surprising fact (if fact at all it was), that two thousand years ago there was in India a warlike clan which was not only powerful enough to constitute itself a republic and found an era, but also fortunate enough to outrival all the greatest monarchs of Bhāratavarṣa in the perpetuation of that era.

And yet how slender sometimes, and how uncertain, the evidence on which mighty issues rest. In the present instance it is only an expression or two in the Mandasor inscriptions, on the doubtful interpretation of which such a huge historical fabric has been reared. Needless to say that it must inevitably fall in case that interpretation is proved erroneous. And as it is quite unjustifiable to reject, except on the strongest grounds, an interpretation which has been in vogue for over half a century, I propose in the present article:—

Firstly, to give a decidedly better, and more harmonious, interpretation of the phrase *Mālava-gana-sthiti*, which occurs in the Mandasor inscriptions, citing a competent authority in its support for the first time.

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Secondly, to prove that King Vikramāditya was a historical personage, the son of Mahendra of the Pramāra dynasty, the emperor of Ujjayini, the founder of the era which bears his name, and the patron of learning.

And thirdly, and lastly, to explain why the era was styled the Mālava era in its early centuries.

Fleet, whose rendering of the expression under discussion has been accepted by all antiquarians, with but the slight modification suggested by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, naturally took the words *gaṇa* and *sthiti* in their very usual sense. Little did he imagine that the former is used as a neologism, in the Mandasor inscriptions. He therefore takes it to mean 'a tribe' (*samūha*), which is the ordinary connotation of the word. So also the latter is taken by him in its most ordinary sense. And thus the two words *gaṇa* and *sthiti*, in juxtaposition, have been twisted to yield the meaning '(the reckoning from) the tribal constitution of the Mālavas.' Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, however, corrects Fleet by justly pointing out that the word *sthiti* must be taken here in the sense of 'usage'.[1] According to him the phrase means 'the usage of the Mālava tribe'.

But he too failed to perceive that *gaṇa*, in that particular context, means *gaṇanā*, a sense which is recorded by the *Śabdārṇava-kośa*: *Gaṇastu gaṇanāyām syāt gaṇeśe pramathē cayē.* The *Śabdārṇava*, indeed, is not extant at present,[2] but the above citation is found in the commentary of Mallinātha on stanza 33[3] of the *Meghadūta*. The commentator seems to have particularly availed himself of the aid of this *Kośa* in writing his commentary on the above-mentioned poem of Kālidāsa. From the quotations given there it is quite evident that this *Kośa* records more meanings of words than the *Amara*, *Medini* and others.

Kielhorn, indeed, had felt the necessity for taking the word *gaṇa* as equivalent to 'reckoning' (*gaṇanā*), in connection with the expression *Mālavānām gaṇa-sthityā*, etc.; and thus having hit upon the right sense of the word by a wonderfully accurate conjecture, he observes,

[1] Compare, for a similar use of the word *sthiti*, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, i. 119.

[2] I am informed there is a MS. of it in the *Bodleian* by Mr. P. P. S. Sastri There appears to be a MS. of this work in the Madras Government MSS. Library. *Editor.*

[3] This is stanza 37 in the Southern editions of the work. *Editor.*

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'and I would accordingly translate the phrases, *Mālavānām-gaṇa-sthityā* and *Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt*, simply with "by, or, according to, the reckoning of the Mālavas".[1] Equally accurate is his remark that it would not be permissible to supply, as was done by Mr. Fleet the words "the reckoning from" simply to bring out the meaning of the instrumental'.[2] Of all the Sanskritists who devoted their attention to the solution of this epigraphic problem—and they were not a few, Indians and Europeans alike—he alone seems to have realized the important fact that the suppression of such indispensable words as 'the reckoning from' would be highly unjustifiable, if Fleet's interpretation of the word *gaṇa* were correct. Indeed, such a suppression would be against the very genius of the Sanskrit language. And yet Kielhorn could not turn his conjectural interpretation to advantage, probably, for want of the requisite authority. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar criticises his suggestions as follows:—'He (Kielhorn) thus makes *gaṇa* equivalent to *gaṇanā*, which is objectionable. For the word *gaṇa* has never the sense of *gaṅanā*, and when placed in juxtaposition with Mālava must signify a "tribe", and a "tribe" only.'[3] But with the authority just cited, it is scarcely necessary to remark that Kielhorn, and not his critic, is in the right. The word *gaṇa* does mean *gaṇanā*, and Vatsabhaṭṭi has evidently used it in that sense, inasmuch as it quite suits the context. Thus the phrase *gaṇa sthiti* means neither more nor less than *gaṇanā-paddhati* (mode of reckoning). Dr. Bhandarkar is scarcely more correct in the second part of his remark, *viz.* that the word *gaṇa* when placed in juxtaposition with Mālava, must signify a 'tribe' and a 'tribe' only. For whatever ambiguity there might lurk in the compound *Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti-vaśāt*, there is absolutely none in the uncompounded phrase *Mālavānām-gaṇa-sthityā*. That is, in other words, the compound is to be dissolved as *Mālavānām-gaṇa-sthiti* and not as *Mālava-gaṇasya sthiti*. The whole expression, therefore, means 'The system of reckoning (time) of the Mālavas,' i.e. prevalant in the Mālava country, or among the Mālava people.

Then again, the phrase *śri-mālavagaṇāmnāte* which occurs in the third Mandasor inscription, may now be rendered 'in the year counted according to the reckoning of the Mālavas'. Strangely

[1] *Ind. Ant.* xix, pp. 56–7. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Bhandarkar Com.*, p. 191.

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enough, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, who brought the inscription to light, gets puzzled over the word 'āmnāta.' The word, however, means simply 'counted' or 'mentioned.' In this sense it is of pretty frequent occurrence, as for instance, in the *Kāvyaprakaśa*, vii, *atra daivata-subdo—puṁsi āmnātopi na kēnacit prayujyatē*. And now it will be easily perceived that the word *gaṇa* is used in all the three Mandasor inscriptions, as a neologism, the sense of which is recorded only by the *Śabdārṇava-kośa*. When the proper sense is assigned to it the Gordian knot is cut, and the whole verse yields a meaning which is quite felicitous. Had the author really meant to convey the idea of the rising of the Mālavas as a sovereign clan, as has been believed so far, it is pretty certain that he would have used the proper word, namely, *utthāna*, instead of *sthiti*, without doing the least violence to the metre. It is also interesting to note from the philological point of view, that the word *varṇa* which in its origin, is exactly similar to *gaṇa* came to have the sense of *varṇanā* in later times. The *Amara* does not record it, but the *Medini* does; 'Ya'soguṇa-Kathāsvāpi'; which little fact is sufficient to bear out the truth of my remarks. But interesting as the word is, it is still more interesting in its contradictory form. Vatsabhaṭṭi has twice used the word *nagaṇa* to the great confusion of the decipherers of epigraphs. Fleet and others have taken it as the name of a tree, though such a tree is never mentioned by any of the *Kośas*. Thus a veritable pseudonym has been brought into existence without the knowledge that it is so! But now in the light of this new sense of the word *gaṇa* it will be easily perceived that *nagaṇa* simply means 'countless' (*na-vidyate gaṇah-gaṇanā-yasya*). And this meaning of the word suits very well the two contexts in which it occurs. It is impossible to suppose that Vatsabhaṭṭi, the author, indulged his poetic fancy so far as to group with the best known flower-plants a tree like *nagaṇā*—a tree unknown, not only to the poets but even to lexicographers.

It is clear from the foregoing discussion that the phrase *gaṇa-sthiti* can no longer be a proof of the existence of anything like a republic of the Mālavas. In connection with Mālava it simply stands for 'the system of reckoning time in the Mālava country.' Every student of Sanskrit knows that the names of countries are always plural in form, and as such they have absolutely no reference to the political constitution of the people. Even the distinct mention of

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warlike clans as such does not prove anything of their internal form of Government. For we find the Vṛṣṇis or Yādavas mentioned as a powerful race in the *Mahābhārata*, but clearly they were under a monarchic government. So also, in later Indian history, several Rājpūt clans like the Rāṭhors, renowned for their bravery, are mentioned without the least reference to their political constitution.

And now the next question is: Who founded the Mālwa era, if not the Mālwa clan? To this question there is but one answer. King Vikramāditya of the Pramāra dynasty, the son of Mahêndra, the emperor of Ujjayinī, and the hero of numberless romantic legends, founded the era in the year 57 B.C. That he was a historical personage and not a fictitious character, I shall now prove from sources which scarcely seem to have been handled heretofore for this purpose.[1] The first and earliest account of him is to be found in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* which, though not very old in itself, is yet considerably old in its original, namely, the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya. Another account of him we get in the chronicles of the Rājpūt bards, who whatever their drawbacks as historians might be, were never in the habit of giving false names and fictitious genealogies. From these chronicles of the Rājpūt bards Abūl Faẓl has given a short account of Bikramajit (Vikramāditya) and also of his genealogy.[2] According to this account Āditya Punwār (Pramāra) was the founder of the dynasty. The name of Vikramāditya's father is given as Gandhabba (Gandharva) there, but I think, it is hardly correct. The names of several kings were probably missing, and the bards, in consequence, were obliged to prolong the reins of the known monarchs in order to make up for the discrepancy. Thus the genealogy, though correct in so far as it is available, is not quite complete. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* has it that Vikramāditya was the son of Mahêndrāditya and Saumyadarśanā, and I think, that is the more correct account of the two.[3] The fact that Āditya was the founder of the race and that Mahendra and Vikrama appended the title Āditya, each after his name, clearly, proves that the dynasty took it as a common appellation even as the Guptas did three centuries later. It is not therefore an integral part of the name of the founder of the Saṁvat era, any more than is the

[1] See *Beginnings of South Indian History*, by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, published 1918, pp. 56–7. *Editor.*

[2] *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, Sūba of Mālwā. [3] *Kathāsaritsāgara*, XVIII, 1.

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word Gupta of such names as Samudragupta, Candragupta, etc. Hence it is that we find in the iron pillar inscription at Delhi the name of the king given as Candra only, and not as Candragupta. Thus the name Vikramāditya was originally only a proper name, and not at all a high-sounding honorific title. True, the name became such a title in after times; but this was more because of its immortal association with the great monarch who bore it first, than because of its import. Instances in support of this view are to be found in the histories of all countries. Names like Akbar, Śivajī, Frederick and Napoleon—names which were only proper names at first became later on honorific titles for the descendants of those great men and other claimants for distinction. If Candragupta II, then, assumed the title Vikramāditya, as unquestionably he did, it only proved the fact that the name of the great founder of the Vikrama Saṁvat had attained a very high degree of renown in the 4th century A.D.

The *Kathāsaritsāgara* gives an interesting account of the parentage, birth, and romantic exploits of *this* Vikramāditya and of no other. The romance we may discard here, as it is useless for our present purpose. But the account of his parentage and birth is very important from the historical point of view. For, in the first place, such a graphic account cannot be a fiction; and, secondly the name of the hero and the character which is given to him therein, are in perfect accordance with those of the founder of the Vikrama era—the traditional Vikramāditya. And an examination into the date of the *Bṛhatkathā* will clearly settle the point. The *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya, as is quite well known, was a book written, not indeed in Sanskrit, but in the Paiśācī language. In bulk it was as big as the present *Mahābhārata*, on which obviously it seems to have been modelled. For if the *Mahābhārata* is divided into 18 *parvans*, the *Bṛhatkathā* was divided into as many *lambakas*. Evidently, therefore, this equality as regards the number of divisions and the number of verses, leaves little or no doubt that Guṇāḍhya emulated Vyāsa.[1] As to the date of this prolific writer, it is generally believed that he was a contemporary of the Sātavāhana kings, an account of whom he gives in his book.

[1] Hopkins, in fixing the date of the *Mahābhārata*, clearly seems to be unaware of Guṇāḍhya's debt to Vyāsa. If the date of the *Bṛhatkathā* is the first century A.D., the date of the present *Mahābhārata* must be at least a few centuries before Christ.

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Any thing later than that in point of time, he does not narrate. And this is what helps us in fixing his date as the first century A.D. For, like the author of the *Mahābhārata*, he does not lay claim only to high antiquity, with the reservation of the right to describe later kings and events by way of prophecy. He has, indeed, no reason to impose himself upon the reader as an older writer than he really is. Those scholars, therefore, who attempt to fix the date of the *Bṛhatkathā* as the 4th century A.D. are manifestly in the wrong. Dr. A. B. Keith, indeed, frankly admits that there is no evidence to suppose that the book was not written in the 1st century A.D. But even taking it for granted that the *Bṛhatkathā* was composed in the 4th century A.D., it may be asked, what Vikramāditya is this that is described in the last *lambaka* thereof? For, as already remarked above, the account is not a fiction, and if that Vikramāditya were no other than Candragupta II, how is it possible that a writer who lived in the 4th century A.D. and who therefore was a contemporary—or almost a contemporary—of that monarch, should give such a false account as regards his parentage, country, etc.? Are we to believe that the author was so ignorant of these important particulars about the great Gupta emperor, if he chose him for one of his heroes? And, if not ignorant, what motive could he have—*cui bono*,—as the Roman lawyer was wont to ask—for giving us such a tissue of falsehood? Certainly the Guptas were not like some plebeian monarchs, who endeavour to exalt themselves in the eye of posterity by inventing specious relationships with former renowned families. On the contrary, so far from being plebeians, they came from a noble and distinguished stock, and inherited the best and the noblest blood. In their inscriptions we find them dwelling at great length on the dignity which they derive from their nobility of descent, as well as their alliances with the Lichhavis and other distinguished clans of those times. The *Bṛhatkathā*, must be regarded, therefore, as a work of the 1st century A.D., and the Vikramāditya described therein is no other than the founder of the Saṁvat era. The account of him as given in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* fully tallies with everything which tradition has preserved of that great and good ruler.[1] According to this account, he was a *gaṇa* (attendant) of Śhiva, Mālyavat by name, specially sent down to the

[1] *Kathāsaritsāgara*, XVIII, 1.

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earth for the annihilation of the Mlechhas (barbarians), the suppression of anti-Vedic creeds like Buddhism, and the revival of Vedicism or Brāhmaṇism. He seems to have been a devout Śaiva, though not a bigot, and the creed of Śaivism seems to have obtained a permanent ascendancy in Mālava on account of the magnificence of his own piety. The famous shrine of Mahākāla at Ujjayinī, destroyed by the Muhammadans in the 13th century A.D. was, as we may now believe, built by this very Vikramāditya. The following extract from Firishta, the celebrated historian, will be found very interesting in this connection.

'After the reduction of Guāliar, the King (Sultan Altamesh) marched his army towards Malwa, reduced the fort of Bhilsa, and took the city of Oojein (Ujjain), where he destroyed a magnificent temple dedicated to Mahakaly (Mahākālī) formed under the same plan with that of Somnāth. This temple is said to have occupied three hundred years in building, and was surrounded by a wall one hundred cubits in height. The image of Vikramaditya, who had been formerly prince of this country, and so renowned, that the Hindus have taken an era from his death, as also the image of Mahakaly (Mahākālī), both of stone, with many other figures of brass, were found in the temple. These images the king caused to be conveyed to Dehli and broken at the door of the great mosque.' [1]

All this is perfectly in keeping with the creed, the greatness, and the beneficence of the legendary Vikramāditya only. And nothing can be farther from the truth than to assign to Candragupta II the credit of such a notable achievement. For, in the first place the Guptas were avowed Vaiṣṇavas in their creed, and secondly there is not even the least reference to this in their inscriptions, though such a reference would be well in unison with the splendid account of their greatness which they are pleased to give us. It is, besides, absurd in the highest degree to imagine a Vaiṣṇava king, however wealthy or mighty he may be, rearing such a stupendous structure in honour of Śiva, a structure, which according to the above account from Ferishta, must have strained the resources of a prosperous kingdom for a number of years.

The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* also mentions two Vikramādityas, who at any rate, are other than Candragupta II. The first of these two belongs to

[1] *Ferishta*, Trans. by Col. Briggs, vol. i, p. 211.

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a period which is, at least, a century B.C. : 'Then a king of the name of Pratāpāditya, a relative of King Vikramāditya, was brought by them from afar and crowned (on the throne of Kashmīr)'.[1] The second Vikramāditya of Kalhaṇa is Śilāditya of Ujjayinī. But so confused is the whole chronology of Kalhaṇa in the case of the earlier rulers of Kashmīr, that he assigns a reign of three hundred years to Raṇāditya alone! It is, therefore, perfectly clear that he is misled in his account of this latter king Vikramāditya. As a matter of fact, he criticises his predecessors for confounding the two kings.[2] But I think that *they* are right, and that he himself is wrong. It also appears to me that he attributes to the second a grandeur and a renown which really belong to the first. Such a confusion, indeed, is natural in one, who, though a historian of good critical acumen, does not pretend to know the history of other dynasties but those of Kashmīr. His first Vikramāditya therefore, is in all probability the same as the one described in the last book of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, that is to say, he is the same as the founder of the Saṁvat era.

All this historical evidence, so far neglected by antiquarians, points unmistakably to one and the same Vikramāditya. And he is none other than the hero of the very numerous legends which survive to this day. His long and remarkably successful career, his patronage of learning, his romantic adventures, and his piety, seem in their combination, to have imparted a peculiar glow and immortality to his name, which since then, became a source of inspiration for all aspiring Hindu princes. During his long and glorious reign there appears to have been that revival of Brāhmanism and Brahmanical learning which made Mālava a stronghold against Buddhism and Jainism, and at the same time the mother of poets and astronomers. A second, and in some respects similar, revival took place in the period of the Guptas also, but that was not certainly the first, as Dr. Keith and a number of Western Orientalists confidently assert. For the Guptas are never credited with anything of the kind by the *purāṇas*, which explicitly mention the Agnikula Kṣatriyas as the first restorers of the old order. Nor were they fortunate enough to leave behind them any kind of glorious traditions. But, however we may account for it, the fact remains undisputed that no tradition relating to any of the Gupta

[1] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I, 2–6. [2] *Ibid.*

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emperors has been handed down to posterity. All their history, as is well known, is based on epigraphic and numismatic data. The vast body of tradition, on the other hand, refers only to that Vikramāditya who is the founder of the Saṁvat era. And so strong is their cumulative effect that at least Edgerton and Vincent Smith have, in spite of the epigraphic puzzle, recorded it as their opinion that such a king might have lived at the time, i.e. in the first century B.C.[1]

And now when the epigraphic puzzle is got rid of, and a body of direct historical evidence has been adduced, the existence of the legendary Vikramāditya, I think, should be no more doubtful than that of Samudragupta in Indian history. Besides the legacy of traditions, he has left his immortal era to posterity.

As, however, antiquarians disbelieved the very fact of the foundation of the era by Vikramāditya, naturally they indulged their fancy in a large amount of speculation as regards its connection with his name. To their great satisfaction, they found in Candragupta II, *their* first Vikramāditya, a ruler, who, if not the actual founder of the era, was at least the patron and appropriator of the same. It is remarkable that none of the historians and scholars who have recorded this opinion seems to have been struck with the strangeness of the assumption. For it is not only against all analogy, but it is against the very Indian idea of imperial dignity. No Indian ruler has, as yet, attempted to appropriate, or rather misappropriate, the era founded by another. Had Candragupta made the alleged misappropriation, certainly it would have been a good example for a number of later kings to follow. And instead of a number of eras of mushroom growth that obtrude themselves upon our notice, we would have discovered only attempts at misappropriation in that case. No known king, however, down to the time of Śivajī, is guilty of such a crime. Few indeed, have been fortunate enough to continue their eras for a long time; but all such as aspired to that greatness have been dignified enough to found them separately in commemoration of their supremacy. But besides these general reasons, Candragupta had an additional reason against the alleged misappropriation. The Gupta era had been already founded by his own illustrious ancestor in the year 319 A.D. And if he had patronized another era in supersession

[1] Edgerton's *Vikrama's Adventures*, Intro., p. lxv.

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of it, he would have been guilty of sullying the sacred bequest of his own ancestor. Thus the belief that he gave his name to the Mālava era is only a gratuitous assumption, an assumption which has its origin in the misinterpretation of the phrase *gaṇa-sthiti*, and its development in the confusion consequent upon it. The era, in fact, was neither founded by the Mālava clan, as has been already proved above, nor named after Candragupta II, *alias* Vikramāditya.

Now it is true that the Saṁvat era is mentioned in the earlier inscriptions without the founder's name connected with it. But that does not prove that it was nameless at the time, or that it was otherwise designated. For it is a fact, too flagrantly notorious, that Sanskrit writers have been all along in the habit of making an indifferent mention of the eras they use. Expressions like 'the era', 'the era that is current', after the lapse of—years since the 'Śaka Kings' etc., are generally to be met with in Sanskrit writings. Thus Varāhamihira simply says *gatāni varṣāṇi Śakēndra-kālāt* i.e., 'the years that passed since the time of the Śaka King'.[1] His commentator, Utpala also makes a similarly indifferent mention of the Śaka era: *Vasvaṣṭastamite* (888) *Sake* at the end of his commentary. So also in the inscriptions: *Gupta-prakāle gaṇanām vidhāya* (Girnár Rock Inscription of Samudragupta); *Samāsu samatītāsu Sakānāmapi bhubhujām* (Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II). Thus it is clear that Sanskrit writers were not particular to mention eras in their proper style. It is very probable that the Gupta era also bore the full name of the founder, and in the popular parlance of those days it was known in its full and proper style. As to the Śālivāhana era, we find it generally styled the 'Śaka era' till nearly a thousand years from its foundation. But no antiquarian has, as yet, thought it worth his while to propound a theory similar to the one about the Saṁvat era, probably because there is no king of the name of Śālivāhana about that period in Indian history, with whose name the era could be conveniently connected. It is, however, by no means difficult to explain the indifference or looseness of the style in which all eras are mentioned by Sanskrit writers.

First they were handicapped by the exigency of the metre, which, in most cases, could not permit a full expression of the usual style of

[1] *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, VIII, 20.

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the era. Secondly, there was a conflict of various eras in India in the early centuries after Christ. And it is scarcely necessary to remark that until that conflict ended in the supremacy of one and the abolition of others, writers and inscribers expressed themselves in general phrases in so far as reckoning of years was concerned. It is these general phrases that have so considerably added to the confusion of the writers of early Indian history, though the authors of the various inscriptions meant thereby to avoid ambiguity. Thirdly, men like Vatsabhaṭṭi, who flourished in the times of the Gupta rulers, would not offend their sovereigns by an explicit mention of the Vikrama-Saṁvat-era, while the Gupta era was the recognised era of the court and of official documents. The very fact, however, that the Vikrama Saṁvat is used in the Mandasor inscriptions is a piece of evidence which unmistakably proves that it was gradually gaining ground among the populace in spite of the rival eras. And the same fact completely vitiates the theory that has stood uncontradicted so far, viz., that the original Mālava era came to be styled the Vikrama era after Candragupta II, who gave himself the title of Vikramāditya. For, if it were so, how is it possible that Vatsabhaṭṭi should be either so ignorant or negligent as to retain the old style, even after the lapse of nearly a century since the supposed act of appropriation? The era indeed, is not discovered as yet with the name of Vikrama associated with it till the time of the Dholpur inscription of 842 A. D. The Candragupta theory would have been at least a plausible conjecture if it had been discovered that immediately after that monarch the Mālava era came to be designated the Vikrama era. But this is exactly what it fails to prove, and thus it becomes a superfluous hypothesis. It is quite strange that such a hypothesis should have so readily fallen in with the natural inclination of a very large number of scholars, and for so long a time! Such a theory, indeed, is as little needed for the Saṁvat, as for the Śaka era. The reasons adduced by me above, are quite adequate to explain the indifference or looseness as we may call it, of Sanskrit writers in naming the Vikrama, the Śālivāhana, and the other eras known to them. Nor can any rational inference be drawn from the fact that the Vikrama Saṁvat is styled as 'Vikrama Śaka' in several places.

And now I come to my conclusions, which are these:—There never existed a republic in Mālava, either in the first century B.C., or before

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or after it. King Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī founded the Saṁvat era, though like the Śālivāhana Śaka era, it is vaguely called 'the system of reckoning in the Mālava country', in the earlier inscriptions. And, finally, the hypothesis which has obtained general credit among scholars, and for more than half a century—the hypothesis that seeks to account for that vagueness of style by connecting the era with Candragupta II—is as groundless in the assumption, as it is unserviceable for the purpose which it is called upon to serve.

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
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The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai (1736-61)

BY

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A.

X

I. FRENCH VICTORY AT TIRUVITI AND BUSSY'S CAPTURE OF GINGEE

THE Diarist was told on the second of September (1750) that, on the previous day, the French attacked Muhammad Ali Khan who was encamped at Kumaramangalam and forced him to abandon his camp and set fire to his tents and goods, while the English were abused for dishonestly abandoning him 'like a guide deserting a blind man in midstream.' The army of Muhammad Ali was computed by Orme at 5,000 foot and 15,000 horse; but his disposition and camp were absurdly arranged.[1] The French advanced with their field-pieces in front, baggage carts in the rear and cavalry on each wing; the enemy's cannon and musketry did no execution; and on the advance of the troops within 200 yards of their camp, their entrenchments were abandoned and cannon deserted. The camp was broken into and the cavalry was thrown into utter confusion. Some 20 cannon, 1,000 matchlocks and 2,000 muskets were taken from them; while the tents were set on fire and Muhammad Ali himself made his escape with great loss and hurried away in the direction of Arcot. On the French side only one officer and six or seven sepoys were killed. It was reported to the Diarist that Muhammad Ali was slightly

[1] 'His camp extended between two villages which secured the flanks; the rear was defended by a river; while in the front there were several entrenchments occupied by the infantry; and in the other intervals where there were no entrenchments, cannon were planted; the cavalry, instead of being out on the plain, formed a second line within the camp.' (Orme vol. i, p. 150). In the French attack, La Tour commanded the right wing, Bussy the left, and D'Auteuil the centre. The whole camp of Muhammad Ali and all his artillery, including 30 guns and 2 mortars, bearing the arms of Great Britain according to Dupleix's *Memoirs*, fell into French hands (Dodwell).

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wounded in the leg by a bullet. Dupleix planned that the troops at Tiruviti should march towards Arcot by way of Gingee or Wandiwash.[1]

Meanwhile Nasir Jang continued to be indifferent to the state of affairs; and mutual recriminations were freely indulged in by his courtiers. Shah Nawaz Khan charged Mir Asad with treachery and with being in correspondence with the Pondicherry people, while Murtaza Ali Khan was told to attack Pondicherry with Mir Asad who was rebuked for having originally advised that Muhammad Ali was to be helped at all. Shah Nawaz himself is said to have boasted that, but for the Nizam's orders that he should return at once to Aurangabad, he himself would soon set out to attack the French.

Fearing that Muhammad Ali might take refuge in Trichinopoly, Chanda Sahib was advised by Dupleix to write to the *killedar* of that place, persuading him not to admit the refugee prince into the fort and promising him a valuable *jaghir* as reward. It was also reported that Muhammad Ali was afraid to halt at Gingee whither Nasir Jang had promised to send him reinforcements. Dupleix was also hopeful that, if French troops should advance in the direction of Arcot, the Pathan Nawabs of Cuddapah and Kurnool would, as they had formerly promised, have a good chance of seizing the person of Nasir Jang; while Muhammad Ali would never approach the French troops that were advancing under M. Bussy and Shaikh Hasan, the *jemadar* of sepoys. The Diarist even heard that Nasir Jang who boastfully recalled all the troops he had sent away, declaring he would march in person against the enemy, had again ordered the artillery and troops to return without delay. Mr. Saunders, the new Governor of Fort St. David, which remained the seat of the Presidency till April 1752, is said to have received a letter from Muhammad Ali, demanding

[1] It appears from the *Tuzuk-i- Walajahi* that Muhammad Ali had secured the friendship of the English by giving them the hope of the grant of the *jaghir* of Poonamalle, that Nasir Jang was persuaded by the intriguing Pathan Nawabs and Ramadas Pandit to order Muhammad Ali to sever his relationship with the English, that he had ordered Abdul Nabi Khan of Cuddapah and Himmat Khan of Kurnool to subjugate Fort St. David and Madras respectively, that Muhammad Ali contrived to give a large bribe to Ramdas Pandit through Raja Sampath Rai and Raja Bashan Das and to persuade them and Shah Nawaz Khan to see that the order for the expulsion of the English was withdrawn. When the battle was lost, Muhammad Ali fled to Gingee, but wished once again to proceed to Tiruviti to engage with the enemy; but he was suddenly recalled by the Nizam to his presence.

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powder and shot for which he had advanced money and complaining of Cope's behaviour, while the latter justified his conduct, saying that the fault was not his, but that he had only obeyed Major Lawrence's orders to march back to Fort St. David.[1] The Diarist says that he heard that Floyer was at the bottom of the whole thing, while Morse was being kept under surveillance, and Lawrence was being frequently summoned to the Fort for consultation; and also the Major would be soon returning to Europe and be succeeded by Cope in command. Meanwhile events moved in quick succession. Nasir Jang remained inactive at Arcot; and the English were sulky with Muhammad Ali and 'reduced to an almost compulsory inaction.' Dupleix sent orders to D'Auteuil to detach a sufficient force under M. de Bussy to attack Gingee, the possession of which great fortress would be decisive of the fate of the Carnatic.[2] Bussy carried the fortress by escalade (11th September); and the feat was regarded as a wonderful achievement; while the loss of this fortress awakened Nasir Jang to the true peril of his situation.

II. French Intrigues—Nasir Jang's Death

There followed an inaction of more than two months' duration till the beginning of December. On the side of the French, D'Auteuil seemed to be 'strangely resolved to rest on Bussy's laurels'. Dupleix indeed wrote to him urging him to advance at once against Nasir Jang. Even before the capture of Gingee, he was anxious that the French troops should march towards Arcot, as then the Nawabs of Cuddapah and Kurnool would have a good chance of seizing Nasir Jang, according to their promise.[3] One of the Maratha *mansabdars* in

[1] Orme says that Major Lawrence was much offended by the prevarications of Muhammad Ali who first made excuses for payment and at last declared he had none, having exhausted his treasury by giving Nasir Jang twenty lakhs of rupees. When there was no prospect of an action, as the French would not and the English could not attack, and as the English officers and men were daily falling sick, Lawrence, with the advice of Stark and Powney, recalled the troops. (Vide *Despatch to the Company from Fort St. David*, dated October 24, 1753.)

[2] For details of the exploit of the capture of this famous fortress see Orme, vol. i, pp. 151–2; Malleson's *History of the French in India*, new edition, pp. 263–5; and Martineau's *Dupleix et l'Inde Française*, vol. iii (1749–54), pp. 134–8. The force at the disposal of Bussy consisted of 250 Europeans, 1,200 sepoys and four field-pieces. The capture of Gingee was hardly rivalled 'until 40 years later under Cornwallis, we (the English) stormed certain of the rock-forts in Mysore.'

[3] Diarist's entry for September 5, reporting a conversation he had with the Governor (p. 376 of vol. vii).

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Nasir Jang's camp, sent a message to Chanda Sahib and Dupleix that, if the French had marched on Arcot immediately after taking Gingee,[1] the Nizam could easily have been seized, and urged that the time had now come for the French to move, in order to capture or slay Nasir Jang and establish Muzaffar Jang on the throne. It was also added that as the Pathan Nawabs and other *sardars* were secretly working on the French side, French troops should have continued to advance beyond Chetpattu which they had reached, but from which D'Auteuil had hastily retired, on hearing that Nasir Jang's forces had reached Dēsur (twenty miles off) and justified his retreat by asserting that the Pathan Nawabs and others were only deceiving them with false promises.[2] Dupleix tried to console himself as best he could, by saying that the French troops had not retired for any lack of confidence in themselves, but only on account of the constant rains and flooded rivers, and they would advance as soon as the rains were over and the roads became passable. Things were much worse on Nasir Jang's side. In the beginning of October, his army was encamped on the north side of the Cheyyar river which was flooded; for want of fodder and the rains, horses and bullocks were dying in numbers; the artillery could scarcely cover four miles in a day; the horsemen were unwilling to march; and Nasir Jang himself marched in the rear and not in the front of his army. The Diarist was told that many of the *sardars* had not marched with the troops, that Arcot was

[1] *The Tuzuk-i-Walajahi* of Burhanu'd-din says that after the French had captured Gingee, Nasir Jang ordered Muhammad Ali to lay siege to the captured place and to prevent any succour to the besieged from Pondicherry; and accordingly the latter sent his *Bakshi*, Md. Abrar Khan, with an army to Gingee. But the conspirators persuaded Nasir Jang to transfer the forces of Muhammad Ali to protect Conjeevaram, which, they said, was threatened by the French troops at Chingleput; and thus Abrar Khan was recalled from Gingee and sent with augmented forces to Conjeeveram; thus, in the quaint words of Burhanu'd-din, 'the *maidan* of impudence became extensive for the French and for those corrupted by mischief.'

[2] *Vide* pp. 395 and 399 of the Diary, vol. vii. Dupleix had gained over to his side Ramdas Pandit who was high in the confidence of Nasir Jang and through him had tried to raise sedition in the Nizam's army.

'Raja Ramdas was a low servant receiving the wage of one *hun* under the government of Nawab Shaheed (Anwaru'd-din) when the latter was the Nazim at Chicacole and gradually rose to importance in the durbar of Asif Jah. Later by the kindness of Nawab Nasir Jang he was given the title of Raja and was promoted to the position of the *Peshkar Bakshi* of the army'—*Eng. tr.* of the *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi* of Burhanu'd-din, done by Mr. Md. Husain Nainar of the Madras University.

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crowded with all sorts of people and rice was scarce and sold in camp at five *pucca* seers per rupee. In his opinion, D'Auteuil knew these facts well, but had retired ingloriously from Chetpattu and attempted nothing in spite of frequent encouraging letters from Dupleix. When Sanoji Nimbalakar and Ramachandra Rao were ordered by Nasir Jang to march as an advance guard, they refused, pleading it would be dangerous and they could do nothing and advised him that war should cease and peace be made. Shah Nawaz Khan was of the same opinion and advised his master not to fight, as the army was small and a favourable time would offer itself later.[1] D'Auteuil demanded his recall from the field and pleaded sickness, the heavy rains and his men's reluctance to continue in camp in such weather; and 'Dupleix had much ado to prevent his marching his troops back to Pondicherry and forwarded to him every scrap of encouraging news that he received.' D'Auteuil actually returned to Pondicherry on October 22; and Dupleix asked the Diarist to write to Muzaffar Khan, the *jemadar* of sepoys, to remain in the villages lying between Villupuram and Gingee and join the main body if he should be directed by De la Touche who had succeeded to the command, and not to send in the guns from Gingee.

Murtaza Ali Khan meanwhile contrived to send a message to Dupleix suggesting that he would secure Arcot from Nasir Jang, that he might be made the Nawab and Chanda Sahib might get Trichinopoly, or as an alternative, that he should be confirmed in the possession of his *killa* and *jaghir* and be *diwan* to Chanda Sahib. Dupleix did not take this seriously at all. He deplored that D'Auteuil's indecision and weakness had spoiled the whole situation and that the rains should prevent the French from using their muskets and artillery which gave an advantage to the enemy.

Nasir Jang had at last ordered his troops to march towards Gingee and himself joined the main body in the beginning of October. His army was considerably less numerous than when he entered the Carnatic; but he could still count, according to the authority of Orme, 60,000 foot, 45,000 horse, 700 elephants and 360 pieces of cannon.[2] On the evening of the 24th October, a body of Nasir Jang's horse

[1] Diarist's entries for October 10 and 12—pp. 401, 404 and 405 of vol. vii.

[2] According to letters received by Dupleix, the Mughal effective cavalry was not more than 15,000.

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about 4,000 in number who were lying in ambush in several places round Gingee, were encountered by a few French dragoons and Muhammadan troopers. As it was heavily raining, the Muhammadan troopers could not fire and insisted on retreating to camp ; the dragoons lost their way and many were killed. The French army marched the next day, but was obliged by the heavy rains, to retreat to Gingee where there were not sufficient provisions.[1]

Dupleix continued his active intrigue with Nasir Jang's court where it was presently rumoured that Mir Asad and Murtaza Ali Khan were in the immediate favour of Nasir Jang and urged him to march against Pondicherry and Chanda Sahib, and that the latter had a design to seize the suspected Pathan Nawabs who were consequently on their guard.[2] All the same Nasir Jang let Dupleix know, through Kazi Dayem, that he was not averse to negotiations, would let bygones be bygones and would even visit Pondicherry and become the friend of the French, adding that if he were to give way to Dupleix's demands, he would be regarded as weak, feeble and helpless. Dupleix replied in suitable terms to this secret offer, protesting that he had ever been Nasir Jang's well-wisher and had not himself sought

[1] According to the letter of the *amaldar* of Gingee, quoted by the Diarist in his entry for the 27th of October, 1750.

[2] According to the *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi* Mir Dayem Ali Khan, the sirdar of the advance guard of Nasir Jang's army, warned his master against the intended treachery of the Afghan Nawabs and the evil disposition of Raja Ramdas, on the very eve of his assassination. Nasir Jang even gave an order for the killing of Muzaffar Jang; but Ramdas bribed the executors and sought to delay them. The Nizam mounted an elephant, unarmed and without being protected by any armour ; he was surrounded only by a few torch-bearers and *bandars;* and he rode, as the day dawned, towards the elephants of Abdul Nabi Khan and Himmat Bahadur Khan and salaamed to them. But they pretended ignorance of his presence ; and he saluted them a second time with a loud voice ; and followed up with the words that it was incumbent on them, brothers of the same faith, to fight the stranger. Then Himmat Bahadur aimed with his musket at the Nawab and shot him through the heart. In the confusion that ensued, Muhammad Ali departed for Trichinopoly with only Gazanfar Ali Khan and a single guide. He was joined by a dozen servants of his at Tiruvannamalai. At Ranjangudi, its Jaghirdar, Mutabir Khan Tahir, pretended under cover of hospitality to receive him in the fort, with a view to get him secured. It was only by the presence of mind of Gazanfar Ali Khan, who held the Jaghirdar in firm grip, that Muhammad Ali was enabled to escape ; and the rescuer also quickly rejoined his master in safety.

See also Wilks, vol. i, note on p. 166 in which he gives the narrative of Nasir Jang's end almost verbally from the *Serve-i-Azad* whose author was in the tent of the Nizam when the alarm was given and assisted him to dress.

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his enmity and had always desired the country merchants and inhabitants to be at peace. He even offered to stop all fighting if the negotiations should begin. This was the situation on October 29, after which date there occurs a hiatus in the diary which lasts on till the 16th of April, 1751. This is one of the principal lacunæ and possibly this, like other breaks, represents lost volumes; and the Diary would probably have given us much interesting information about the negotiations with Nasir Jang and about the circumstances under which the French attacked Nasir Jang's camp on the fateful day of 16th December and the alleged mistake under which the attack was delivered just at the moment when Dupleix had made peace, whether genuinely or not.

III. A Hiatus in the Diary: October 1750 to April 1751—Summary of Events

Before the Diary begins again for us in April 1751, Muzaffar Jang who was raised to the throne after his uncle's assassination, had appointed Dupleix as his deputy in all the country south of the Krishna and made a grant, to the French, of Masulipatam and Divi Island; and it was deemed necessary that a French force should proceed to Golconda to secure Nasir Jang's treasure and firmly establish Muzaffar Jang there before any party could be raised against him. Bussy was chosen to command the French contingent and was rewarded with a present of 4 lakhs of rupees, while Dupleix received an immense sum in jewels and treasure, and all men of the French contingent received three months' pay in advance, besides valuable presents. Bussy had, as his second and third in command, Kerjean who was a nephew of Dupleix and Vincens who was his stepson. The contingent was composed of 300 Europeans and 1,800 sepoys with about 10 field-guns. Muzaffar Jang, on departing for the north, appointed Chanda Sahib to the government of Arcot. While at Pondicherry, Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib wrote to the English, demanding the restoration of the sea-ports like Devikotta that they had occupied during the recent troubles. This revolution alarmed the ruler of Tanjore who now demanded English assistance in consequence of a treaty that he had concluded with Floyer. Muhammad Ali who escaped to Trichinopoly put in his claims also for English support, but also opened negotiations with the French, as it was the harvest season and the

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longer he could remain at peace with them, the greater were the chances of his collecting any revenue. He therefore contrived to prolong negotiations with Dupleix and Chanda Sahib for four months (December, 1750 to March 1751), and communicated regularly to the English all his discussions with them. Saunders, the English Governor, maintained that as Muhammad Ali had been appointed Nawab of Arcot by Nasir Jang, he continued to be the legitimate and rightful Nawab till another appointment was made from Delhi; the English having received *farmans* for the districts granted by Muhammad Ali, a detachment was sent to Trichinopoly under Captain Cope to secure it from any attempts by Chanda Sahib; and another detachment was sent to assist the ruler of Tanjore in consideration of a *farman* that he granted for Devikottai and its bounds. The English also intended to send men to Divi Island and Masulipatam to hoist English flags on the island and in the factory.[1]

Chanda Sahib and the French moved out from Pondicherry only in March, 1751, and after reducing one or two forts, proceeded to Arcot to receive the tribute of the *killedars* and other notables; and he prepared to advance against Trichinopoly only towards the end of May or later, by which time Saunders had sent a force under Captain de Gingens to oppose his march.

Meanwhile events in Muzaffar Jang's camp had also moved fast. The Pathan Nawabs looked on with jealousy at the turn that affairs were taking. Pondicherry was now the pivot of the whole country; all matters were decided by the French, who were enriched by securing considerable accessions of territory.[2] Consequently there was great discontent which was bound to break out as soon as Muzaffar Jang

[1] Despatch of the President and Council of Fort St. David to the Company, dated Fort St. David, January 24, 1751—summarised in Dodwell's *The Madras Despatches, 1744-55*—pp. 118-9.—*See* also Orme MSS. *O. V. 17*; 1; and *15*; 5; pp. 24 and 22 of Hill's *Catalogue of the Orme Collection of MSS.*

[2] Muzaffar Jang, according to the *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi*, conferred on Dupleix the title of Zafar Jang, granted the French the *jaghirs* of Gingee, Tiruviti and other places, while Law, D'Auteuil and other French captains were given suitable titles, *mansabs* and presents. Himmat Bahadur Khan was given the title of Rustam Jang and the *jaghirs* of Raichur and Adoni. Abdul Nabi Khan got the *jaghirs* of Gandikotta, Gooty, and Gurramkonda; and Abdul Karim Khan secured the *jaghir* of Sira; and Ramdas Pandit got the title of Raja Raghunath Das; while Abdul Rahman got the title of Muzaffar Khan. Muzaffar Jang also wrote a friendly letter to Muhammad Ali Khan at Trichinopoly, according to the plan and counsel of Dupleix and Januji, the Maratha, and sent it along with letters from the latter.

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should depart from the Carnatic. When he was encamped at Rayachoti, 5 days' march from Arcot and in the dominion of the Nawab of Cuddapah, the latter and the Nawab of Kurnool complained that Muzaffar Jang was allowing the Marathas to plunder their country contrary to his promise; and they seized some French horse and stopped the French ammunition. The Pathan Nawabs had agreed, before Dupleix and under his pressure, that half the money found in Nasir Jang's treasury should be divided amongst them, while their dominions should be increased by some districts, which were however much less than what they first demanded; and they also agreed that all the jewels should be reserved for Muzaffar Jang.[1]

In the skirmish that ensued, the Nawab of Cuddapah attacked the rear-guard of Muzaffar Jang's troops which escorted the women,[2] whereupon the Nizam ordered his whole army to halt and prepared to march against the Cuddapah troops. Bussy who had received specific instructions to avoid all occasions of being drawn into committing hostilities, now intervened and persuaded Muzaffar Jang to first call upon the Nawab to explain the reason of his conduct. The Nawab, though defiant to Muzaffar Jang's message, sent word to Bussy that he was ready to submit to the Nizam through French mediation. This behaviour stung Muzaffar Jang to the quick and forced him to instant action. The troops of all the three Pathan Nawabs had already been drawn up in battle array and Muzaffar Jang marched to attack the rebels without French assistance, being impatient of the slow pace of their battalion. At first Muzaffar Jang's troops were repulsed; but the

[1] The Nawabs signed an agreement to this effect and swore on the *Koran* an oath of allegiance to Muzaffar Jang; and they declared that Nizamu'l-Mulk himself had never been able to obtain from them this mark of submission—(Orme: vol. I, p. 160).

[2] *The Tuzuk-i-Walajahi* says that Muzaffar Jang was not feeling quite safe, because of the knavery of some of the amirs of the army and the Afghans, especially of Himmat Bahadur Khan. Beyond Damalcheruvu, Mughal sepoys plundered the properties of the Afghans, in spite of their master's prohibition. In the course of the march, the Afghans one day looted a cart belonging to Muzaffar Khan (Abdul Rahman), the *Ilaqadar* of the French forces. Abdul Nabi Khan offered to pay compensation, but Muzaffar Khan did not agree; and the struggle began. Abdul Karim Khan of Savanur perished; Himmat Bahadur Khan fled, heavily wounded; he was later killed by order of Nizam Ali and his head fixed on a spear. The Mughal army plundered Cuddapah on the way; but Abdul Majid Khan, brother of Abdul Nabi Khan, sought peace by paying 3 lakhs of rupees. Kurnool was attacked and the wife and children of Himmat Bahadur were taken captive.

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fire of the French artillery changed the fortunes of the day and forced the Nawabs to retreat. Muzaffar Jang, heedless of the advice of Bussy, pursued the fugitives, and left the French battalion behind once more, which however endeavoured to keep in sight of him. The Nawab of Savanur died on the field ; while the Nawab of Cuddapah fled precipitately, being severely wounded. In his pursuit of the latter, Muzaffar Jang came up with the Nawab of Kurnool and proceeded to attack him personally, when, having uplifted his sword to strike, he was pierced in the head by the javelin of his opponent. Both the Nawab and his troops were overpowered and cut to pieces. The death of Muzaffar Jang left the French in great consternation, because they had now no pretension or claim to interfere in the affairs. But Bussy did not lose his presence of mind, assembled the generals and ministers, and persuaded them to raise Salabat Jang, the eldest of the three brothers of Nasir Jang who had been kept in close confinement, to the throne. French arms had again been decisive ; and Salabat Jang agreed to confirm all the cessions to the French made by his predecessor and granted additional villages round Masulipatam, as well as a large donation to the French contingent. As soon as Dupleix's approbation was received, the Mughal army left the country of Cuddapah and continued its march towards the Krishna.

IV. Chanda Sahib's Movements: April–June 1751

The Diarist whose available narrative begins after the hiatus from April 16, 1751, mentions the capture of the fort of Chetpattu by Chanda Sahib who had at last moved out of Pondicherry with a French contingent under La Tour and the imprisonment of Mir Asad and his family. On April 18, news was received that Salabat Jang was encamped 12 *kos* on the other side of the Krishna, after taking Kurnool and making prisoners of its Nawab (Himayat Bahadur Khan) and his family, and that when the army had advanced 16 *kos* beyond the river, where a large Maratha army was lying in wait for them, Salabat Jang made a settlement with them, through the mediation of his minister Ramdas Pandit, by consenting to give them a *sanad* for the *chauth* of the provinces of Golconda, the Carnatic and Trichinopoly and that the minister was rewarded by the Nizam with a *mansab* of

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7,000 horse,[1] Salabat Jang left a son-in-law of Muzaffar Khan (Abdul Rahman) in charge of the *killa* of Kurnool.[2] The Diarist, recording affairs in the Carnatic, said that the Vellore affair was settled by Chanda Sahib for 6 lakhs of rupees, which meant that there was a compounding with the evil-hearted Murtaza Ali. Shaikh Hasan, the sepoy leader who accompanied Chanda Sahib along with De la Tour was to have the fort and *jaghir* of Arni, yielding two lakhs of rupees ; and his uncle, Muhammad Kamal, was also to receive a *jaghir*. Dupleix also arranged to give the lease of the Tinnevelly country to

[1] The Peishwa, Balaji Baji Rao, had been jealous of Nasir Jang's rise and had entered into negotiations with Sayyad Lashkar Khan, the governor of Aurangabad, through the mediation of Ramdas Pandit. Sayyad Lashkar Khan induced Ghaziu'd-din, the eldest son of Naizamu'l-mulk, to oppose the succession of Nasir Jang and offer to cede to the Marathas, in return for their support, the two *subhas* of Aurangabad and Burhanpur. Thereupon the Peishwa left Poona towards the end of January, 1751, with a large army, accompanied by Fatteh Sing, Raghuji Bhonsle and other leaders. The Marathas demanded a contribution from Sayyad Lashkar Khan, which, on pretence of coercion, the latter levied to the tune of 15 or 17 lakhs of rupees ; and then they spread over the country and occupied the two *subhas*, and finally proceeded to the banks of the Krishna. When Balaji Rao was at Pangal, seven marches from Hyderabad, he received alarming news from Poona that Tarabai was preparing, in league with Damaji Gaekwad, to undermine his supremacy ; he resolved to return to Poona, and ordered Sanoji Nimbalkar to make the best terms possible with the enemy. Salabat Jang who was ignorant of the Peishwa's situation, offered 17 lakhs of rupees, two in cash, and the rest in bills on bankers in Hyderabad, Aurangabad and Burhanpur. (*See* Kincaid and Parasnis—*History of the Maratha People*, vol. III, pp. 1-2 ; and Grant-Duff—*History of the Mahrattas* (4th ed.), vol. I, p. 527). Grant-Duff calls Ramdas Pandit, 'the traitor Ramdass, a fit instrument for the unprincipled ambition of Dupleix.' See also *Selections from the Peishwa's Daftar*, 6, *Ramaraja's Struggle for Power*—Letters *Nos.* 167, 168, *180 and 201.*

The Diarist's entry, that news came from Satara that Shahu Raja's wife Tara Bai Umma Bai had been imprisoned and that internal dissensions were likely, does not convey any clear meaning (p. 431 of Vol. VII). It was in reality a plot woven by two women, Tara Bai and Uma Bai, the latter being the widow of Khanderao Dabhade who had been destroyed by the Peishwa. Tara Bai saw in Uma Bai a ready ally for her plan. Uma Bai was to equip an army under Damaji Gaekwad and effect a junction with Tara Bai who even sent emissaries to Ramdas Pandit who was in Salabat Jang's service and offered him the office of Peishwa if he would advance with the Nizam's army to her help. But the plan miscarried and the Peishwa was able to triumph.

[2] Abdul Rahman was the dewan of M. Bussy, and better known by his title of Hyder Jang. His father was a defaulter of revenue under the Nizam's government at Masulipatam and had been friendly to the French. In his distress he fled to Pondicherry where he was kindly treated by Dupleix. 'His son, Abdool Rehman, then a boy, soon acquired the French language, was useful to Dupleix in carrying on his intrigues with Ramdass, and upon the success of them, accompanied Bussy when he went with the Mughal army' ; and he was rewarded, as seen in note 2 on p. 163 with the title of Muzaffar Khan, by Muzaffar Jang.

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Titarappa Mudali who afterwards became the renter of the district under Nawab Muhammad Ali and the English.[1] Titarappa was to pay 10 lakhs to Chanda Sahib and a present of 1 lakh to Dupleix, besides presents to Madame Dupleix, Madananda Pandit and others, and was to give a lease deed for 5 years ; and the Poligar of Sivaganga and other chiefs were written to, to give the renter all possible assistance in occupying the country. But rumour was rife that as Muhammad Ali was made strong at Trichinopoly by the English and as Chanda Sahib was not in actual possession of the country, Titarappa's chance of occupying Tinnevelly was not great ; while Kumarappa Mudali, the *dubash* of Governor Saunders at Fort St. David, sent word to Titarappa that he would arrange to get him the lease of the Tinnevelly country from Muhammad Ali and the English Council would write about it to Mr. Cope who was with Muhammad Ali. But the cause of Muhammad Ali was not yet to gain the upper hand. The *Maravas* and others attacked the troops of Captain Cope and Muhammad Ali which advanced to take the Madura fort, broke them up and captured 3 cannon and a large number of muskets from them. Cope himself escaped with two wounds, while about 100 English soldiers were said to have fallen.[2]

[1] Anwar Khan was *faujdar* and *amil* of the Tinnevelly country in the time of Nawab Anwaru'd-din ; he was succeeded by Mir Ghulam Hussain Khan and Hussain Muhammad Khan who jointly managed affairs till 1749. After the battle of Ambur, Chanda Sahib appointed, as *amil*, Alam Khan who managed the district on his master's behalf in 1750 and 51. He was succeeded for a short time by Titarappa Mudali and Moodemiah, the agent of Chanda Sahib. (Extracted by Caldwell from the letter of Mr. Lushington, Collector of Tinnevelly, dated, May 28, 1802 ; *see* p. 125 of his *History of Tinnevelly*.)

Alam Khan was, according to Orme, a soldier of fortune, who had formerly been in the service of Chanda Sahib and afterwards in that of the king of Tanjore ; he came to Madura, took the fort from one Abdul Hakimat Khan, and observing the course of events, proclaimed his adherence to the cause of Chanda Sahib ; he was in power in Madura in the beginning of 1751. (*See* Nelson's *Madura Manual*, Part III, p. 269 ; and *Orme*.)

[2] Orme says that Captain Cope offered to take Madura, though his detachment was ill-equipped for a siege, and proceeded with 3 field-pieces, 2 cohorns and 150 Europeans, accompanied by 600 of the Nawab's cavalry under Abdul Wahab Khan, a younger brother of Muhammad Ali. Before Madura, these were joined by the detachment that Muhammad Ali had sent to the Tinnevelly country under another brother of his. The troops were repulsed from the walls and had to relinquish the attack. Captain Cope blew the cannon to pieces, but a very large body of cavalry deserted over to Alam Khan both before and after the English broke up their camp. (pp. 169-170)—also *Orme MSS. ; O. V.*

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Ranga Pillai notes, in his entry for April 30, 1751, that Dupleix sent the old *cowle* from Salabat Jang to Muhammad Ali and wrote desiring him to accept it[1] and deliver the fort of Trichinopoly to Chanda Sahib's people ; and to this the latter replied that he had already received from Ghaziu'd-din Khan at Delhi, a copy of a *parwana* granting him the *subahs* of Payanghat and Balaghat (Carnatic) and directing him to take possession of them, along with a copy of the Mughal Emperor's letter to Ghaziu'd-din Khan. Dupleix was greatly irritated at this reply and sent urgent letters to Chanda Sahib urging him to settle the Arni matter without further delay and, without turning aside to Arcot, to proceed straight to Trichinopoly by way of Tiruvannamalai.

Having received the submission of the *killadars* of Vellore, Chetpattu, and Arni, Chanda Sahib deemed the Carnatic to be secure enough for him under the circumstances and began his march for Trichinopoly, reaching Tiruvannamalai about the 20th of May. Dupleix asked the Diarist to write letters to the Rajas of Tanjore and Mysore and to 'the 72 *poligars* of Trichinopoly' whose names are enumerated, beginning with Malavarayan of Ariyalur, the Greater Marava (of Ramnad), the Lesser Marava (of Sivaganga) and enumerating 72 *poligars* and the six divisions of the *Kallars* (the Colleries of Orme).[2] The list that Ranga Pillai gives has 34 *Poligars* as belong-

Alam Khan is said to have subsequently proceeded and subdued the Tinnevelly country and appointed Nabir Khan at Tinnevelly and Mantimiya (Mundamiyah or Moodemiah) at Madura as his lieutenants and then joined Chanda Sahib at Trichinopoly, where he died soon after his arrival, struck by a cannon shot (Saka, 1674)—*see* p. 48 of vol. II of W. Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts* (1835).

[1] The *cowle* from Salabat Jang which was sent by Dupleix to Muhammad Ali, was not probably known to the Diarist, and is given as Appendix No. 1, in vol. VIII of the Diary by Mr. Dodwell. It is dated March 12, 1751, and granted the *sarkars* of Rajahmundry, Chicacole, Ellore, Masulipatam, Mustafanagar and Muzaffarnagar to Muhammad Ali along with two strong forts and a *jaghir* and also promising not to call him to account for the dues of his father and himself with respect to the Carnatic and Trichinopoly revenues.

[2] W. Taylor gives from the *Mackenzie MSS.* a list of the 72 *palayams* appointed to guard the bastions of the Pandyan capital as they were in the time of Tirumala Nayak, including Travancore, Ramnad, Sivaganga and Pudukotta, the three last being like the adopted children of the Madura Government, and Ariyalur, Turaiyur, Iluppur, Marungapuri, Nattam, etc.

The following table, comparing Taylor's list with Ranga Pillai's enumeration, may be useful. Where it has not been possible to equate names in the Diarist's list with those of Taylor, a blank space has been indicated. (*Cont.* on pp. *169-171*).

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ing to the Trichinopoly country and 38 as belonging to the south. The letter that was sent to these explained how Muzaffar Jang had given Dupleix the charge of all the country and the palayams between

	TAYLOR		RANGA PILLAI
1.	The Ramnad Setupati	...	Setupati
2.	Udaiya Tevar of Sivaganga	...	Udaiya Tevan
3.	The Reddi of Turaiyur	...	The Reddi of Turaiyur
4.	Puchi Nayakan of Marangapuri	...	Puchiya Nayakan
5.	Leckiya Nayakkan	...	Lakkayya Nayakan (of Kumaravadi)
6.	Viramalaipalayam ; Kama Nayakan	...	Kammaya Nayakan
7.	Iluppaiyur ; Kamakshi Nayakan	...	Kamakshi Nayakan
8.	Nattam ; Lingama Nayakan	...	Lingama Nayakan
9.	Pillai-Muzhungi ; Muttayya Nayakan	...	Muttayya Nayakan
10.	Ideiya-kottai, Ayalur ; Valakondama Nayakan also Maduvur ; Vallakondama Nayakan	...	Vallakondama Nayakan
11.	Ramagiri ; Sami Nayakan	...	Samaya Nayakan
12.	Maruluttu ; Amiya Nayakan	...	Ammayya Nayakan
13.	Yemacalapuram ; Kulappa Nayakan	...	Kulappa Nayakan
14.	Kannivadi ; Appayya Nayakan	...	Appaya Nayakan
15.	Palni ; Chennama Nayakan	...	Sennava Nayakan (of Palni)
16.	Periakulam : Ramabhadra Nayakan	..	Ramabhadra Nayakan (of Virupakshi)
17—25.		...	The nine Goundars and Poligars of Kangayam
26—32.		...	The seven Hill Poligars living in Kambam and Gudalur
33.	Malayalam ; Nanjinattu Raja	...	Nanjanadu
34.	Ariyalur (Ayalur) ; Nayanar	...	Malavarayan (of Ariyalur)

THE POLIGARS OF THE SOUTH

	TAYLOR		RANGA PILLAI
1.		...	Sinnananja Tevan
2.	Sivagiri ; Varagunarama Vanniyar	..	Sivagiri Vanniyar
3.	Alakapuri Rettai-kudi (Rettai-kottai) Vanniyanar		Irattaikkudai Vanniyan
4.	Do.	...	Alagapuri Vanniyan
5.	Settur Tiruvannata Tevar	...	Settur Tiruvana Tevan
6.	Kolang-kondan	...	Kollangondan Vanda Tevan
7.	Ettaiyapuram ; Ettappa Nayakar	...	Ettappa Nayakan
8.		...	Annichi Nayakan
9.	Dumbichi Nayakan	...	Tumbinji Nayakan
10.		...	Kama Nayakan
11.	Kollarpatti ; Kalanka Nayakar	...	Kalanga Nayakan
12.		...	Kandama Nayakan
13.	Eramadai	...	Elumadai Nayakan
14.	Chokkanpatti	...	Chokkathalavan

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the Krishna River and Cape Comorin and how the grant had been confirmed by Salabat Jang; it then proceeded to state that Muhammad Ali

	TAYLOR	RANGA PILLAI
15.		... Thadiyathalavan
16.	Panchalankurichi; Kattabomma Nayakan	... Kattappa Nayakan
17.	Uttumalai Maruthappa Tevan	... Marudappa Thevan
18.		... Tāli Vēli
19.		... Sūttala Tevan
20.		... Saluva Tevan
21.	Urkad; Servakāran	... Seturayan
22.		... Nallakkuttu
23.		... Nambi Thalavan
24.		... Ananja Thalavan
25.		... Ramabhadra Reddi
26.		... Ramaswami Reddi
27.		... Kumaraswami Reddi
28.		... Venkatachala Reddi
29.		... Sankaranarayana Reddi
30.		... Kechalappa Nayakan
31.		... Pethana Nayakan
32.		... Kadalakkudi Nayakan
33.	Nagalapuram; Iravappa Nayakan	... Nagalapuram
34.	Melmandai Nayakan	... Sirumalai Nayakan (of Melamandai)
35.		... Indra Thalavan
36.		... Kumara Thalavan
37.		... Eravappa Nayakan

(only 37 poligars are enumerated by the Diarist)

A number of Palayams mentioned by Taylor are not found in the list of the Diarist which includes several later creations. The chiefs of Perambur and Kattalur who were Tevans by caste were among the poligars of Tirumala Nayak's time; and Marungapuri of the Puchi Nayak family threw off an offshoot which formed a separate palayam (of Karisalpattu-Varappur) of the Boma Nayaks.

A list of the names of the chiefs actually appointed by Visvanatha Nayak and by his co-adjutor and *dalavai*, Aryanatha Mudali, can be made out from the materials contained in Ward's *survey* and in the two lists published in Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts* (vol. II, pp. 160–8) as well from an unpublished Mackenzie *MS*. Many of these chiefs are called Nayakars who were the descendants of the captains and soldiers who helped the Nayak rulers of Vijayanagar to conquer the Madura country. The traditional story of their migration is given in several of the Mackenzie *MSS*.; and they belong, for the greater part, to the castes of the Tottiyars and Kambalattars, corresponding to the Telugu Gollas and Yerragollas (Thurston and Rangachari—*Castes and Tribes of South India*, vol. vii, pp. 183-197). Among the other chiefs one is a Reddiar, another is a Tondaimanar (Kallar) and others are Gounders, Servaikarar, Tevans and Nayanars. Taylor's list divides the fiefs into 9 sections, the first comprising the bigger fiefs of Nanjinadu, Ramnad, Sivaganga and Pudukottai, the others being respectively those attached to the Manapar taluk, Dindigul taluk, Kambam and Gudalur, Madura and Trichinopoly, Tinnevelly, Coimbatore and Salem. The list should have been subject to perpetual fluctuations being 'increased or diminished with the absence or existence of any one preponderating power among them.'

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was given a *cowle* from Muzaffar Jang and invited to act as Dupleix desired, and, instead of doing so, he had taken shelter in Trichinopoly and made frivolous excuses; and Chanda Sahib and the French forces had, therefore, orders to capture Trichinopoly and punish Muhammad Ali; and the poligars should not help him on pain of losing their fiefs and being punished, but should help Chanda Sahib.

Ramnad was founded about 1605 by one Muthukrishnappa, rather restored to the ancient line of the *Setupathis*, according to the manuscript history of the *Carnataca Governors*, the account of the *Setupathis* translated by Taylor and the historical memorandum furnished to Nelson (in the *Madura Manual*, 1868) by Ponnuswami Tevan, the then manager of the *Zamindari*. Sella Tevar, *alias* Vijayaraghunatha Setupathi, was the ruler of Ramnad from 1748 to 1760. Sivaganga was an offshoot from Ramnad; and its existence as a separate fief dates only from about 1730; it was then ruled by Periya Udaya Tevar, the son of its founder Sasivarna Periya Udaya Tevar. The *Tondaimans* of Pudukottai, not mentioned separately by the Diarist, and evidently included by him in the divisions of the Kallars, came into prominence on account of their services to the Nayaks, about the close of the 17th century. They rose from one of the Kallar tribes settled near Anbil, in the land east of Trichinopoly, south of Tanjore and north of Ramnad, which were originally known as *Arasu*. Vijaya Raghunatha Tondaiman was the ruler at the time and took a very prominent part in the operations round Trichinopoly that followed.

See for the Poligar system, *Wilks*, vol. I, p. 34 note; Caldwell's *A History of Tinnevelly*, pp. 57–8; Wilson's *Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pandya*, p. 43; Nelson, Part III, Ch. IV *et seq*; *The Fifth Report of 1812* (1866 edn.)—vol. II, (Madras Presidency)—pp. 89–90; and C. S. Srinivasachari's paper, 'The Poligar system in the Tamil country: Its Origin and Growth' contributed to the *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Nagpur Session, 1928*.

Mr. Dodwell's *notes* to the Diarist's List (pp. 6–9 notes) identify the then fief-holders of Ariyalur, Turaiyur, Kollankondan, and Kolarapettai; he fixes also the fiefs of several of the poligars mentioned by the Diarist; but the places mentioned by him are not in all cases the same as those of Taylor and can be explained by the assumption that the original palayams might have been shifted. Light's *Report* (Military Consultations) of 1781 has been thoroughly utilised by him in locating these.

The main sub-divisions of the Kallars which were returned in the greatest numbers at the Census of 1891 were Isanganadu (Visanganadu), Kungiliyan, Menadu, Nāttu, Piramalainadu, and Sīrakudi. The Kallars of Madura are however divided into 10 endogamous sections which are territorial in origin. Mr. T. Turnbull, writing in 1817, says that the Kallars appropriated to themselves various *nads* (regions) in different parts of the southern districts; and in each of these territories they had a chief among them whose orders and directions they must all obey (Thurston and Rangachari—*Castes and Tribes of Southern India*—vol. III, p. 53). The Visinganattukallar, Piranmalai Kallar and Tannarasunattu Kallar seem to have been tribes living in the Pudukotta territory (vide *A Manual of the Pudukottai State*, p. 183; and Mr. S. Radhakrishna Iyer's *A General History of the Pudukottai State*, p. 67). The filiations of the Kallars are hard to fix; but they have got, according to tradition, some close connection with the Maravars and the Agambadiyans (See Sir Athelstane Baines: *Indian Ethnography* (*Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research*), pp. 81 and 47–48.

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Chanda Sahib wrote shortly afterwards that he had to postpone his march to Trichinopoly, as the English under Gingens took Vriddachalam and hoisted their own flag there; Dupleix was so anxious that the place should be retaken and the English should be driven completely out of the neighbourhood that he arranged for Shaikh Hasan, the *jemadar* of sepoys, who had been sent to reduce the Chittore palayams, should be required to come and help to beat the English. The horsemen on the French side gave some trouble as their pay was in arrears; and their demand had to be forthwith complied with; and a lakh of rupees was immediately despatched to Papayya Pillai, who was one of Madame Dupleix's agents and who was now appointed *receveur general des finances du Carnatic*, in which capacity he acted tyrannically and made a very bad name for himself. In this connection, the Diarist described how large sums of money had been received by the French on Chanda Sahib's account and arrangements had been made for a bill of exchange for 16½ lakhs of rupees on Kasi Das Bukkanji, payable at the Masulipatam factory, on account of the present which Muzaffar Jang had promised to make when he reached Golconda and which had been confirmed by Salabat Jang; he also wrote that Dupleix had ordered that all payments got, other than the sums due from Mir Asad of Chetpattu and Murtaza Ali Khan of Vellore which were to be paid to Chanda Sahib for the charge of his troops, were to be received for himself.

V. The English and Chanda Sahib Advance on Trichinopoly

Captain de Gingens had with him about 500 Europeans and took the field in May in order to bar the way of Chanda Sahib to Trichinopoly. He had also under him a force of *coffres* and sepoys and 8 pieces of cannon. His original instruction was that he was to wait in the vicinity of Fort St. David till he should be joined by Muhammad Ali's troops, from Trichinopoly. The English till then did not like to appear as principals in the struggle. After six weeks of waiting, Captain Gingens was joined about the middle of May, by 600 horse and about 1000 *peons* of Muhammad Ali. He then moved westwards and came in sight of Vriddachalam, whose fortified pagoda was garrisoned by 300 of Chanda Sahib's troops. The place was on the high road to Trichinopoly; and its reduction was deemed to be necessary

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for the preservation of Fort St. David. The pagoda surrendered after a slight assault;[1] and after leaving a small garrison there, the English continued their further march and were joined by about 100 Europeans detached by Captain Cope from Trichinopoly and about 4,000 troops of Muhammad Ali, both cavalry and foot, commanded by Abdul Wahab Khan, a younger brother of the latter. The exact place where the junction of the troops took place is not clear; according to Captain Dalton it was at Valikandapuram (the Volcondah of Orme and other historians). Gingens was encamped in a grove about a mile and a half from the latter place, while Chanda Sahib's forces were posted about 4 miles to the north. The rock-fort by whose side Volcondah village was situated, was that of Ranjangudi which was in the possession of a Mussalman *jahirdar*, who, though a relative of Muhammad Ali's,[2] was afraid to throw in his lot definitely on the side of his kinsman and refused to open his gates to the English. Gingens first captured and burnt the village (or *pettai*) of Volcondah, but he could not take the rock-fort; while the *jaghirdar* permitted the French troops to go over to him. An action took place in the dry bed of the river which runs beneath the fort, in which the English troops fled for no apparent reason, though the officers including Clive who was then a lieutenant, did all they could to stop the disgraceful flight. This so-called battle of Volcondah [it was in reality the battle of Ranjangudi, (*June 30*)] was considered 'a disgraceful affair' by both Wilks and Malcolm. Orme says that Abdul Wahab Khan's troops stood their ground; and it was only the English battalion that got so

[1] Chanda Sahib's garrison surrendered as soon as they perceived the scaling ladders being put up by the attackers. The report that reached the Diarist tells that the defenders made a fairly prolonged resistance. Vriddachalam was thus the only fort north of the Coleroon which remained loyal to Muhammad Ali, after the first English attempt to succour him failed. Clive and Pigot, one of the English Council, accompanied a small detachment sent by Saunders to Trichinopoly and convoyed stores to Vriddachalam which was then beleaguered by a hostile *poligar* (July, 1751). After having entered Vriddachalam and sent on the detachment further, Clive and Pigot set out to return to Fort St. David when they were immediately surrounded by the poligar's troops and escaped only after a close race. 'It was a close race and Clive's fighting nearly came to an end.'—See Forrest's *Life of Lord Clive*; vol. i; *p*. 135 and Francis; *Gazetteer of South Arcot District—pp*. 400–01.

[2] The *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi* says that the jaghirdar of the place was Mutabir Khan Tahir, son of Md. Husain Tahir; he was therefore a Tahiran and a hereditary enemy of Anwaru'd-din's family.

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demoralised and broke up in panic.[1] The troops of Muhammad Ali 'behaved in this action better than ever they did afterwards, and even in the field of battle reproached the English for their want of spirit,' according to Clive, in the memorandum that he gave to Orme in 1763. According to another version, the English were regarded as having lost all their courage in this engagement. The Diarist wrote that, a letter which was received declared the English had a loss of 90 Europeans killed, including 2 officers besides the wounded, while in the detachment of Cope 110 persons had been either killed at Madura or died of sickness; but according to the English version they lost only one ensign and five or six men.[2]

The Diarist also makes mention of two envoys from the Raja of Mysore who came to Pondicherry with jewels and cloths as presents to the Governor who desired that the amount of the present might be given to him in ready money. It was possibly, as suggested by Mr. Dodwell, to frustrate this negotiation that Muhammad Ali sent an envoy named Seshagiri Rao to Mysore for assistance.[3] A Brahman who came to Pondicherry, alleged that he had been sent by Muhammad Ali, without the English knowing it, to desire Dupleix to send some one to Trichinopoly to hoist the French flag there. This was only one phase of the intrigue by which Dupleix urged Muhammad Ali to take up the offer of Salabat Jang of the Northern Sarkars and confirm it with a grant under the seal of Chanda Sahib which latter was received by Muhammad Ali through M. Law. The person who was sent to Trichinopoly along with the Brahman, reported according

[1] For details see Captain Dalton's *Memoir* (Memoir of Captain Dalton, H.E.I.C.S. (1886) *pp.* 92 *et. seq.*; Orme, vol. i, *pp.* 172-4; Martineau's *Dupleix*, vol. iii, p. 194, and Forrest's *Life of Lord Clive*, vol. i, *pp.* 128-31, which says that some of Orme's statements are founded on a memorandum which Clive sent him in 1763. See *Catalogue of the Orme Collection of MSS.* by S. C. Hill—p. 272.

[2] According to a separate despatch from Governor Saunders to the Company dated August 15, 26, 'the Nawab's people and the *coffres* behaved well and our people ill. The unlucky action encouraged their (enemy's) people and depressed ours.'

[3] The Dalavai, Deva Raja, was not willing to embark on this enterprise; but his younger brother, Nanja Raja, was tempted by an extravagant promise of the cession of Trichinopoly and of all its possessions, down to Cape Comorin, to lend the required assistance and agreed to make provision for Muhammad Ali by giving him the *jaghir* of Hardanahalli, at the head of the pass to Trichinopoly (p. 2470 of Ch. XI of the *Mysore Gazetteer* (New edition); vol. II; Part IV), and also Wilks, vol. I, p. 172.

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to the Diarist, that the place was full of the English, and Muhammad Ali was only the nominal ruler.

Chanda Sahib had, after the action at Volcondah, followed Gingens to Utattur, situated about 25 miles from Trichinopoly and fifteen miles south of Perambalur. Two miles north of the place, the road from Trichinopoly passes between a hill and a ridge of rock which were described by Orme as the 'streights of Utattur' and by Dalton as 'the barrier to the Trichinopoly country'. Gingens was encamped in the streights, though they could have been avoided; and Dalton was posted as an advance-guard. The enemy forces were about 8 miles behind and thus the two forces watched each other for several days. On the 20th of July the English troops, consisting of a few dragoons, about 150 of the Nawab's horse and a company of sepoys were decoyed into an ambuscade of some 3,000 horse and foot. The cavalry escaped; but most of the sepoys were cut to pieces, and Lieutenant Maskelyne was taken prisoner. This disaster, though small by itself, followed so closely on the failure at Volcondah, that it had a most disheartening effect on the English. Chanda Sahib thereupon advanced his camp three miles and offered a general engagement with a very large body of horse and sepoys. Dalton who occupied the outpost, retired with skill to the main camp of the English. Chanda Sahib resolved upon a general action; but a heavy fire from the British artillery made him waver and soon compelled his troops to flight. This attack of Chanda Sahib, though repulsed, made Gingens resolve to abandon the streights on account of the possibility of the enemy posting his cavalry between the place and Trichinopoly; he moved out the same night and after a quick march of eighteen hours, encamped close to the northern bank of the Coleroon and occupied a fortified pagoda (Pichchandar Kovil). They then crossed the river followed by the French and Chanda Sahib, took possession of the Srirangam Island and the great pagoda. But even here they did not deem themselves secure from the enemy, crossed the Kaveri and took refuge on July 28th under the walls of Trichinopoly. The French also rapidly pushed on after the English; they and their allies took possession of Srirangam, conquered the mud-fort of Koiladi, near the eastern extremity of the island, crossed the Kaveri and encamped on the plain to the east of the town in the neighbourhood of what is known now as the French

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Rock which stood about a mile to the south-east of the fort.[1] The position of the English was certainly inferior at that time to that of the French. Gingens was not equal to meet the situation ; there were cabals and quarrels among his officers; and according to Dalton, all the English officers were young soldiers, 'at that time little experienced in the country-method of making war'.

From the Diarist we learn that the French troops were not better off. Chanda Sahib is said by him to have written that D'Auteuil and other French officers stubbornly refused to cross the Coleroon after the engagements at Volcondah and Utattur and wished to return to Pondicherry with their soldiers and that Shaikh Hasan and his sepoys bore the brunt of the fighting both at Volcondah and in the taking of Srirangam and the neighbouring pagoda of Tiruvanaikoyil, while the French troops, instead of marching in advance as usual, lagged several miles behind the rest of the army. Presumably, the French refused to advance and allowed Chanda Sahib to cross the Coleroon alone and occupy Srirangam as soon as the English quitted it. Chanda Sahib was reported to be telling people that the Europeans had done nothing but talk big and write daily to Dupleix letters full

[1] The date of the French and Chanda Sahib crossing the Coleroon is not certain. According to Orme, Chanda Sahib and the French took possession of Srirangam soon after it was evacuated by the English ; and about the middle of August they sent a strong detachment to attack Koiladi which was defended by a small body of English troops for several days and then given up. This success determined Chanda Sahib to cross the Kaveri, and leaving a garrison in Srirangam, he encamped with the rest of his army to the east of Trichinopoly (Vol. I, pp. 180-1). As Dodwell points out, the French, according to Law, did not cross the Coleroon until September. The Diarist writes in his entry for September 14, that he heard from a letter of Chanda Sahib that he intended to cross the Coleroon and occupy Srirangam. Apparently Chanda Sahib first crossed the Coleroon alone, without the French and possibly 'withdrew when the French refused to follow him.' (Note on p. 29 of vol. viii of the *Diary*), as several letters from Chanda Sahib are reported to have come from camp, on September 17, saying that he was about to cross the Coleroon into Srirangam.

According to the *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi*, Husein Dost Khan (Chanda Sahib) broke the pot of his honour at the *maidan* of the Nawab's Tank, adjoining Utattur and hastened to Samiavaram and encamped there. He stayed in that same place for a period of two months and twenty-days and engaged himself in taking possession of the kingdom and entrusting it to various agents. Ahsanu'd-din then marched with a French army according to the instructions of his master, Husein Dost Khan and brought under his control the temple of Srirangam and Jhamgir (Jambukesvaram) which was like a fort ; and the vapour of his breath caused by the heat of his exertions to subdue the tract of land from the Kaveri up to the back of the hill of Dhobykonda (French Rock ?) went as far as the sky.

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of false complaints. The Diarist also heard news that Cope and his men got on so badly with Muhammad Ali Khan that they had resolved to depart. D'Auteuil was said to have resolved to leave Chanda Sahib's camp; and the next day news was received from Chanda Sahib that he had actually left the camp in anger and that M. Law who had already made a mark, might be made the commandant of the European troops. Dupleix was reported to be very angry at D'Auteuil's departure, but unwilling to appoint Law as his successor.

Muhammad Ali himself sent a letter to Dupleix which was received on August 8, in which he pretended that he was ready to leave Trichinopoly under a safe conduct, according to the terms of Salabat Jang's *cowle* and willing to visit Pondicherry and discuss the whole situation. The Diarist also heard that he had sent emissaries to Alam Khan at Madura and offered him terms in return for his assistance; he suspected greatly that Muhammad Ali was already suspicious of the English and could be easily persuaded into believing that the English were ready to abandon him. So when Governor Saunders wrote to Chanda Sahib, taxing him with having unjustly seized the Trichinopoly country that had been mortgaged to the English by Muhammad Ali,[1] and a reply was sent, under Dupleix's instructions and according to his dictation and wording, that the country had been given by Salabat Jang to him and the English had no right at all to it. 'Advantage was taken of Mr. Saunders' sealed letter, to prepare an inner slip, as though addressed by Mr. Saunders to Chanda Sahib, offering to deliver up the fort of Trichinopoly and the person of Muhammad Ali, provided such and such were done. This was to be folded up in the cover and given to the confidential people whom Muhammad Ali sends to M. d'Auteuil and Shaikh Hasan, to be carried to their master. As Muhammad Ali is already suspicious of the English and is secretly sending people to us for terms, it is hoped that this letter will cause quarrels between him and them and increase their ill-feeling. I hear that special letters to Chanda Sahib and M. d'Auteuil were also written about this.' Comment is needless on

[1] Saunders wrote to the Company that he had a mortgage bond for Trichinopoly and hoisted the English flag there and would protest against any French hostilities that might be committed there (letter dated August 15, 1726).

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this entry of the Diarist; and Dodwell remarks that this was 'a device characteristic of Dupleix, no matter whether proposed by him or not.'

The fort of Vriddachalam was to be taken by the French, as it was the only fort on this side of Trichinopoly, still in possession of the English and Muhammad Ali. Rango Pandit, Madame Dupleix's *amaldar*, was ordered to fortify his place in the neighbourhood and entertain topasses, sepoys and Portuguese artillery men for that purpose; but when he marched against the place, the enemy sallied out and attacked him, and Rango Pandit had to run away, spiking his guns. The Diarist was glad that the attack miscarried, because, had it been successful, it would have redounded to the credit of that rascally Brahman (Rango Pandit) and Madame Dupleix.[1] Not only was this set-back a source of depression to Dupleix; but the news that the Tanjore people were inclined to the side of Muhammad Ali and the English and hailed with joy the news of Ghaziu'd-din Khan, the elder brother and new rival of Salabat Jang, recognising the title of Muhammad Ali and even celebrated the hearing of the news as an occasion for thanksgiving and festivity put him out greatly, though he affected to believe that the English should have spread the news which the Tanjoreans so readily took in. An agreement was made at Pondicherry with Gopal Rao, the *vakil* of Murari Rao Ghorepade[2] that the latter should take Chanda Sahib's part

[1] The Diarist's entry for August 18th, that the 200 men who marched from Cuddalore were encamped outside Vriddachalam when Rango Pandit's attack was repulsed means probably the detachment that was sent out by Saunders with a large convoy of stores to the relief of Vriddachalam which was accompanied by Clive and Pigot and which dispersed, according to Orme, the troops of a neighbouring Poligar.—*Vide* note 1 on page 173.

[2] Murari Rao (a grand—nephew of the famous Santaji) was the Maratha governor of Trichinopoly left by Raghuji Bhonsle; he took some part in the revolution that followed Safdar Ali's assassination and later evacuated Trichinopoly to Nizamul-Mulk and quitted the Carnatic (1743). He was hired by Nasir Jang as the commandant of a body of 10,000 horse when the latter came down into the Carnatic and sent forward to the Coleroon where he met and harassed the army of Muzaffar Jang, and Chanda Sahib returning with the French battalion from the Tanjore expedition (February-March, 1750). When Muzaffar Jang had submitted to his uncle, and the French had retired hastily with Chanda Sahib into Pondicherry (April), Murari Rao pushed on in pursuit of the French troops and greatly harassed them. He had established himself at Gooty in 1746 and got hold of Penukonda and became supreme among the *poligars* of the Ceded Districts. For his character, see Orme, vol. I, p. 363. He had a very interesting part to play in the operations round Trichinopoly and later against Hyder Ali.

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either by openly attacking the enemy or by joining them and secretly working against them and that Chanda Sahib should pay each trooper that the Maratha sent, Rs. 20 per month, besides an additional sum to him when matters should have been settled. Murari Rao was expected at Pondicherry and was to be welcomed with great honour and *eclat*.

On the last day of August, news was received that Governor Saunders had despatched to Trichinopoly from Devikottai a few soldiers with provisions, shot, powder and other munitions of war; that some of Chanda Sahib's troopers and the Tanjore army attempted to attack them when they got near Trichinopoly, but that they broke through and reached the fort safely. Dupleix was angry that the Tanjore people did not effectively obstruct their march and to capture their munitions and provisions, to which the Tanjore *vakil* at Pondicherry gave an evasive reply.[1]

VI. Clive's capture of Arcot—Events till the end of 1751

Dupleix resolved, according to the Diarist, to despatch 200 soldiers and officers, who had lately arrived, to Trichinopoly, on the 1st of September and asked Raza Sahib to accompany them; the latter agreed to do so and begged for two lakhs of rupees at least with which he could pay off sepoys and horsemen who were heavily in arrears, but had to start only with half a lakh. Soon the news of Clive's diversion to Arcot came to be known. It was deemed by Madame Dupleix that it would not be advisable to recall Chanda Sahib's or the French troops from before Trichinopoly but that they would be sending troops from Pondicherry to help Polur Muhammad Ali Khan (brother of Chanda Sahib) at Arcot. She asked that the two sons of

[1] This refers to the second reinforcement sent by the English to Trichinopoly where great discontent prevailed among the officers and several had to be removed. A commission was given to Clive (Fort St. David Consultation of July 22/August 2, 1751) and he proceeded with a detachment into the country of Tanjore where he was joined by another from Devikottai under Captain Clarke who took the command to the whole which consisted only of 100 Europeans and 50 sepoys with one small field-piece. The French detached from Koiladi, 30 Europeans and 500 sepoys and had a skirmish with the English detachment, at a place 10 miles east of the latter. The English gained access to Trichinopoly by making a detour in order to avoid the enemy's camp. (Orme; vol. i, p. 182 and Forrest's *Clive*, vol. i, p. 137).

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Bangaru Yachama Nayaka of Venkatgiri[1] and other poligars of the neighbourhood should be written to immediately to send troops to Arcot, while Chanda Sahib was asked to send as quickly as possible 2,000 horsemen to Arcot for the help of Polur Muhammad Ali Khan; and Sayyad Muhammad Khan of Tadpatri who had been ordered to go to the Musaravakkam *killa*, was now ordered to proceed to Arcot with his 200 match-lock men.

News was received on September 12, that the English had reached Conjeevaram and tied *toranams* there and were intending to occupy Kaveripakkam and Musaravakkam, while a small body of Polur Muhammad Ali Khan's men were encamped near Damarle (Damal) in order to attack the English. Dupleix tried to encourage the merchants who were alarmed by telling them that a very large army was being despatched from Pondicherry to Arcot, so that no fort or army could resist them, whereas in reality he could send only about 150 men of very inferior calibre. On the 15th of September, it was known in Pondicherry that on the previous day the English had hoisted their flag at the Nawab's palace and occupied the fort, while the day before (i.e. 13th September) Polur Muhammad Ali Khan and others had fled to Vellore.[2]

[1] Bangaru Yachama Nayaka, surnamed Sarvagna Kumara, died in 1748, leaving two sons, Bangaru Yachama Nayak and Pedda Yachama Nayak. The latter quarrelled with his brother and attempted to get a *sanad* for the whole estate of Venkatagiri from the Nawab of Arcot who decided that the two brothers were to live in peace at different places. Their *vakils* were at Pondicherry, soliciting Dupleix's favour and being compelled to pay large sums both to Dupleix and to Chanda Sahib. The younger brother died in A.D. 1754; and the elder received the *sanad* for the whole estate in the previous year from Nawab Muhammad Ali who had triumphed over his rival. It was reported by the Diarist that, after the death of Nasir Jung, the two Nayak brothers were to pay Muzaffar Jang two lakhs of rupees and Chanda Sahib one lakh. The former payment was made through Ramdas Pandit; and as a *jaghir* had been given for 4,000 horse, although the *mansab* was 5,000, the Nizam now gave the additional *jaghir* for 1,000 horse. Chanda Sahib demanded three lakhs, but was paid one lakh through Dupleix who got bonds from their vakils.

[2] Saunders wrote on August 15/26, that it had been resolved to leave 3 or 400 men to defend Trichinopoly fort, and according to the Nawab's desire, make a diversion in the Arcot country, with the rest, joining the Nawab's forces, with a view to raising contributions. Subsequently he wrote on the 30th September/ 11th October, to the Company that he had put in execution the design of making a diversion in the Arcot country, in order to draw off the enemy from Trichinopoly. 130 men under Clive embarked on August 22/September 2, from Fort St. David for Madras where they were joined by 80 more. The detachment that proceeded against Arcot, consisted of about 200 Europeans and 300 sepoys with 8 officers

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The English capture of Arcot did not greatly disturb the minds of the Pondicherry folk. Polur Muhammad Ali Khan wrote to say that when the English garrison at Arcot marched against Timiri fort, he sent his son with a small force of Murtaza Ali Khan of Vellore and repulsed them; and that, with reinforcements, the enemy could be quickly driven out of the Arcot *killa*. Murtaza Ali Khan sent word to the same effect and required reinforcements before the enemy could strengthen himself. Dupleix however realised the seriousness of the loss of Arcot and was so angry that the Diarist wrote, 'even I fear to stand before him;' how much more then will others fear? He urged that Chanda Sahib who had already sent 1,000 horsemen, should write to his son, Raza Sahib, to march at once to Arcot with another 1,000 horse; and also that he should immediately cross the Kaveri and attack Trichinopoly.

M. d'Auteuil and other officers had all along been written to by Dupleix that they were not to return to Pondicherry, but advance with Chanda Sahib's troops. It was likely that when Chanda Sahib crossed the Coleroon first, D'Auteuil obstinately refused to follow him and demanded to return. A letter from Chanda Sahib received at Pondicherry on August 7, is reported by the Diarist in his entry for that date, to have contained the news that D'Auteuil had left the camp in anger and should have already arrived and reported the state of affairs and that Law might be made the commander of the European troops. On September 17, another letter received from Chanda Sahib says, according to the Diarist, that if D'Auteuil departed, Law might be appointed commander. To this Dupleix is said to have replied that he had recalled D'Auteuil and Bernier and appointed Law as commander with orders to cross the Coleroon and the Kaveri before

and 3 field-pieces. They marched from Madras on August 26/September 6, reached Conjeevaram three days later and the neighbourhood of Arcot on August 31/September 11, and took possession of the fort the next day, hoisting both the English colours and Muhammad Ali's flag and protecting the inhabitants.

It is to be stressed that, for sometime past, Muhammad Ali had been proposing a diversion in the direction of Arcot, and at first Saunders and the English Council thought that this might be effected by Gingens leaving a sufficient number of men in Trichinopoly and marching with a force into the Arcot country. But Gingens could not appreciate his capacity for the task and Clive persuaded Saunders that he could do it. News of the English march to Arcot did not reach Dupleix for a week.

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the Nawab's troops. Law set out from Pondicherry for camp on September 8th and took over the command on 18th; and the real operations of Chanda Sahib against Trichinopoly began only after this date.

In his letters, Chanda Sahib said that Muhammad Ali had sent *vakils* to him, promising to accept the terms of the *cowle* formerly offered to him and to evacuate Trichinopoly twenty days later and asked that D'Auteuil who had the *cowle* with him, might be desired to hand it over to him. Dupleix had, by this time, become very suspicious of Muhammad Ali and was convinced that the latter was asking for a truce of twenty days in order merely to strengthen his position at Arcot and to collect provisions and stores for the defence of Trichinopoly, which he could not have the least intention to give up. He wrote thus to Chanda Sahib and asked him not to allow even the least delay in crossing the Coleroon and the Kaveri.

On October 11, letters were received at Pondicherry that Chanda Sahib's army was encamped round the fort of Trichinopoly and that Alam Khan of Madura, to whom the English had written offering a place under Muhammad Ali, in return for his assistance, was marching to Chanda Sahib's assistance, along with other poligars from the south, while the Raja of Mysore was inimical towards him openly. Ranga Pillai's *Diary* furnish no details of the events happening before Trichinopoly in the fateful months October 1751 to February 1752; and there follows a hiatus during March and April. With regard to the Mysore negotiations with Pondicherry of which mention was made by the Diarist in his entry for July 8th, nothing seems to have followed. A letter of the captain of the English forces at Trichinopoly, written to Fort St. David was seized by the French on September 13th; therein, according to the Diarist's version, it was stated that the Mysore army had not yet arrived, but when they did, he would, in conjunction with them, attack the enemy. This meant that an agreement had already been made between the Raja of Mysore and Muhammad Ali. The Mysore *vakil* who had been sent to Pondicherry, still continued at that place; and when questioned by the Diarist, he declared that when he was accredited to Pondicherry, his master had no idea of assisting Muhammad Ali, but that troops had been marched only as a measure of precaution. He also added that Chanda Sahib was always abusing the Mysoreans to their *vakil* at his camp and

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threatening to seize their country. In October, as was seen above, the Diarist wrote that Chanda Sahib and the Raja of Mysore were on bad terms. In the next entry of the Diarist, dated November 8, Chanda Sahib is said to have written to Dupleix that he was again friendly with the Raja of Mysore whose *vakil* had proposed certain terms and that he had agreed to the demands which were as follows :— (1) That part of the Trichinopoly country which had long been in the possession of Mysore should not be interfered with ; (2) the poligars who had joined Mysore should not be molested, and (3) 2,000 horse and 5,000 foot of the Mysore army which should constantly remain with Chanda Sahib, the latter should assign for their maintenance lands adjoining Mysore and yielding 3 lakhs annually. Chanda Sahib agreed to them and offered to cede Sondikuppam and certain countries seized by the Tondaiman for the maintenance of the troops, and not to molest any poligar except him of Turaiyur. Dupleix agreed to write to the Dalavai of Mysore, promising to fulfil the terms of Chanda Sahib's agreement, as desired by him.[1] It was likely that the agreement of Chanda Sahib with the Mysore *vakil* was not intended to be a genuine one, but, as Mr. Dodwell suggests, 'only to delay matters until the Mysore preparations were complete' and 'represent a stage in the bargaining between Mysore and Muhammad Ali which ended in his unfortunate promise to cede Trichinopoly.' As a matter of fact though a letter was received at Fort St. David in October, 1751, from the Mysoreans promising to join Muhammad Ali, their contingent did not arrive at Trichinopoly till early in the following year.[2]

On the 13th of December, the Diarist heard that Nanja Raja (who was exercising all real authority and was usually called the young *Dalavai* as well as surnamed *Karachuri* [hand and dagger], equivalent to the English phrase 'a word and a blow') had assembled at Dharmapuri, above the Changama Pass, 2,000 or 3,000 horse and 5,000 or

[1] The Dalavai, Deva Raja, was averse to engaging to help Muhammad Ali or interfere at all ; but his younger brother, Nanja Raja, was tempted, by extravagant promises, to assist him. According to Meer Hussein Ali Khan Kirmani (*History of Hydur Naik-tr* by Col. W. Miles, 1842—p. 35), Nanja Raj associated himself with Murari Rao and other poligars and marched towards Trichinopoly with an army of 7,000 cavalry and 10 or 12,000 foot, the Raja however not consenting to this movement. The aged Dalavai, Deva Raj, was averse to the proposals of Seshagiri Pandit, the ambassador of Muhammad Ali to Mysore (Wilks—vol. I. p. 172.)

[2] See notes on pp. 58 and 69 of the *Diary*, vol. VIII.

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6,000 foot and that Murari Rao had visited him and was also there with 2,000 horse and that both intended to help Muhammad Ali. When Dupleix heard this news, his anger against Chanda Sahib burst forth and he exclaimed that the latter had made enemies of the Rajas of Mysore and Tanjore, alienated the poligars, who hindered all cultivation and that he might be pensioned off with a *jaghir* or forced to retire to Mecca, as the country would be ruined if it remained in his possession longer. The Diarist was glad that the Governor was angry with Chanda Sahib and wrote, 'God has dealt justly with Chanda Sahib and punished him within the year for his having cheated me (of expected rewards)'.

As a measure of retaliation for Nanja Raj joining Muhammad Ali, Dupleix ordered that the Turaiyur people should tie *toranams* in the adjoining Mysore country. But just at that time Deva Raja died and Nanja Raj had to return to the capital, but not before he and Murari Rao had time to plunder the Salem mint and fort.

To return to the doings at Arcot:—The alleged repulse of the English before Timiri fort reported by Polur Muhammad Ali and written by the Diarist in his entry for September 18, 1751, had probably a reference to Clive's first movement against Timiri on September 15th, when the English, according to Orme (vol. I, p. 184), marched out to meet the fugitive Arcot garrison of 600 horse and 500 foot drawn up near Timiri and forced them to retreat to the hills in their rear. Dupleix urged that Raza Sahib should immediately proceed to Arcot; but the latter asked for 2 lakhs of rupees towards the charges of his 3,000 horsemen, as otherwise, they might retire from Volcondah to which they had advanced, to Gingee and refuse to accompany him (Diarist's entry for the 24th of September).

Meanwhile Clive's troops had sallied out on Timiri (a fort situated about 7 miles south of Arcot, on the Arni road) on the 17th, but could not secure its surrender. On the night of the 25th September, when the reinforced enemy took up a stand within 3 miles of Arcot, Clive made a surprise attack and returned with some plunder. When the latter seized the Conjeevaram pagoda, Clive sent a small body to dislodge him and convoyed safely the 2 eighteen-pounders that were sent to him from Madras and beat back the enemy who advanced to attack the fort (27th September). When Raza Sahib finally reached Arcot and took possession of the town and

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the palace, the famous siege began (4th October). Clive's sortie on the besiegers (5th October), the failure of a reinforcement under Lieutenant Innis to reach the besieged, the securing by Raza Sahib of battering cannon from Pondicherry and of Murtaza Ali who came with 2,000 men, the latter's trick of pretending to quarrel with Raza Sahib and inviting Clive to join in attacking him, the decision of Murari Rao to throw in his lot with the brave besieged, Raza Sahib's offer of a proposal to Clive to surrender, the final attack of the besiegers on the 24th November, their failure and departure on the next day—most of these incidents are not noted by the Diarist; and he only records in a matter-of-fact manner how Raza Sahib was driven from Arni to Chetpattu, by the English and the Marathas (entry for the 17th December) and how Clive marched on Conjeevaram which had meanwhile been taken by the French, reduced it and compelled the garrison to flee to Chingleput (entry for the 31st December).

Regarding the operations before Trichinopoly we have better information from the Diarist. In his entry for the 11th October, he wrote that letters were received on that day to the effect that Chanda Sahib's army had been encamped round the fort of Trichinopoly. On the 8th November he reports that Chanda Sahib had sent on Salabat Jang's *takid* parwana to Muhammad Ali and was expecting news of its receipt by the latter and of what might take place in consequence.[1] He is said to have also written that, if Muhammad Ali did not accept the *parwana*, the sepoys in the fort who had accepted a *cowle*, would make over the fort to him. Dupleix replied that Chanda Sahib should not relax his efforts, but make every effort, day and night, to capture the fort without delay. Towards the close of November, news was received that Hasanu'd-din Khan and his troops attacked the battery built by Cope outside the fort gate and that Cope and Gingens were not

[1] Chanda Sahib mentions in his letter that a copy of the *parwana* was sent to the Governor of Fort St. David. It is interesting to note in this connection that Saunders in writing to the Directors on 24th October (o.s.) mentions a letter alleged to have been sent by Salabat Jang, but suspected to be the production of Dupleix and Chanda Sahib; and remarks that it was curious that the letter should arrive on the same day as Chanda Sahib's answer to his previous letter (see note 1, p. 176), and it was bruited about that Chanda Sahib and others have counterfeit seals of the Mughal and his officers. Saunders offered that Chanda Sahib might hold Arcot, and leave Trichinopoly to Muhammad Ali, pending the Mughal's decision; but the offer was rejected—see Dodwell's *Madras Despatches*, 1744–55, p. 146 and p. 145.

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pulling on well, the latter favouring Muhammad Ali Khan and the former opposing him. Towards the end of December there was a battle between the English and Hasanu'd-din Khan at Trichinopoly in which the latter was repulsed after a severe fight and rescued by Law and Alam Khan moving to his assistance and rescuing Shaikh Hasan and those who remained with him. The Diarist heard that Hasanu'd-din Khan was lured into an ambush and many of his men were cut off, though Chanda Sahib, Alam Khan and Law advanced to his help; and finally they were forced to abandon the battery which they had occupied.[1] Thus the year 1751 closed with the French fortunes beginning to sink in both the Arcot and Trichinopoly spheres. The triumphant march of Salabat Jang and Bussy to Aurangabād, their subjugation of the rebellious *killedar* of Nirmal, the great influence of the French at the Nizam's Court—these are noticed by the Diarist in their places; but the details available of Bussy's doings are scanty.

[1] M. d'Auteuil had been succeeded by Law, the nephew of the famous financier who was obstinate, if anything, and resolved against Dupleix's advice that the city should be reduced not by storm, but by sap and mine. The English thought at first that Chanda Sahib would merely blockade the place and not even besiege it (Saunders' letter to the Company of September 30/October 11). The French established themselves at Sarkarpalayam (Chukleypalayam of Orme) on the south bank of the Kaveri, about 1½ miles north-east of the city, and their principal battery was raised a little to the south of the north-east angle of the fort. They also mounted guns on the French Rock and in the Srirangam Island and on the rock of Erumbesvaram.

(For a plan of the dispositions and operations see Hemingway's *Trichinopoly District Gazetteer*—map between *pp.* 330 and 331; Forrest's *Life of Lord Clive*, vol. I. map facing *p.* 60 and Orme vol. III. (ed. of 1862), maps and plans and Martineau's *Dupleix*, vol. III, map facing p. 206). The first fight took place when the French surprised the English entrenchments opposite the French Rock. Their guns were not effective and Law would not change their position. When a party of Mysore horsemen arrived about the middle of October, they accompanied a body of English troops under Dalton who put a large body of Chanda Sahib's cavalry to flight. There were a few other engagements in December in which Chanda Sahib's cavalry fared badly. The incident of the ambush is probably that narrated by Orme in *pp.* 204–5 of his first volume (1862 ed.)

(*To be continued*)

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The Historical Origin of the Distinction between Svarthanumana and Pararthanumana

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The first part of the article which appeared in the previous issue of the *Journal of Indian History* was originally submitted as one of the six subsidiary 'stellingen' for the doctorate of the University of Amsterdam in 1924. Since then two important books on Indian Logic have been published, viz., Randle's *Indian Logic in the Early Schools*, and Stcherbatsky's *Buddhist Logic*: vol. ii. Our failure to find Dignāga's name in pp. 46–7 of *Nyāyabindutīkā*, to which Keith refers in support of his statement that the authorship of the distinction is expressly attributed to Dignāga by Dharmottara is shared by Randle, who in a foot-note to p. 160 of his book says: 'I find no such statement in *Nyāyabindutīkā*, pp. 46–7. The reference is perhaps wrong'. In this connection we quoted two passages from *Nyāyabindutīkā* and hazarded the supposition that Keith was probably misled by the word *ācārya* that occurred in the second passage. Our supposition has derived confirmation from Stcherbatsky's translation of this passage, which we quote below:

'Our Master (Dignāga)[1] has given the name of inference to propositions, in order to suggest that (the method of) expressing inference must necessarily be discussed.'

Furthermore, our principal contention has found support in Randle, who says:

'The distinction[2] between inference as a thought-process in one's own mind, and that process expressed in words for communication to others, is an obvious one, and is already contained in Vātsyāyana's distinction between *anumāna* on the one hand, and

[1] *Buddhist Logic*, vol. ii, p. 112.
[2] *Indian Logic in the Early Schools*, pp. 160-61.

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nyāya or *sādhakavākya* or *pañcāvayavōpannavākya* on the other hand. But in defining the *avayavas*, or members of the *vākya*, the Sūtrakāra does not keep the two things distinct, his definitions being sometimes rather definitions of aspects of the inferential process (premises "inference for oneself"), than definitions of those *propositions* (verbal expressions of premises) which alone can form part of a *vākya*, a probative *statement*. This, as we learn from Uddyotakara and Vācaspati Miśra, exposed him to the criticism of Vasubandhu: and these criticisms would perhaps draw attention to the necessity of making more explicit than Vātsyāyana had done the distinction between inference in itself and the expression of it in words. It does not seem, in the light of these considerations, that there can be any question of priority of discovery as between Praśastapāda and Dignāga. Nor is it clear that there is any connection between the recognition of the distinction between *svārthānumāna* and *parārthānumāna*, and the denial of the claim of verbal testimony to be a separate source of knowledge. It was inevitable that all schools should draw the distinction between inference in the mind and inference expressed in words,—whether or not they admitted Testimony as a *pramāṇa* or instrument of valid cognition.'

We do not, however, accept the theory that in defining the *avayavas*, Gautama does not keep the idea of verbal reasoning distinct from that of non-verbal reasoning. It is true that his definitions of *hētu* and *udāharaṇa*, when taken without context, do not necessarily indicate that they are *vākyas*. But we have no reason to take them without context and imagine that they are not *vākyas*, when the definitions of *pratijñā*, *upanaya* and *nigamana* leave no room for doubting the verbal character of these *avayavas*. In criticism of Gautama's definition of *hētu*, Dignāga[1] says: '*Sādhanaṃ yadi sādharmyaṃ na vākyāṃśo na pañcamī*.' Dignāga's criticism is based on the assumption that in the Sūtra *hētu* is identified with *sādharmya*. But the use of the ablative suffix after *sādharmya* leaves no room for such an assumption. In fact, Dignāga's statement could be very well used to prove the thesis that in the Sūtra *hētu* is not identified with *sādharmya*. As regards the words *dṛṣṭānta* and *udāharaṇa* in Gautama's definition of *udāharaṇa*, nothing stands in the way of our understanding them as *dṛṣṭānta-vākya*

[1] *Nyāyavārtikatātparyaṭīkā* (Chaukhamba), p. 276. Also Randel's *Fragments from Dignāga*, pp. 42-6.

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and *udāharaṇa-vākya*, since *lāksaṇika-prayoga's* are not uncommon in the philosophical literature of Sanskrit.

There is another point on which we are unable to find ourselves in agreement with Randle. Vātsyāyana's statement: *Āgamaḥ pratijñā* or *sabda-viṣayā pratijñā* gives rise to the question: If the proposition be about a fact derived from *āgama*, how can Gautama's *pañcāvayava-vākya* be called a verbal expression of an inference which one has drawn for oneself? 'The *nyāya*,'[1] says Randle, 'in its origin was not a "syllogism"; but became such as soon as it came to be regarded as the verbal expression of an inference, as Praśastapāda and Dignāga regarded it.' Whatever the origin of *nyāya* might be, there is clear indication in Vātsyāyana's *Bhāṣya* that he regarded Gautama's *pañcāvayava-vākya*, which he called *parama-nyāya*, as a verbal expression of an inference, in spite of his statement that the proposition is about a fact derived from *āgama*. In support of this thesis we would quote the very passage from Vātsyāyana's *Bhāṣya*, which Randle quotes to prove the contrary.

'But[2] what is this *nyāya*?'

'*Nyāya* is knowing an object thoroughly by the instruments of valid knowledge.'

'Reasoning is subservient to perception and *āgama*. It is *anvīkṣā* (post-spection). *Anvīkṣā* is examining that which has been apprehended by perception and *āgama*.'

'[This *Śāstra* is called] *Ānvīkṣikī*, *Nyāya-vidyā*, or *Nyāya-śāstra*, because it works with that.'

'But that reasoning which is hostile to perception and *āgama* is [not *nyāya*, but] *nyāyābhāsa*.'

Reading the above passage with the one which occurs at a later point in his *Bhāṣya* on the same Sutra and in which he explains the nature of each member of the *pañcāvayava-vākya*, which he calls *parama-nyāya*, we would note the following points in interpretation of the intentions of the *Bhāṣya-kāra*:

[1] *Indian Logic in the Early Schools*, p. 163.

[2] *Kaḥ punar āyaṃ nyāyaḥ. Pramāṇair arthaparīkṣaṇaṃ nyāyaḥ. Pratyakṣāgamāśritam anumānam, sā'nvīkṣā, pratyakṣāgamābhyām īkṣitasyānvīkṣaṇam anvīkṣā. Tayā pravarttata' ityānvikṣikī nyāyavidyā nyāyāśastram. Yat punar anumānam pratyakṣāgama-viruddhaṃ nyāyābhāsaḥ sa iti* Randle's translation of the passage is defective: *Indian Logic in the Early Schools*, p. 164.

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1. *Nyāya* = *anumāna* = proof. (This is probably the only instance in the *Bhāṣya* where the term *anumāna* is used in the sense of a mode of proof. In *Nyāya śastra* it is always used in the sense of a mode of discovery.)

2. To know an object merely by perception or by *āgama* is not knowing it thoroughly from the point of view of Logic, which demands that what is known by perception or by *āgama* should be *anumita* = *anvīkṣita* = proved by reasoning.

3. Proof attains its consummation when it is expressed in the prescribed five-membered sentence to the satisfaction of an opponent.

But does not the expression of a reasoning presuppose that the reasoning must have been worked out in the mind of the reasoner in order to be made available for expression in the prescribed form? Thus though the subject-matter of a proposition may be ultimately derived from *āgama*, yet it must be mentally proved by the prover to his own satisfaction before being verbally proved in the prescribed five-membered sentence to the satisfaction of an opponent. We therefore conclude that Vātsyāyanā's statement: *Āgamaḥ pratijñā* or *śabda-viṣayā pratijnā* does not militate against his regarding the *pañcāvayava-vākya* as an expression of a reasoning which one has performed for oneself.

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Sindābūr of the Arab Writers

BY

George M. Moraes

In the works of the Arab Writers of the Middle Ages, one often comes across the mention of a city called Sindābūr, which is described by them as an important commercial centre on the West Coast of India. It is very clearly mentioned by the Arab traveller Al Masudi as early as the 10th century of the Christian era.[1] Its location is suggested by Al Biruni [2] and Il Idrisi [3] in their works, the former in his enumeration of the cities on the Western sea-board of India, and the latter while specifying that it was at four days' journey from Baruh along the coast. However, in spite of the unmistakable hints afforded by these writers the location of this city has long remained a disputed point in the mediæval geography of Western India. Scholars had for a long time held widely divergent opinions as regards its identity, some confounding it with Sindan, which according to Rawlinson has been corrupted into St. John, the modern St. John's Point of Rennel, between Damaun and Bombay, and others with Sidhapur in North Kanara, frequently referred to in the local inscriptional records.[4] Ibn Batuta's description of Sindābūr as an island consisting of thirty-six villages in contradistinction to the description of it by the previous writers as a city, seems to have aggravated rather than helped the solution of this difficulty. Nevertheless, the geographical position assigned to it by Ibn Batuta as being at three days' sail to the south of Koūkah (i.e., Gogo in Kathiawar) and at a day's journey to the north of Honawar [5] inclined Prof. Gildemeister to locate it in the neighbourhood of Goa, and it was later identified with Goa itself by Colonel Yule.[6] In the course of his identification this author remarked

[1] Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, I, p. 21.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 68. 'Of the cities on the shore the first is Sindābūr, then Faknur, then the country of Manjarūr.'

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 89. Baruh is Barūch, i.e., Broach.

[4] *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, XV, p. 198.

[5] Defremery-Sanguinetty, *Voyages D' Ibn Batoutah*, IV, pp. 61–2. Prof. Gibbs' Translation, *Broadway Travellers Series*, is now quite serviceable. (*Editor*).

[6] Yule, *Cathay*, p. 444.

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that 'Sindābūr could be from the use of the *ṣwād* by the earlier writers, and from the Chintabor of the European maps, *Chandāpur* rather than Sundāpur,' but added that 'no Indian name like this has yet been recovered from inscriptions as attaching to Goa.'[1]

It is the purpose of this paper to show that the identity of Sindābūr with Chandrapur as suggested by Colonel Yule has been fully borne out by the researches that have been recently made in the History of the Koṅkaṇ.

To begin with, Ibn Batuta's description of Sindābūr as an island consisting of 36 villages; and surrounded by a gulf the waters of which were fresh and agreeable at low tide, but salt and bitter at high tide; and the fact that there were two towns in the centre of the island, one ancient built by the Infidels, and the other built by the Muhammadans, when they first conquered the island;[2] remove all doubts about its identification with the Goa territory. For we know from Ferishta's account of the Muhammadan occupation of Goa, that in or about A.D. 1310 Mallik Kafur overran the whole of this country, penetrating as far as Rameśwar on the sea coast, i.e., *cabo de Rama*, the southernmost point of the Koṅkaṇ.[3] He left the territory soon after the conquest, entrusting its government to one Mullik Tubliga, who remained at the head of the administration till A.D. 1320, in which year he was recalled by the Emperor to Delhi in order to prove the charges brought by him against the viceroy of the Dekkan Mallik Khusru.[4] After the withdrawal of Mallik Tubliga, the Muhammadans seem to have relinquished their hold over the Koṅkaṇ, since it had to be conquered again by Muhammad bin Tuglak in 1327.[5] It is very probable that during their first occupation of Goa the Muhammadans built a new capital not far from Gōpakapaṭṭaṇa, the old city of the Kadambas, the dynasty conquered by them, so that when Ibn Batuta passed by that island, he saw the two cities. The description of the country as a delta island surrounded by a gulf with its concomitants of ebb and flow perfectly agrees with the description of a delta island like Goa. Moreover the fact referred to by Ibn Batuta

[1] Hobson-Jobson, p. 838.

[2] Defremery-Sanguinetti, *Voyages D'Ibn Batoutah*, IV, pp. 61–2.

[3] Ferishta-Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, I, pp. 373–4.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 391–2.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 413.

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that it contained 36 villages—which is also mentioned by Barros while speaking of Goa which he writes was known to the natives as Tiswade,[1] a name signifying 30 villages—is another proof of its identification with Goa. To this may be added the curious circumstance mentioned by Al Masudi that the bay of Sindābūr abounded in crocodiles, a fact that finds singular confirmation in the accounts of the Portuguese historians such as Barros, Castanheda, and Correia. According to the first of these writers the crocodiles were introduced there as a 'guard against surprises and the escape of slaves'.[2] Castanheda when speaking of Goa and its river says that 'in this river there are many water lizards, which also exist in other rivers'.[3] That these water lizards were but crocodiles is obvious from the following words of this author: 'After the Cabayo (Bijapur Sultan) took possession of this island, he ordered, when fortifying it, that all those who had been condemned to death should be thrown into the river to the din of bugles and panderettes, which was to serve them (crocodiles) in the long run as a sign that the meal was ready; for they are man-eaters and gathered at once as soon as they heard those sounds'.[4]

Having thus far determined the identity of Sindābūr with the island of Goa, it now remains for us to see if a city of the name of Chandrapur ever existed in this territory during the period covered by the Arab travellers spoken of above.

In our study of the history of the Koṅkaṇ, we have often come across a city of no mean importance, called Chandrapur, which may easily be identified with modern Chandor in Salsette, Goa.[5] It has been suggested that it derived this appellation from the fact that it was founded by the Chalukya prince Chandrāditya, who was governing the Koṅkaṇ as viceroy on behalf of his father Pulikēśi II.[6]

[1] Barros, *Da Asia*, Dec. II, liv, V, c. I, vol. II, part I, p. 432 (Ed. 1777).
[The name Tiswade seems corrupted from Sans. Triṁśadvati, which may even be a contraction of 'Shaḍ-triṁśadvati', the 30 in the one case and 36 in another of villages contained in the island.—*Editor*.]

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 433-4.

[3] Castanheda, *Historia do Descombrimento & Conquista da India pelos Portugueses*, Livro III, p. 20.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Cf.* Moraes, *The Kadamba-Kula*, p. 392. Stuart Gomes, *Chandrapur não sera Chandor Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama*, No. 7, pp. 41-2.

[6] *Ibid. Cf. I. A.*, viii, p. 45.

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However that may be, the ancient importance of the place cannot be called in question, for we know from the documents that the Kadambas of Goa made it the capital of their kingdom, when they emerged as feudatory chiefs in the 10th century of the Christian era. We have specific mention of this city, in a 11th century inscription of Shashṭha-dēva II of this dynasty, and in the *Dvyāsharāya*, a Sanskrit work, probably written by the Jaina guru Hēmachandra in the 12th century. The first of these records states that in splendour this city 'excelled even the metropolis of the gods';[1] while the *Dvyāsharāya* implies that it was the capital of Jayakēśi.[2] It is needless to say that these chiefs selected it for their capital, because of its ancient importance no less than its excellent situation on the bank of a river, easily accessible to maritime commerce. This river known as the river of Parodā is at present a struggling rivulet, but there is no doubt that it was quite navigable in those early days of which we are speaking. For it is observed that in this river the silt deposits of succeeding years have filled up the bed much more rapidly than in any other in Goa, as may be seen from the fact that even as late as the latter half of the 19th century large-sized country crafts used to ply between Chandor and the mouth of the river, which has since been entirely closed for purposes of navigation.

The great prosperity of this city which the above-mentioned record of Shashṭha-dēva II attests, was undoubtedly due to the commerce that was carried on between this city and the outside world. Just as Goa became in later times the entrepot of the east, so Chandrapur must have been the rendezvous of traders from far and near in the early mediæval times, and it was thus that it came to be known to the Arab travellers. In the time of Ibn Batuta, however, it was eclipsed by other cities, though it did not entirely escape from men's memories. For the country about Sindābūr, was still called by that name and not after the new city that had risen to prominence. Indeed it took a long time for Chandrapur to be completely dissociated from the commercial geography of Western India, for even in the sixteenth century, Goa which had long superseded the old port of Chandrapur, was known as Guvah-Sindābūr to the foreign traders. This becomes

[1] Moraes, *The Kadamba-Kula*, p. 390; 392. चंद्रपुरमिंद्रपुरातिरेकं ॥

[2] *I. A.* iv, p. 233.

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apparent from Sidi Ali's Turkish book of navigation called the *Mohit*, where the author devotes a section under the caption '24th voyage from Guvah-Sindābūr to Aden'.[1]

The decline of this city would appear to have begun in the reign of Jayakēśi I, for it was in this king's reign that the capital of the Kadambas was transferred from Chandrapur to Goa. It may be inferred from his Goa charter that this city was developed at the cost of Chandrapur.[2] Though the whole volume of trade was not diverted from the latter it is nevertheless evident that it had thenceforth to be content with the rôle of playing second fiddle to Goa. Towards the close of the Kadamba period, however, the fortunes of Chandrapur would seem to have revived. On the overthrow of their rule in the island of Goa by the Delhi Muhammadans, the Kadambas retired to the mountain fastnesses, whence after the withdrawal of the Muhammadan troops they returned and settled down at Chandrapur and fortified the city. During the first expedition of the Muhammadans this city had, not being then the capital, probably escaped destruction at their hands. But the second expedition of 1327 under Muhammad bin Tuglak spelt disaster to this ancient capital. However, Chandrapur appears to have soon outgrown the effects of the Muhammadan invasion. What with the weakness of the central government and the infidelity of the provincial governors, the outlying provinces of the Empire were soon lost to the Delhi sovereign, and thereupon the Koṅkaṇ once more came under the rule of the Kadambas. But the end of this dynasty was not long delayed. Hostility broke out in 1343 between the reigning Kadamba King and his son, and the latter invited the Nawab Jamal-ud-Din of Honawar to seize Chandrapur, promising that he would embrace Islam and marry the Nawab's sister. Jamal-ud-Din accordingly equipped a strong fleet of fifty-two vessels and sailed to Chandrapur and carried the place by assault.[3]

This is the last mention of Chandrapur we have met in the historical records. The powers that ruled over the Koṅkaṇ after the Kadambas bestowed their care, doubtless for reasons of trade, exclusively on the new city that had come into being and in consequence of this policy Chandrapura eventually passed into oblivion.

[1] *J.A.S.B.*, v, p. 464.

[2] Archivo da Secretaria Geral do Governo, Pangim, *Moncoes do Reino*, No. 93, fol. 1396.

[3] Defremery-Sanguinetti, *Voyages D'Ibn Batoutah*, iv, pp. 106-8.

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Reviews

NYĀYAPRAVEŚA

PART I. SANSKRIT TEXT WITH COMMENTARIES

EDITED BY

ANANDSHANKAR B. DHRUVA

[Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. xxxviii; Oriental Institute, Baroda; 1930; price Rs. 4.]

THE publication of the Sanskrit text of the *Nyāyapravcśa* cannot but be of considerable interest even to those who have come to give up the belief in Dignāga's authorship of that work; for, it has been the subject of so much controversy of recent years that the publication of the original text had begun to be eagerly awaited. The text itself is not long, running to not more than eight pages of bold type. The exposition, mostly of fallacies of reasoning, is very brief, consisting often of but a single short sentence for each fallacy. The two commentaries provide, therefore, elucidation that is much needed in many places; and for those who do not possess the equipment needed to benefit by the commentaries alone, Principal Dhruva's notes are invaluable.

The introduction addresses itself to three main questions: the authorship of the work, its relation to the *Maṇimēkalai*, and the relationship between Dignāga and Praśastapāda. In each case, the editor re-states the main conflicting positions with remarkable clearness and fairness, merely indicating his own position, towards the close of the discussion. On the last of these topics he holds that 'the balance of probability is in favour of Praśastapāda's priority to Dignāga', a position which is gaining ground steadily to-day, as against that of scholars like Keith, that Praśastapāda borrowed from Dignāga and disguised the borrowing.

On the question of authorship, the editor has not arrived at any definite conclusion, because, as he rightly says, 'no single piece of evidence, nor even the general weight of the whole, which is at present available, is found to be conclusive'. One feels, however, that, in the circumstances, he should not have drawn even the *tentative*

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conclusion he attempts, that the work was by Śankarasvāmin, and was designed as an introduction (*praveśa*) to his master's great work, the *Nyāyadvāra*. The 'Tibetan blunder' is sought to be explained by Tubianski on the ground that the Tibetans had with them only the *Nyāyapraveśa*, while they had heard of the *Nyāyadvāra*, and that they not unnaturally identified the two. We have, at the present day however, no work called the *Nyāyadvāra*; we have a work called the *Nyāyamukha*, which is identified with the former by Tucci. But is the identification so secure as to be unquestionable? Has not Pandit Vidušekhara's equation of *dvāra* with *praveśa*, supported as it is by Tibetan tradition, at least as much plausibility as Tucci's equation of *dvāra* with *mukha*? As the editor himself recognises, there is a great amount of uncertainty on the whole question; and it is a matter for some regret that he should have refrained from exercising his critical acumen in the matter of Tucci's identification.

The most interesting aspect of the work, to the South Indian Student, is its relation to the *Maṇimēkalai*. Hitherto, all that it seemed necessary to postulate was a relation of dependence of either on the other, in view of the remarkable resemblance between the two in the treatment of fallacies, particularly in the enumeration of nine *pakšābhāsas*, in the place of the five known to the other work of Dignāga. With the Sanskrit text before us, however, we are able to go further and say definitely that it is the Tamil classic which is dependent, in part, on the Sanskrit work, containing, as it does, an almost word-for-word rendering of the latter, with some elaborations here and there by way of improvement or elucidation. The problem of the date of the *Maṇimēkalai* is not, however, cleared up with this. As was pointed out in a paper on 'Buddhist Logic in the *Maṇimēkalai*' (*J.I.H.* IX, iii), there seem to be at least two strata of logical teaching: the first revealing a rather primitive conception of inference, very sceptical of the validity of inference from effect to cause, and the second revealing an advanced stage of logical thought, characterized by an exhaustive and minute classification of fallacies. It was there suggested that an interpolation may not implausibly have taken place, and that, on such a hypothesis, lines 111 to 471 of chapter XXIX may be treated as having been inserted later. This may have been the work of some enthusiast, inspired by a misguided zeal to perfect the logical teaching of this literary classic. Now, line 111 begins just where the

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Nyāyapraveśa begins, with a statement of the three essentials of inference—*pakṣa*, *hētu* and *dṛṣṭānta*,—and the nature of each. In the Tamil work, some of the information is unnecessary ; for, lines 111 to 146 repeat, for the most part, what has been said earlier about the two kinds of example and the three characteristics of the *probans* ; in the Sanskrit work, of course, there is no such defect to explain. The suggestion that the *Nyāyapraveśa* was sought to be incorporated whole sale, gains ground from the interpolator's blindness (it could hardly have been the author's) even to the obvious defect of repetition (*kuṟiyadu kuṟal*), a defect of first-rate magnitude in any work of merit. The rendering of the ideas into Tamil suffers from considerable obscurity. The Tamil definition of *pakṣa*, for instance, has taxed the ingenuity of all translators, while the Sanskrit definition is fairly clear : *pakṣaḥ prasiddho dharmī prasiddhaviśeṣeṇa viśiṣṭatayā svayam sādhyatvene'ṣṭaḥ*. The word *ētamil* seems to be introduced merely for metrical purposes, to judge from corresponding portions of the Sanskrit text. Thus, where the Tamil *ētami ṟiṭṭāntamm iruvakaya* the Sanskrit reads *dṛṣṭanto dvividhaḥ*. With this, there is grave reason for doubting whether *ētamil* has any logical significance, when it is used with *pirattiyam* (perception), in line 48. There may be no justification for taking it to mean either *samyak* (as suggested by Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastriar) or *abhrānta* (as suggested in the article already mentioned from the *Journal of Indian History*). A brief mention of other variations of the Tamil account from the Sanskrit may not prove uninteresting.

Maṇimēkalai, Ch. xxix		*Nyāyapravēsa*
Ll. 153, 186, அப்பிரசித்த சம்பந்தம்	*for*	P. 2, *l.* 16, p. 3, *l.* 4, *prasiddha sambandha.* [This is undoubtedly the correct form].
L. 193, அன்யதா சித்தம்	*for*	P. 3, *l.* 9, *anyatarā-'siddha.* [This undoubtedly is correct].
L. 194, சித்தா சித்தம்	*for*	P. 3, *l.* 10, *sandigdhā-'siddha.*
L. 219, சத்தமறித்த மறியப்படுதலின்	*for*	P. 3, *l.* 19, *śabdaḥ prameyatvān nityaḥ.*

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Maṇimēkalai, Ch. xxix		*Nyāyapravēsa*
Ll. 215, 254, உபயைக தேச விருத்தி	*for*	P. 3, *l.* 18, *ubhaya-pakṣai 'kadeśavṛtti.*
L. 216, விருத்த வியபிசாரி	*for*	P. 3, *l.* 18, *viruddhā-'vyabhicārin.*
Ll. 291–302, referring to the Sāṁkhya argument about assemblages being for the use of another and so on; the treatment is far more detailed	*than in*	P. 4, *ll.* 7–11.
Ll. 319–325, தன்மி விசேட விபரீதசாதனம்; explanation differs slightly from	*that in*	P. 5, *ll.* 16–18.
Ll. 331–333 use விகல	*for*	P. 5, *ll.* 21–2 using *asiddha.*
Ll. 383–384, உண்டென்பானுக் காகாச நித்த வமூர்த்தமாதலா லவ னுக்கும் குறையும், introduce a further refinement in the *asat* variety of *ubhaya-'siddhi*; this is	*not found in*	P. 6, *ll.* 9–10.
Ll. 395–401	*fuller than*	P. 6, *ll.* 13–14.
Ll. 427–449 recognise two varieties of உபயா வியா விருத்தி	*not found in*	P. 7, *ll.* 2, 3.

The twenty-ninth chapter of the Tamil work seems to close with the middle of the seventh page of the Sanskrit work. On page 8 of the latter, there is mention of *dūṣaṇas* and *dūṣaṇābhāsas*, which find no place in the *Maṇimēkalai*. The second half of the seventh page makes an all-too-brief mention of the two *pramāṇas—pratyakṣa* and *anumāna*. Though the definition of the former corresponds to that in the *Maṇimēkalai*, the treatment of *anumāna* in lines 52–110 of that work finds no parallel in the *Nyāyapraveśa*. It is not possible, therefore, to hold that the *Nyāyapraveṣa* is responsible for the entire logical discussion in the *Maṇimēkalai*, the order of treatment alone being changed. The mention of three kinds of inference, the disparagement of one of these varieties, the failure to treat another (the inference from analogy) in

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detail, the mention of non-perception as a *probans* (which seems *primâ facie* to suggest a borrowing from so late an authority as Dharmakīrti), all these are left unexplained even after a reference to the *Nyāya-praveśa*. There is also the curious mistake noted by Principal Dhruva that in lines 109, 110, the two other members of the syllogism are said, to be included in the *dṛṣṭāntā* ; for, though the three members, according to some, contain all that the five members are required to express, it was no one's contention that *the third member included the fourth and the fifth*. This mistake, again, could not have arisen from the *Nyāyapraveśa* or from a misunderstanding of any statement made therein. We seem then to be left with about sixty lines of verse, setting forth a primitive and rather confused version of inference, followed by nearly four hundred lines, devoted to a meticulous treatment of fallacies and corresponding, almost point by point, to the *Nyāya-praveśa*. The conclusion that the second part is an interpolation seems irresistible, in the circumstances. And with this, we are again left very much in the air, as to the date of the Tamil classic. One has to judge of that on purely historical and literary grounds, aided, perhaps, by such considerations as the treatment of the Sāṁkhya, which seems to bear traces of the relatively early epic exposition. But a study of the Sanskrit text of the *Nyāyapraveśa* will serve at least to dispel, once for all, the ill-founded hope that the logical teaching of the *Maṇimēkalai* may provide a key to its chronology.

S. S. S.

STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY

BY

DR. SURENDRA NATH SEN

[Published by the University of Calcutta, 1930—pp. viii and 267]

THIS book is a collection of nine essays which originally appeared elsewhere with the exception of two, bearing on Portuguese records on Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan and the instructions left to his successor by the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa (1744–60) the Marquis of Castello Novo. and of Alorna, as to the policy that was to be followed in the matter of the acquisition of territories known as Novas Conquistados. These two new essays are fresh reading and supply us with some new

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sources of information about the history of Goa in the 18th century. The paper on the Portuguese records on Hyder and Tipu is merely a list of the letters, of the Portuguese Viceroys and Governors, preserved in the Archivo Ultramarino of Lisbon with a short explanatory note appended to each. The letters range in date from January 1764 to May 1800, fully a year later than the death of Tipu. The first letter noticed, contains a short biography of Hyder which may be found useful. The Portuguese were apprehensive of Hyder's attempts to create a naval power for himself and to construct a naval station at Bhatkal. The letters that Dr. Sen notices as bearing on Hyder's maritime power and that he utilizes in his paper on Hyder Ali's fleet, show that he launched his fleet some time between 1763 and 1765 and employed European officers in it. The Bhatkal project was entrusted to a Dutch shipwright; and Sir Edward Hughes destroyed Hyder's navy off Mangalore in the latter part of 1780. The information given by the Portuguese letters noticed here should be valuable, not only in this matter, but also in connection with Tipu's treatment of the Portuguese priests and Christians and his likely designs on Goa. A letter of 1792 says that Hari Pant Phadke played an important part in the peace-parleys before the Treaty of Seringapatam; and the last is a short narrative of Tipu's career, which is bound to be interesting and deserves translation by the author in full. The Marquis of Alorna's paper is in three parts: the first part which alone is given in the book describes the petty kingdoms like Bednur, Savanur and the Angrias, the Maratha state and administration, the usurpation of supreme power by the Peishwa after the death of Shahu, and the efficiency of Maratha military organization. Then the extracts of Dr. Sen describe the Portuguese possessions of Goa and the neighbouring stations and the manner in which they could be defended. These have particular reference to the situation of the Sardesai of Kudal, called the Bhonsla whom Alorna had defeated and deprived of some possessions, and to the friendly ruler of Sunda who was helpful in the crushing of the Bhonsla.

The first of the papers, bearing on the value of the historical records preserved at Goa, is worth the republication that it has had. The paper on the Karnatak Expedition of Shivaji questions very effectively Sir J. N. Sarkar's Assumption of the Shahnav Kalmi Bhakar as a contemporary authority and his opinion that Shivaji

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could not have really intended to annex the Carnatic and only desired to squeeze the land of its wealth and peel it to the bones. The paper on the *Shringeri letters* of Tipu Sultan is really based on the information given in the *Mysore Archæological Report* for 1916 containing the substance of letters showing Tipu's concern for the safety of the *Mutt* when it was injured by Maratha raids; it tries to prove that the Sultan's fanaticism was never directed against his own subjects and was displayed only on those whom he considered to be his enemies and that he was not less tolerant or more cruel than his father: and consequently religious intolerance could not have been one of the real causes of his ruin.

All the papers, except perhaps one, that on *Heretics* during the Pathan period, can be regarded as having a bearing on the history of the Western Coast during the 17th and 18th centuries. As they are presented, they remain only a collection of separate papers on disjointed subjects, but conveying valuable information.

C. S. S.

LORD HASTINGS AND THE INDIAN STATES BEING A STUDY OF THE RELATIONS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN INDIA WITH THE INDIAN STATES 1813–1823

BY

M. S. MEHTA

WITH A FOREWORD BY

SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY AYYAR

[Bombay: D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 1930—pp. xv and 275.]

ONE of the important aspects of British Indian History is the evolution of a definite policy adopted by the Suzerain Power in its attitude towards the Indian States. Apart from the important bearing that this aspect has on the present problem of constitutional reconstruction and a federation between British India and the States, the study itself is of great value, legal, constitutional and administrative. Sir William Lee-Warner, in his classical treatise, *The Native States of India*, tells us that the administration of Lord Hastings marks a new

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departure in policy, an assumption of its imperial position and responsibilities by the British Government and an enunciation of the rule that the proper position of the states in the interior of India was to be one of isolation and subordinate co-operation. The monograph under review, describes, first, the political situation of the country as it was at the time of Hastings' accession to office, when the policy of non-intervention and ring-fence had come to be largely modified by the system of subsidiary alliances introduced by Wellesley, the aggressive Pro-Consul. It then traces the scheme which the new Governor-General first put forward, *viz.*, the formation of a league of all the principal States under British hegemony, the members of which would have to surrender their rights of war and peace and would be allowed only internal autonomy. As the subsidiary States had already come by treaty into such a dependence, it was the aim of Hastings only to force such states as still remained outside the pale of treaty relations with the British into the proposed league. The Calcutta Council, however, refused to countenance the scheme which had consequently to be dropped, particularly in view of the fact that the Board of Control and the Court of Directors were both unwilling to sanction any wholesale revision of existing alliances. It was the Pindari danger and the Governor-General's rooted idea that the Sindia was at the bottom of all the mischief that brought about the wars of 1816–18 and enabled Hastings to establish complete British paramountcy over large areas very much in the manner he had planned. His ideas were, (1) the States should support the suzerain power with all their forces on any call, and (2) they should submit all their mutual differences for British arbitration, without resorting to war. Lord Hastings enlarged and amplified his scheme in the organisation of British relations with the States of Rajputana, Central India and Kathiawad. The so-called operative ascendancy of the British power was implemented by Hastings, mainly by means of treaties to a large extent, but supplemented on necessary occasions by other acts of practical interference. He was eager to blot out all vestiges of even shadowy independence and power that the deposed Peishwa in his retirement and the decrepit Mughal phantom at Delhi might be believed to possess still. It was this motive that led him to support the assumption of the title of the King of Oudh, by the Nawab Vizier, so that the latter might be completely free from any possible

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revival of the pretensions of the Mughal House. This was, however, in effect the bolstering up of one shadow, only a shade more substantial, in order to efface another shadow, already dropping out of view. He declared that by the Charter Act of 1813, the sovereignty of the British Crown in its Indian dominions was asserted by Parliament and entrusted by it to the Company—a great stretch of its political implication. Mr. Mehta is at great pains to explain that while all the attributes of external sovereignty, had been, either explicitly or implicitly, formally conceded by existing treaties, the problem of the internal sovereignty of the States raised complicated issues for the Suzerain Power. With the system of British Residents, complete abstention from interference in matters of internal administration was an impossible feat and could not be maintained. Hastings himself had repeatedly urged on the Home authorities the view that interference in the internal concerns of States was not within their province. Such a view was expressly mentioned in the treaties; but it was impossible to maintain it in practical administration; and the nature and degree of interference depended on the personality and temperament of British agents and residents. Most of these latter had been trained in the Wellesley School and were only too ready to interfere on slight pretext. Lee-Warner indeed says that the statesmen of the time of Mountstuart Elphinstone were sound scholars and applied lessons that they had learnt from Roman History; and they knew perhaps too well, of the break-down of the Roman attempts to maintain the independence on even the treaty-rights of the allies of the Republic. But they apparently forgot that the main help which Roman History could afford to the political agent, was the lesson of warning, and not of example.

As it is, Mr. Mehta stresses on the incompatibility between abstention from internal interference and the guarantee of the immunity of the rulers provided for in the treaties against enemies, both external and internal. Hastings' letter to Metcalfe, Resident at Hyderabad, explains his views with regard to internal intervention. As yet, however, there was no possibility of the evolution of a distinct political law, that would take the action of the Paramount Power outside the field of military, and quasi-international treaty considerations.

The author has the distinct advantage of an enormous amount of printed material for his task, *viz.*, the elaborate account of the

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contemporary historian, Prinsep, the voluminous biographies, correspondence and minutes of the great lieutenants of Hastings, like Munro, Metcalfe, Malcolm and Elphinstone, the printed papers of the wars of the time and the mass of unpublished material in the Calcutta Record Office and in the India House, including secret political consultations and despatches. He has been careful and non-partisan in his views, cautious in the method of treatment, and assiduous in his documentation, analysis and conclusions. He has also been cautious and correct in his statement of views about the external and internal sovereignty of the princes. Perhaps he could have utilized Indian and unofficial sources, like the records accumulated in the Peishwa's Daftar and by private Maratha agencies. The book, as a whole, forms depressing reading, a fact largely due to the nature of the topic and the times, marked by the moral and military degradation of most States.

C. S. S.

MYSORE GAZETTEER

EDITED BY

C. HAYAVADANA RAO

[Compiled for Government, Volume II, Historical—Parts I, II, III, and IV, pp. xvii, 3206, etc.—New Edition—Bangalore, 1930.]

THESE four books form the second volume of the new *Mysore Gazetteer*, the revised edition of which was published in 1897 under the editorship of Mr. B. Lewis Rice. Twenty years elapsed between the first publication of the *Mysore Gazetteer* and Mr. Rice's revised edition; and now after an interval of nearly a quarter of a century has appeared the much-expanded new edition in which the historical section has been enlarged many times over and made to cover four thick volumes. Of course the new treatment has collected, under appropriate headings, the materials rendered available by archæological and other researches, and attempted to utilize them in elucidating the history, particularly in its earlier sections. The claim has been made by the Editor that 'almost every period of Mysore history has been re-written in the light of the new facts made available by research within the past four decades' and that certain errors which had crept into the last edition of the work in the account of the reign of H. H. Sri Krishnaraja Wodeyar III. have been corrected in the light of original documents now available in regard to it. The result is expected to be that the

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myth of mal-administration that has gathered round the name of this Maharaja will be dissipated. Thus, in part IV (pp. 2876 *et seq.*) the attempt is made to prove (1) that the administration of Mysore was taken over by Lord William Bentinck before he received the report of the Committee he nominated to inquire into the causes of the disturbances in Mysore, and not afterwards; (2) that the Governor-General perceived, on a perusal of the Committee's report that he had been too harsh in ordering the British assumption of the territories in their entirety and wrote to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors that the assumption of a part of the territories would have sufficed for the purposes of the British Government, and that he entertained doubts both as to the legality and the justice of the course he had adopted; and (3) that the assumption was quite a temporary measure. It should indeed be a matter of gratification to all Indians that in the matter of the rendition of Mysore, the British Press, one of whose leaders was John Morley, displayed commendable goodwill towards H. H. Krishnaraja Wodeyar III's just and legal claims, and to read that Dr. J. C. Campbell, the Durbar Surgeon, and Major Evans Bell, the well-known publicist, helped so much in getting English public opinion to veer round to the side of the dispossessed Maharajah whose charitable disposition is generously described by the Editor.

One chapter, the last in the first part, devotes itself to the literary associations of Mysore in recent English literature, particularly from the epoch of Scott and Byron. Well-known writers on Mysore like Wilks, Buchanan-Hamilton, Bell, Major Dirom, Bowring and Rice have also been properly noticed. Another chapter at the very end gives short biographical notices of notable personages, Indian and European, connected with Mysore in recent times and is fittingly termed *The Roll of Honour*. The list however is, by no means, exhaustive and has not been enlarged, on account of exigencies of space and the difficulty of proceeding to deal with earlier centuries in a similar manner. The space devoted to the various epochs and topics may be deemed disproportionate in a few instances; and what has been called the early history of the land has been projected forward so as to come up to the date of the foundation of the Vijayanagar monarchy whose life of a little over two centuries down to 1565 is made to constitute the mediæval history. The proto-history of the land is discursively treated. The Haihayas, Parasurama, Sri Ramachandra, the Pauranic

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heroes of Kishkindha and others are all detailed, and Pargiter's views are summarised in reference to the earliest Indian genealogies recorded in Pauranic tradition. These seem to be perhaps unnecessary in their bulk in a gazetteer of Mysore. The inscriptional material referring to the State is abundant and has been utilized to a great extent by Rice in his *Mysore and Coorg*, and *Mysore, a Gazetteer*. The Editor opines that the *puranas* or punch-marked coins found in association with Roman and Chinese coins of the 1st and 2nd centuries B. C. are probably much older and are wholly indigenous in origin, owing nothing to foreign influence; also he inclines to the view, largely based on other support, that the sculptural work of the State, up to the beginning of the 3rd century B. C. was mainly Buddhist. He gives copious information about the iconography of the temples, and about painting which was deemed a religious art and entirely subordinated to sculpture and became secularised only comparatively recently. The art of engraving finds its most perfect specimens under the Hoysalas; and the different literatures of the land have been surveyed, including European contributions to their growth.

The second part comes to history proper, beginning with Chandragupta's migration to Karnataka along with Bhadrabahu and taking the reader through the Andhra, Kadamba, Ganga, Pallava, Chola and Hoysala dynasties, with all available information about them summarised. Incidentally, we are shown that Vishnuvardhana Hoysala's interest in the Jain religion was sustained throughout his reign and there was no trace of sectarianism in him.

The third part devotes itself almost completely to Vijiayanagara rule, down to the time of Sriranga VI. An attempt is also made to construct a list of the later kings of the fourth (Aravidu) dynasty on the basis of a list drawn up for Colonel Colin Mackenzie in 1801 which would bring the political life of the line down to the times of Hyder and Tipu. Great care has been bestowed on the collection of materials in this part; and we are treated to a translation of the summary of the teaching of the science of Politics which the great Krishnadeva Raya conveyed in his *Āmuktamālyada* as well as to an analysis of the various heads under which the principles of administration set forth by the Raya could be practically applied. The elaborate treatment testifies to a careful collation of the abundant available material, both indigenous and foreign. The attempts of Robert di Nobili and other early

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Christian missionaries to spread their faith are also detailed. The genealogical lists of the different dynasties as well as those of connected families like the Velugotis of Venkatagiri have been built up in tables on the basis of available material, up-to-date.

The growth of the present ruling dynasty is traced in the last part, beginning from their conquest of Seringapatam in 1610 under Raja Woodeyar. Bijapur incursions, Shahji's achievements, and Chikkadeva Raya's rule are compassed within brief dimensions; while the succeeding rulers down to Hyder have received but scanty treatment. The hiatus caused by Hyder's usurpation and the events of the reigns of the Sultans are naturally more detailed on account of increasing sources of information. English records and books became abundant from the epoch of the Mysore wars. Wilks and Bowring are amongst those quoted most frequently. The 19th century history of the State, the period of Commission rule, the Rendition and the progress of the subsequent half a century that has elapsed, have received more than adequate treatment. While commending the industry and power of sifting displayed in the book, one cannot but remark that small errors like Paidayur (for Padiyur) and Jagadek-amalla should not have been allowed to creep in and Dr. V. A. Smith should not have been dubbed a knight instead of a doctor. The treatment is prolix in many places and shows a tendency to be jejune. But the book, as a whole, is a valuable storehouse of information collected from numerous quarries of knowledge and should be useful not only for the student of Mysore history, but for a much wider circle.

C. S. S.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SULTAN MAHMUD OF GHAZNA

BY

DR. MUHAMMAD NAZIM

WITH A FOREWORD

BY THE LATE SIR THOMAS ARNOLD

[The Cambridge University Press, 1931—pp. xv and 271.]

THE study of the life and personality of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna has been rousing great interest recently. A few years back, Professor Mohammad Habib of Aligarh brought out a *Study of the Sultan* in The Aligarh Muslim University Publications Series, with the

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object of endeavouring to secure a scientific evaluation of his work and policy and see how far Sultan Mahmud deserved to be adored as a Saint of the Faith. The eleventh century world of Islam was, according to Mr. Habib, devoid of the higher spirit of faith and marked by sectarian feuds and theological disputations; and as a reaction from this deadening atmosphere, finer minds turned to the resuscitation of the ancient Persian culture which came to be blended with Islamic ideals and produced a new spirit of Renaissance. And Mahmud was the most magnificent, if not the most discriminating, patron of this new movement. Of course, Professor Habib dwelt also on the Sultan's military genius and his new secular imperialism. His attitude towards the Hindus and their religion produced in the Indian mind an inveterate hatred of all Muslims, to which Albiruni bears testimony; and yet, Mr. Habib asserts, Mahmud was a secular minded prince and accepted the principle of toleration in the restricted form in which his age understood it; and 'Islam, though it was not an inspiring motive, could be utilized as an *a posteriori* of what has been done'; and thus 'to later generations Mahmud became the arch-fanatic he never was.'

Professor Habib's attitude, put in a crude form, might savour to some extent of the spirit of the partisan; and now Dr. Nazim has come forth with this work, in which the Sultan has much of the fanatic in him taken out and is said to have displayed a laudable spirit of toleration for religious differences though he had the missionary spirit in him. He does not support the view that a burning hatred for Islam was created in the Hindu mind, because it was presented in the guise of plundering armies; and he also holds that, as an administrator, Mahmud deserves to be mentioned with respect, and that he was able to keep good order in his vast empire, even during his long and frequent absences on distant expeditions. He was also punctilious in the performance of his religious duties, believed in the religious unity of the state and punished rigorously all dissenters; while his hostility to the Carmathians was accentuated by the attitude of the Caliph towards them. Dr. Nazim also traces in great and accurate detail, the Sultan's wars and campaigns in India; he attempts a correct sequence of the campaigns against the Hindushahiyya Rajas of Waihand (the Udabhanda of Kalhana), about which even Sir Wolseley Haig has encountered some confusion. He

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details next Mahmud's relations with the Carmathian ruler of Multan and his campaigns on Bhatinda, Thanesar, Kashmir, the Gangetic Doab and Bundelkhand fringes. In an Appendix, he identifies the Bhatiya of the chroniclers with Bhatinda, which was Bhatti-da-nagara or Bhatida according to Cunningham. The famous march to Somnath from Multan is traced, as well as his return route through Cutch and Sind. Many places mentioned by the historians, but not identified satisfactorily, are now located. And Gauda of Kalinjar is here described as having composed a verse in Hindi in praise of the Sultan for which he was rewarded with the grant of fifteen forts and other presents.

The author of this book would maintain that the tears that the Sultan shed on his death-bed on seeing for the last time his jewels and precious stones spread before him, were tears of remorse for the terrible drama of a lifetime which bore these fruits, and not the sorrowing that the Sultan felt at having to leave these behind him, as has been maintained by later writers. He also devotes considerable space to an account of the administrative system of the Sultan, including his ministers, their departments, the army organisation and some details of the provincial government which was divided into three important branches, civil, military and judicial. We note the existence of a regular postal system of official service throughout the empire; and the official news-writer of a province was a man of high rank and of great trust and responsibility.

His wars in Sistan, Iran and Central Asia were barren; and even at his death the Sultan could perceive the gathering storm of the Seljuks who were to bring down the fabric of empire so soon. Dr. Nazim points out this very clearly, besides giving a good picture of the political condition of the Muslim world in the 4th century A.H. and an account of the rise of the Ghaznavid dynasty. His examination of the different classes of sources of information is a model of critical thoroughness which discounts the liberal mixture of pious fiction that has entered into many of the histories, both early, non-contemporary and later works. He has tried to estimate the value, for his specific purpose, of standard works of historians like Utbi, Gardizi, Ibnu'l-Athir, Ibn Khabdun and Ferishta and of other writers like Albiruni, Unsuri, etc. He regrets that no Hindu sources are available to correct or supplement the statements of Muslim

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writers—even the Jain chroniclers of the Solanki kingdom, having drawn a veil over the doings of the Sultan—and also the scantiness of the archæological evidence of the period. He would insist on the value of the geographical setting of the campaigns and other facts which would greatly enhance the authoritativeness of the account. One of the main objects of the author is to rebut the charge of fanaticism which has been so often levelled against the Sultan; but this he has not been able to do effectively. His account of the Sultan's reign and chronology and of the system of administration prevailing under him, are an admirable contribution of a careful and widely-read scholar to a little-known period of Indian History.

C. S. S.

HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀSTRA

BY

PANDURANG VAMAN KANE, M.A., LL.M.

Ancient and mediæval Religious and Civil Law

(*Government Oriental Series Class B No. 6*)

[Prepared under the supervision of the Publication Department of the Bhandharkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.]

IT is with great pleasure we acknowledge the receipt from the learned and distinguished author of the above book, the copy forwarded to us for review in our pages. It is marked as Publication No. 6 in Class B of the Government Oriental Series, prepared under the supervision of the Publication Department of the Bhandharkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, which has done so much already in this line of work. What has now been published purports to be only the first volume of the projected history the plan of which in the words of the author was, 'to treat in a single volume of the chronology of the Dharmaśāstra and the historical developments of the various topics comprised therein from the earliest times'. This volume alone consists of 760 pages of closely printed matter. No one can read without a touch of pathos the following sentence, in the author's preface, regarding the future volume. 'Following as I do the exacting profession of an Advocate and not being in the best of health, I feel great misgivings whether I shall carry out my original intention of publishing another volume on the development of the various subjects

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comprised in the Dharmaśāstra, such as marriage and other Samskāras, judicial procedure and actions at law, daily observances, *vṛatas*, *śṛaddha* and impurity, from Vedic times down to modern days. I hope however that, time and health permitting, I may be able to issue the second volume in a few years more.' It is indeed to be regretted, that men of such devotion to scholarship as the author of this monumental work, should by the conditions of life in the country and the absence altogether of any agencies by which they could be adequately supported and remunerated, should be driven to make a living, however lucrative in other professions to the detriment of those to which they feel called by a natural attraction or by acquired talents.

The stupendous nature of the work can easily be imagined, when we find that to the body of the book are appended two lists, the first entitled 'List of works on Dharmaśāstra' running to about 170 pages and containing about 5,000 works; and the other entitled 'The list of authors on Dharmaśāstra' running to about 72 pages and containing about 1,800 names. The preparation of two such lists alone must have involved research and scholarship of a very strenuous character. More than a hundred Dharmaśāstras are treated in detail by the learned author. To most readers undoubtedly it must certainly be a revelation that there have been in this country so many writers and so many works on Dharmaśāstras. The investigation into the meaning of the word *Dharma* is interesting and scholarly. To those engaged in the contemplation of the history of Dharmaśāstra in this country, it must be a striking tribute to the paramount authority of the Vedas that all books and authors on Dharmaśāstra, even while actually departing from, or enlarging on the Vedic doctrines with regard to Dharmaśāstra, acknowledge the supreme authority of the Vedas. To a history, perhaps otherwise devoid of an unifying interest, this single silver thread runs through the whole and furnishes a basis on which the historical changes and developments might be studied intelligently. The learned author makes it abundantly clear that standard works on Dharmaśāstra were extant in this country more than 2,500 years ago. The author is unable to accept the view that the Dharmasūtras were in point of time earlier than the Dharmaśāstras composed generally in verse. The author then proceeds to deal with the Dharmaśāstras of Gautama, Bauddhāyana, Āpasthamba and others. The views of the

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learned author with regard to the vexed question of the existence at one time of what was known as 'Mānava Dharmaśāstra,' now lost, in opposition to the views on the subject of such great Orientalists like Max-Müller, Weber, Bühler and others, are refreshing and deserve the careful consideration of all those interested in the discussion. The section devoted to the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya and its connection with, and bearing upon, Dharmaśāstra is full of interesting and instructive matter. There are several illuminating discussions on points of special interest in the sections dealing with the Manu Smṛti and the Yājñavalkya Smṛti. We cannot in this brief review do better than to suggest to the ardent student of the subject, a close and careful study of the great work under review: nor let it be understood in a spirit of mere submission and acceptance, but in a truly questioning and critical spirit which alone is sure to be appreciated by the learned author.

Before concluding, we cannot do better than quote a sentence or two from the author himself: 'The number of authors and works on Dharmaśāstra is legion. All these numberless authors and works were actuated by the most laudable motive of regulating the Aryan Society in all matters, civil, religious and moral, and for securing for the members of that society, happiness in this world and the next. They laid the greatest emphasis on the duties of every man as a member of the whole Aryan Society, as a member of the particular class to which he belonged, and very little emphasis on the privileges of man. They created great solidarity and cohesion among the several classes of the Aryan Society in India in spite of their conflicting interests and inclinations and enabled Hindu Society to hold its own against successive aggressions of foreign invaders.'

While congratulating the learned author on the valuable contribution he has made to Oriental studies in this monumental History of the Dharmaśāstra, we feel no doubt that the study contained in these pages of the vicissitudes of Hindu society during thousands of years, will afford a mine of rich and hitherto-unknown material for all the scholars of the future engaged in the investigation and study of the evolution of human society and of sociology, law and religion. Let us conclude with the hope that the talented author will be blest with the health to carry his project through by the publication of the supplementary volume in the coming years.

V. V. S.

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INDIA UNDER WELLESLEY

BY

P. E. ROBERTS

[Messrs. George Bell & Son, Ltd., 15 Shillings]

THE administration of Lord Wellesley was the most important formative period of British Indian History. The career of the Governor-General and his individual contribution to the building-up of the British Empire in India required to be dealt with in a larger span than it has hitherto had, the only good monograph on the period being the very Rev. Dean Hutton's work in the *Rulers of India Series*. Not even a large biography of the Governor-General has so far been made available. By this work of Mr. Roberts the want is filled to some extent, though, as the author himself admits, this is not the book that will supply the want altogether. The study of the problems confronting Wellesley comes in with a certain amount of appropriateness when responsible people in India and England are in similar travail over the organization of an administration for India for the future. Though Mr. Roberts does not consider his work an adequate history, or a satisfactory biography of Wellesley, it constitutes undoubtedly a fresh study on a larger plan adequate for all practical purposes and of refreshing impartiality. Wellesley's was, according to Roberts, 'the greatest of all British administrations in India, whether considered from the point of view of military glory and territorial additions, or from the point of view of the conception of an empire in India for the British and its permanence'. Wellesley had to carry through his work not always with the support of, but even against, the authorities at home, there being two, the Company and its Directors on one side, Government and the Board of Control on the other. Naturally autocratic in temper and an imperialist to the very core, he was impatient of control, and still had to steer his course without going too far in opposition to the two authorities at home. It must now be said that he did that work with success, and the credit of achieving that success is a great deal due to him, although a number of distinguished lieutenants of his come in for a share of the credit as well.

In regard to the material, there is a great deal that has to be studied and digested for an adequate work according to Mr. Roberts,

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At the same time, he has actually found it that there is very little that has escaped the publisher of the *Despatches of Wellesley*, Montgomery Martin. He is able to say that the statement of the late Lord Curzon that there were 400 volumes of manuscript still lying unexplored in the British Museum, is quite wide of the truth; a partial examination of these at any rate, has shown Mr. Roberts that the statement, if not altogether untrue, overstates the case a great deal. While Mr. Roberts states it plainly that he has not exhausted all the material, he has still been able to examine a good deal of it and make some contribution to the study of the subject. As he points out rightly, he has gone much farther than his predecessors in respect of the information conveyed regarding the college of Fort William; the opinion of Sir John Malcolm on the Treaty of Bassein is given here for the first time; and the position of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control in respect of Wellesley. In regard to the last point, he corrects the general impression that the Court of Directors were all wrong and that Wellesley was always right. There was a good deal to say on the side of the Directors and their view, and this work of Roberts does them justice. Incidentally, the correspondence exhibits the great qualities of Lord Castlereagh, which he had occasion to exhibit later on in the reorganization of Europe after the French Revolution. On a comprehensive view the verdict of Mr. Roberts is that, in spite of all personal defects and the adventitious advantages that Wellesley enjoyed, there remains a greatness of achievement in Wellesley's Indian career totally inexplicable except on the assumption that in affairs, in administration and in the management of men, he stands out supreme above the ordinary statesmen of his time. The verdict is justified by the material brought to notice in the volume.

SELECTIONS FROM THE PEISHWA DAFTAR

[Published by the Government of Bombay, Nos. i to xvii]

THE Indian Historical Records Commission which assembled in Poona early in 1924 visited, among places of interest to them, the Record Office at Poona known as the Peishwa's Daftar. On examination and on enquiry of the officials in charge of it, enough information was available for the Commission to appreciate the importance of the records sorted out to some considerable extent, arranged and kept in a comparatively well-preserved condition. A resolution was adopted

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for the systematic examination of these records for the purpose of making them available to students of history. The Bombay Government accordingly took steps towards doing this, and as a result of their action, we have before us 17 booklets containing extracts in original from the Mahratti records. They are taken up topically and the documents are brought together round central incidents such as Baji Rao's entry into Malva and Bundelkhand (No. 13), Baji Rao's advance upon Delhi (No. 15), the Bassein agreement (No. 16), letters and despatches relating to the battles of Udgir and Panipat (Nos. 1 and 2), and so on. The last of them, No. 17, has reference to the transactions of Sahu and Baji Rao, and bear upon the administration of the Mahrattas. There are other interesting pamphlets like 'Sahu and his private life', and so on.

The plan of the work is that useful documents according to the view of the particular reader who is assisted by those acquainted with the records and could read them with facility, are selected for preservation. These documents are published *in extenso*, followed at the end by a comparatively short note in English to give an indication of what actually the document contains, so as to give a sort of a calendar of the papers, enabling the more serious student of history to go into the actual documents of value, even where he is not accustomed to reading Mahratti with fluency. Of course, there is the necessity for such to get the portions translated. This difficulty could hardly be avoided unless funds could be found in a far larger measure than are available for this particular purpose. As it is, where really valuable documents are made available even in this form, a regular translation of all the documents, or a more or less elaborate digest of the material contained therein could well be left to research enterprise by those interested in the history of the Mahrattas as a whole. What is done already is a great step in the direction of making the records which lay hidden from view completely, available at least to this extent to serious students of history.

Having gone so far, there yet remains the one question as to what is done with the papers not selected for publication. The understanding so far seems to be that they are not regarded as of any importance and may therefore be disposed of on that understanding. This would leave the discretion to one individual, who is in charge of it, and it gives him too wide a discretion to dispose of matters of value which

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would get lost for all time, once this kind of disposal is permitted. A suggestion was made that, as papers are in any case read, something like a brief calendar of them could be made then and there, and either published in an abbreviated form for public information or preserved in manuscript along with the papers themselves, so that those that may be interested in the further study or investigation of the material may have the chance of doing so. The Government of Bombay who are responsible for the publications deserve to be congratulated upon doing so much to assist serious students of history, and it is hoped that they would continue the liberal policy, and thus make a valuable source of Mahratta history available to students of history in the subject.

SĀNKHYAKĀRIKĀ OF ĪSVARA KRISHNA

BY

S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI, M.A., BAR-AT-LAW

[University of Madras]

THIS work and another on the Śivādvaita by Śrīkhaṇṭha are the first fruits of the institution of a Chair of Indian Philosophy at the University. Among the schemes of expansion of the teaching side of the University, as a result of the passing of the Act of 1923, the institution of a department of Indian Philosophy was one of the earliest recommendations, and the scheme effectuated in the appointment of Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri as the first occupant of the Chair of Indian Philosophy. Mr. Sastri had been at work on the Śaiva Siddhānta and connected topics for some time, and, in the course of his main study, the need for clearing up many topics became more and more felt, and this is one such, and the work of Śrīkaṇṭha is another. We shall notice that one separately.

The Sānkhyakārikā of Īsvara Krishna is the standard classic, of the Sānkhya system, and the work has not been readily available in a handy form for the comparatively lay reader for some considerable time, and Mr. Sastri has done well to have brought out the Kārika with a translation and notes. The importance of the Sānkhya in the philosophical systems of India is generally well known and acknowledged, though the system itself may not be so well known or understood. While there has been much exposition of the system

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itself, the material of an authorized character upon which the exposition could be placed required to be provided, and this fills that want. In an excellent introduction of a little over forty pages, Mr. Sastri discusses the bearing of the Sānkhya as a whole and the important place occupied by the Kārika among the text-books on Sānkhya. The relation between Sānkhya and the Upanishads, Sānkhya and Buddhism, and the different developments of the Sānkhya itself as a theistic or a non-theistic system, all these required to be cleared up; and the introduction gives evidence of careful thought upon these topics, and conclusions are offered without the assertion of certitude oftentimes met with. The classical Sānkhya as it is dealt with in the technical text-books is found by the author to differ in important particulars from that in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. The bearing of this as expounded in the Tamil classic *Maṇimēkhalai* also comes in for reference. The Kārikā verses themselves are printed in Devanagari followed by an English transliteration and a translation, each one of the Kārikā being expounded in rather expanded notes to understand the bearing of each and its position in the series. It is commendable work and does credit to the author, and justifies the institution of the Chair no less than the appointment of the particular individual to it.

PANORAMIC INDIA

BY

W. R. WALLACE

INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY K. H. VAKIL

[Published by Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Ltd., Bombay.]

MESSRS. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Ltd., Bombay, have recently taken it upon themselves to place before those interested whatever pertains to Indian culture generally in all its branches. The work before us is one which comes within their plan for the series of publications intended to achieve this end, another publication of theirs calling for mention here being one that they published two years ago under the title *The Splendour that was Ind* by Mr. K. T. Shah, to which the Marquis of Zetland contributed a foreword, and of which His Majesty King George V was so gracious as to accept a copy.

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This publication consists of 64 panoramic views taken over the whole of India with a brief introduction indicating the special features by the art critic Mr. K. H. Vakil. The views are well chosen and present an excellent array of some of the most important beauty spots in India. The work of the photographer and the block-makers alike is quite worthy of commendation, and the work is likely to serve the very useful purpose of stimulating interest in India more generally than by specialized treatises. We congratulate the enterprising publishers upon the production of this handy and valuable collection of views.

RELATIONS OF GOLKONDA

(*Issued by the Hakluyt Society for 1930*)

EDITED BY W. H. MORELAND, C.S.I., C.I.E.

THIS important publication consists of three separate accounts of the kingdom of Golkonda in the early years of the seventeenth century. The first is by a distinguished servant of the East India Company, the Agent at Surat, William Methwold. The second is an account by Shorer, and the third remains anonymous so far. Methwold's Relation is reprinted from *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, the other two being translated for the first time. As Mr. Moreland states it in the preface, he has in that translation made an attempt to bring out as near as possible the sense of the original by a literal translation. This is followed by an introduction, in which the position of Golkonda, historical and geographical, at the time to which the relations refer are set out.

The first of these is the work of William Methwold who was the Agent of the British at Surat between 1633 and 1639. He entered the service of the East India Company as a factor in 1615 and became general merchant in the following year of the Unicorn to the Pepper Ports of Sumatra. While there, he was chosen as the principal factor of the coast of Coromandel and entered on his charge at Masulipatam in 1618. He held that office till 1622 and actually terminated his service in 1624, returning home. It was about this period of his resignation, or soon after, that the account of Golkonda was written by him by invitation for publication in the Encyclopaedic work on India, *Purchas his Pilgrims*. The account, however, came too late for

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inclusion in the work and was published as an appendix to the work in a separate volume in the following year. As such it had become rare, not having been reprinted, and Mr. Moreland has rendered very valuable service in bringing it out in this new form. This is an account by a good writer, who intended it for publication, and is full and interesting as having been intended to be read generally.

The other two included are of a different character. They were both of them written not for publication, but merely, for the view of the official superiors concerned and therefore are of the character of reports to their employers. Mr. Moreland finds from the records that Mr. Shorer, the author of the second relation, served in Masulipatam between the years 1609 to 1614, at the end of which period or during the last year the report was actually written. The third is an anonymous relation published in a Dutch collection of voyages issued with the title *Origin and Progress of the United Dutch Chartered East India Company*. But from the mention of a Dutchman Van Wesick, with whom the author witnessed the widow burning described by him, the time of the work gets limited to the period between 1608 and 1612, in which year Wesick left the Coromandel Coast for Bantom. There are other items of internal evidence, which confirm this dating, and the work therefore relates to the early years of the seventeenth century. On the basis of a reference to a war between the Portuguese and the kingdom of Ahmadnagar which lasted from 1612 to 1615, we are enabled to infer that the account must have been written some time in the year 1614, as this writer says, that he was in residence in Masulipatam from 1608 to 1614. Mr. Moreland has come to the conclusion, on an examination of the list of officials engaged in the period, that the author must be a Dutchman, Pieter Gielez van Ravesteyn, who came to Masulipatam as junior factor in 1609. After a discussion of dates relating to Ravesteyn's engagement in the service of the Company, Mr. Moreland comes to the conclusion that the account must have been written in the second half of the year 1614. It will thus be found that the two Dutch Relations are of about the same date, and the account by Methwold relates to a period about ten years later. They contain more or less general accounts of the condition of the country with details of the produce and the character of the trade of the locality concerned. They throw a flood of light upon the general

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condition of the country, but the really historical light that one could get therefrom is not as much as one would wish. As a matter of fact, having regard to the purpose for which the accounts were written, we have really no right to expect anything definitely historical in the three papers published.

It is hardly necessary to say anything about the work of the editor, who has gone into it with the thoroughness we are accustomed to associate with the author of *India at the Death of Akbar* and *India from Akbar to Aurangzeb*. The accounts are annotated carefully throughout, and as much light as is possible is thrown upon the narratives by information from other sources. A few points, however, seem to call for remark. In the introduction page 16, there is a discussion on the word 'Masulipatam'. The first point taken for discussion is the *patnam*, which is used uniformly in all the three relations, and not the Portuguese modification of it. He therefore rightly infers that it must have taken the name from the natives of the locality, and not from foreigners like the Portuguese. That is quite true. In regard to the derivation itself the first part of the word is, as it is popularly known, Machli which Moreland tries to derive from Urdu *Machuli* fish. Sanskrit *Matsya* is *Maccha* in Dravidian, certainly Tamil, and that Dravidic variant must have obtained both in Telugu and Kanarese, so it is not exactly the application of a distant name from Urdu. As it is explained now it is a particular kind of fish, which seems to be available in plenty in the locality that has given the name. The latter half, *paṭṭinam* is again a Dravidian word, the Tamil *paṭṭinam* with the special name of a coast village in Tamil as distinct from Sanskrit *paṭṭaṇam* a town of a particular size with a variant form *pattanam*. Paṭṭinam for a coast town, and one peculiarly with a coast town of the fish is nothing strange, having regard to the number of similar names from peculiarities of the kind; such as for instance, one part of Madras, known in Anglo-Indian Chepauk, is nothing more than *Śēlpaukkam*, the *pākkam* or the fishing village of the fish called in Tamil *Śēl*. So the town means nothing more than 'fishton'—in this case of the *Śēl* fish.

On page 53 of Shorer's narration, the fortification of Pulicat is given in detail. Shorer, like others of his contemporaries, refers to the Vijayanagar ruler as King of Vellore. In a footnote, Mr. Moreland quotes Floris as giving the name of the ruler as 'Wenkatarajadrapa',

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king of Vellore and the queen who had the government of the region round Pulicat as 'Objama' in one place and 'Obyama' in another. He adds the information that three of his wives burnt themselves on his funeral pyre. The king under reference is undoubtedly Venkata, who may be called Venkata I, if we limit ourselves to only those of the name that actually ruled. He ruled from 1586 to 1614 when he died. The form of the name given by Floris Venkatadrapa, is the equivalent of Venkatadri and Appa an affix of respect, the first word being the name. So the name of the queen mentioned here is the name Obajamma, sometimes purely Obamma, the 'ji' being merely an honorific. Oba is a familiar name, a contracted form of Ahobala, the name of the Vishnu god at Ahobalam, and the Telugus of the locality affect the name very much, both men and women taking it. Venkata had married four wives, of whom this Oba was the daughter of Ranga-Raja of the Jillēḷḷa family. Floris is probably right as one of the four queens, Kondamma as she is called, claimed having had a son, which was the cause of the civil war, and leaving her, the other three would be entitled to commit themselves to the flames, as having been childless. The Telugu work *Rāmarājīyamu* gives the details of the marriage, etc. On page 72, the word *Maldaer* occurs, and the note by Mr. Moreland takes it to be the same as Amaldar. Amaldar comes from the word 'Amil', a small revenue division, and Maldar as it is written here is no other than Mahaldar, Mahal being a division like that. While an Amaldar is a government official, the Mahaldar may be a person, an owner or holder of the lands of the locality. Ordinarily, these permanent landlords would be the persons entrusted with the office of village munsifs, as they call it nowadays in these parts.

In regard to the reference to *Velur*, the town under reference is Vellore, and Vellore was certainly not the capital in the ordinary sense of the term till much later than this period. In the days of Venkata certainly, the capital was still Penugonda where he had to stand a siege by the Golkonda army in 1612 and where he actually died in 1614, if the local accounts could be believed. The alternative capital was Chandragiri, and this is more often associated with the name of this ruler because he was habitually in residence there as viceroy during his elder brother's reign. He seems oftentimes to have stayed in Chandragiri for long periods even as emperor. The fifty years length of reign given to him by one of these Relations would

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not be far wrong if the reign period included his administration of viceroyalty as a prince. It is just possible that Pulicat was in what was the Vellore division, and the officials of the Company might have negotiated their business with the king in camp there on some occasions, just as the English obtained their charter when Sri Ranga was in Vellore at the time, 1644–45.

On page 75 of the Relations occurs the statement in connection with the pilgrimage to the Ganges by the Hindus regarding a certain Ramarāja. 'They often make vows to travel to visit to other pagodas, especially near the Ganges, where, they say, is buried the head of Ramaraja, formerly lord of the whole country, before his vassals rebelled; it is said that a mighty concourse of people gather there.' In a footnote, Mr. Moreland takes it that this refers obviously to the story of the *Ramayana* and its hero Rama. We have not come across any reference to the hero Rama as Ramarāja, nor have we come across any association of Rama with the incidents such as are mentioned in the context. There is no question of the burial of the head of Rama, nor is such burial associated with the Ganges, and the character of the reference itself could hardly be to the hero of the epic. It obviously is a reference to one of the Ramarājas of Vijayanagar, in fact the one that fell at Talikota. He is stated in a Hindu chronicle to have been, at his own request, put to death by the Adil Shah, his friend, who carried out his wishes by sending the remains to the Ganges for holy disposal. The reference to a ruler of this part of the country and of the vassals rising against him ought to be held to preclude any reference to the hero Rama and could mean only either Rama of Talikota fame or the Rama that succeeded to the throne as the result of the war of succession on the death of Venkatapathi Raja. But having regard to the date of this anonymous Relation, the reference could hardly be to the second Rama, who could not yet have come to the throne. It therefore seems clear the reference is here to Rama that died in Talikota and thereby confirms what is stated in the Kanarese *Bakhair of Ramaraya*, for which reference may be made to the *Indian Historical Records Commission Report*, Poona Session, 1924.

We may conclude the review with our congratulations to the editor upon this valuable addition to the well-known series of the *Hakluyt Society* publication, to which this makes quite a worthy addition.

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MANDELSLO'S TRAVELS IN WESTERN INDIA

BY

M. S. COMMISSARIAT

THIS edition of the travels of Mandelslo, published in this form by Professor Commissariat, is an account of the travels of a German officer, who was in India, a guest of Methwold, spoken of in the review immediately above, as the chief of the English factory in Surat. He was sent out into Upper India during his long stay in Surat to see for himself places of interest, and the account here contains his notes of this visit through Gujarat, and salient points of Upper India. There is also included in it what he saw of India southward of Surat on his voyage home when he returned with Methwold himself, particularly of what took place in Goa during the voyage. Mandelslo's work has been published in a translation already—a work under the name *Mandelslo*—which includes much that is not Mandelslo's work. The first English translation was published in 1662, and that has become rare. It is known from a French translation reproduced from the German of *Olearius* and published in the same year 1662 by Abraham d'Wicqufort. The account therefore is interspersed with all that the French editor was able to collect relating to places and matters of interest referred to in the work. So in a sense it ceases to be Mandelslo's work. Professor Commissariat's work separates the account of Mandelslo's from these excrescences and gives the original account of Mandelslo alone in an English translation. The work is mostly the personal experiences of Mandelslo, an officer in immediate attendance upon the Duke of Holstein, who came on his travels to the East along with others and proceeded from Persia by himself alone to India and went back with Methwold, as was stated already. There are interesting details throughout, and Professor Commissariat has done well to have brought this out separately apart from his incorporating the matter in his *History of Gujarat*. The work throughout is well annotated and leaves little to be desired. Much of the matter, however, has already been used by various writers, and it is hardly necessary to take time here to refer to any of these in a review. That Mandelslo was a careful and intelligent observer of all that he saw has been satisfactorily proved and accepted. The author and the publishers in this edition deserve the thanks of the serious student of Indian History.

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BOLSHEVISM AT A DEADLOCK

BY

KARL KAUTSKY

[Translated by Prichard. Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.]

SOVIET Russia is the object of attention to all interested in sociology, and attention is now particularly directed to the experiment that is generally known by the term the *Five Year Plan* of social organization. Karl Kautsky is himself a socialist, was working along with Lenin, from whom he separated, not approving of the method pursued by the Russian Leader. His study of the *Five Year Plan* therefore, may be regarded as more or less an inside study by one who is in sympathy with socialism and socialistic reformation of society. At the same time, it ought not to be forgotten that he is a socialist reformer, who differs, and naturally differs strongly, from other socialists in respect of the methods to be followed and the results that are likely to result from particular schemes of social experiment.

The interesting little book of less than 200 pages contains his examination of the *Five Year Plan*, as it works in Russia. The principal feature of this is the introduction of collective farms in agriculture and the policy pursued by the Bolsheviks in bringing about this movement of agricultural organization. The *Kolhosi* and *Sovhosi* which are the names given to farming of this kind are examined with an eye to the ultimate result and with a view to the object aimed at by the Soviet party in introducing this organization. The method of procedure adopted is, according to this author, fundamentally faulty. While as a socialist he would not object to the socialisation of all natural instruments of agriculture, he complains that Soviet Russia and its leaders neglected altogether the other organizations that must co-exist for the success of the agricultural organization. He finds that there is not the co-ordinated effort at bringing agriculture and the industries to co-operate with a view to the maximum benefit derivable from large farming. He objects to the depletion of the intelligent middle-class without whose co-operation success would be impossible both in the field of pure agriculture, and in the accessory organizations required to make large-scale agriculture at all successful as a more efficient method of producing the wherewithal

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for the maintenance of society. He points to the gradual disappearance of the class of intelligentsia, such as school-masters, engineers, and the other classes of people whose work is of the first importance to the success of any agricultural organization. He believes, and his conviction seems to be based upon facts of direct knowledge as well as information collected from official sources of information in Russia itself, that the principle of organization is fundamentally faulty. While he would admit the correctness of socialization of land, he objects strongly to the deprivation of the means possessed of those accessories more particularly the accessories, whose work cannot be commandeered exactly in the same fashion as that of the ordinary agricultural labourer.

Coming to the general question of organization, he thinks that the attempt to carry out a social programme by an autocracy could only pave the way for another revolution, which he already sees preparing in Russia. He finds the organization of society in Soviet Russia to be an autocracy of the labour proletariat commandeering agricultural labour and putting it to work for the benefit of the labour proletariat. He considers that in a social reorganization, which may result from the coming revolution anything like autocracy ought to be avoided altogether and that could be done by bringing about social democracy of communities governing themselves and federating in large bodies for the purpose of competing on equal terms with larger communities in the world organization on a capitalistic basis.

The book, though small, is clear in its exposition of the principles and is well worth the study of those interested in Russian *Five Year Plan*, about which most people are enthusiastic, even without knowledge of its bearings. Whether it be a fact that another revolution is preparing in Russia or no, the possibilities indicated in this book are worth careful attention by those who may be even remotely interested in any reorganization of society. We commend the little book to the attention of those interested in the subject.

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

VOL. XVII. PART I

March, 1931—

PANDIT BINAYAK MISRA: 'The Narasinghpur Charter of Uddyotakēsari Mahābhavagupta IV issued from Yayātinagara in Western Orissa.'

TARAPADA CHOWDHURY: 'On the Interpretation of some doubtful words in the Atharva Veda.'

DR. HIRANANDA SASTRI: 'Painting of Ragmālas by the artists of Kangra.'

S. PATNAIK: 'Sobhaneśvar Temple Inscription of Śrī Vaidyanath who was the builder of the Temple.'

PARAMATMA SARAN: 'Sher Shah's Revenue System.'

MATHURALAL SHARMA: 'Magical Beliefs and Superstitions in Buddhism.'

The Indian Historical Quarterly

VOL. VII. No. 2

June, 1931—

A. K. MITRA: 'The Origin of the Bell Capital.'

S. B. CHAUDHURI: 'Topography in the Puranas.'

DR. N. N. LAW: 'Dvaidhī bhāva in Kauṭilya.'

DR. N. DUTT: 'Bodhisattva Prātimoksha Sūtra.'

S. C. DATTA: 'The First Śāka of Citod.'

D. C. BHATTACHARYA: 'Mandana, Surēśvara and Bhavabhūti—The Problem of their Identity.'

M. MUKHOPADHYAY: 'Some Notes on Skanda Kārttikeya.'

K. R. PISHAROTI: 'Kulaśēkhara of Kerala.'

N. R. RAY: 'A Sūrya Icon from a Daśāvatāra Temple, Pagan.'

MISS M. D. GUPTA: 'Early Viṣṇuism and Nārāyanīya Worship.'

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society

VOL. V. PART III

January, 1931—

G. JOUVEAN DUBREUIL: 'Buddhist Antiquities in the East Godavari District.'

M. RAMA RAO: 'The Recherla Family (a feudatory family of the Kakatiyas).'

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K. Iswar Dutt: 'Studies in Vijayanagar Polity.'

M. Somasekhara Sarma: 'Indrabhaṭṭāraka and the Ganga Era.'

M. Ramakrishna Kavi: 'The Identity of Surēśvara.'

R. Subba Rao: 'The History of the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga—Sources; the Ganga Era.'

The Indian Antiquary

Vol. LX

April–August, 5 numbers—

L. D. Greene: 'Nature Study in the Sanskrit Drama, Shakuntala.'

Sir R. C. Temple: 'On Certain Specimens of Former Currency in Burma.'

Biren Bonerjea: 'Possible Origin of the Caste System in India' (serial).

Sir R. C. Temple: 'Remarks on the Nicobar Islanders and their Country' (serial).

S. H. Hodivala: 'Notes on Hobson-Jobson' (serial).

Dr. Stella Kramrisch: 'A Stone Relief from a Kalinga Railing.'

Pandit Anand Koul: 'Life of Rshi Pir Pandit Padshah' (serial).

P. J. Thomas: 'St. Thomas in South India.'

Pran Nath: 'The Date of the Compilation of Kautalya's Artha Sastra' (serial).

Numa Lafitte: 'A Note on Certain Signs inscribed on Pottery found in ancient funeral urns in S. India.'

K. de B. Codrington: 'Some Indian Terra Cotta Figurines.'

Jean Przyluski: 'The Name of the Kharoshthi Script.'

Sri R. C. Temple: 'Scraps of Tibeto-Burman Folklore.'

Biren Bonerjea: 'Prayasçitta or Hindu Ideas of the Expiation of Sin.'

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The Round Table

Summary of articles in the June issue, No. 83.

In the June number of the *Round Table*, as is proper at this time, pride of place has been given to an article on Great Britain's economic problem. The article first describes the conditions of world-depression under which we labour—the slump in prices, reduced turn-over of trade, unprofitable business, unemployment everywhere—and then puts forward a suggestive summary of our special difficulties. They include our failure to readjust our economic life after the war, our dependence on exports, and the rigidity of our industrial structure. Finally, the writer suggests that, since it is a condition of recovery that industry should be restored to a profit-making basis, the choice lies between all-round reduction of costs and the adoption of protection in some form or other. 'There is no reason to doubt' he writes, 'either the will of the nation to survive or its readiness to make whatever effort or accept whatever sacrifice may be needed, so soon as the nature of the effort and of the sacrifice is made clear to it'.

The second article discusses the post-war relations between France and Germany—a discussion rendered peculiarly apposite by the conclusion of the Austro-German customs agreement, the political implications of which form the crux of the article. The history of the last twelve years is viewed first from the German and then from the French standpoint. The Germans bitterly resented the dictated terms of peace and, until the Stresemann policy tempered hatred into scepticism, viewed the League of Nations as an instrument of Allied domination; the invasion of the Ruhr and the failure of the Allies to disarm, fostered still further her attitude of distrust. France, on the other hand, has been genuinely afraid of a revival of central European power, genuinely suspicious of Germany's ostensible disarmament, and has sought an instrument of defence in the hegemony of Europe. And now France, like Germany, has reached a parting of the ways, but the time in which she can make up her mind is dangerously short.

Next, an article on the Russian *Five Years Plan* offers an answer to the question, which has been acutely raised by the recent heavy

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sales of Russian grain, whether the Plan presents a menace to the economic life of western capitalistic countries. The writer examines the basic tendencies of Russia's external trade, and analyses the implications of a planned economy, devised for a country backward in industrial progress but determined to industrialise itself, and to make sacrifices in order to achieve that purpose.

The fourth article examines proposed economic safeguards in India in the light of the work of the Round Table Conference. After sketching in a historical background, of which the most important features are the special position of British capital in certain Indian industries, the growth of protection and the peculiar currency system of India, the writer critically examines each of the proposed 'modifications of responsible government' and suggests some alterations.

From the United States comes an article on the position of President Hoover midway through his term of office. It was expected of the heir of 'Coolidge Prosperity' that he would guide his country through a period of ever greater prosperity, but disillusionment, occasioned by the world slump, has entirely altered the face of American politics and rendered precarious both parliamentary and popular support for the President. His policy and achievements are reviewed, special attention being given to foreign affairs and to the operations of the Federal Farm Board.

An article in the last issue of the *Round Table* advised a 'tempered optimism' with regard to China. That attitude is confirmed by a further article from Shanghai, but several disturbing forces are noted. The first volume of Mr. Justice Feetham's report on the government of Shanghai is summarised in an appendix.

A correspondent in India describes the course of events since the Round Table Conference—the reception, on the whole laudatory, accorded to its work by the various sections of thought in India, the Irwin-Gandhi settlement and its reaction on public opinion, the eruption of the communal question, the Karachi Congress. An examination of the attitude of various important groups towards the plans for constitutional advance suggests that many difficult problems still await solution.

The usual article on affairs in Great Britain analyses the nature and causes of the *entente* between Mr. Lloyd George and the moderate Labour leaders, which 'goes back in spirit to the years 1906 to 1910'.

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There is a careful resumé of the arguments for and against the proposed land tax.

The batch of contributions from the self-governing Dominions opens with one from the Irish Free State in which, among other matters, proportional representation, tariffs, gunmen, the railways, the trade depression, and the hospitals sweepstakes receive lively treatment. 'The people as a whole are utterly sick of arid disputes about the Treaty and Republic, and want to get on with the work of making the country prosperous.' From Canada there comes, besides a record of current events, a pointed plea for the development of an all-British air route to the Far East, lest we should find ourselves forestalled by American enterprise.

Of special interest in the article from Australia is the account of the realignment of the political parties following the restoration of Mr. Theodore to Cabinet office, Mr. Scullin's inclination, on his return from the Imperial Conference, to turn to the Left rather than to the Right, and the emergence of Mr. Lang's repudiation policy. A separate section suggests a plan for cutting the losses on the present expensive colonization of the Northern Territory. From the White Australia policy it is but a short step to the problems of native franchise and Asiatic immigration, which exercise the Government of South Africa, and which are discussed, along with other current events in the Union, in the next article. Mr. Havenga's plan to meet a big deficit are also fully described. The writer from New Zealand likewise depicts a strenuous attempt to make both ends meet. Readers at home, as much as those in the Dominion, by suggested wage cuts in government services and in trades subject to official wage awards.

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OUR EXCHANGES

1. *The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*, Deccan Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona City.
3. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient*, Hanoi.
4. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London University, London, Longmans, Green & Co., London.
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Editorial

The Editor regrets to have to apologise for another delay. This is due to proof sent to the Punjab having miscarried in post and caused a fortnight's unnecessary waiting and ultimate disappointment, in that the proof did not reach the author, and apparently miscarried in post. The number is therefore issued without the instalment of the article on Shah Jahan from Mr. Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law which was to have formed part of it. This will of course, be issued with the next number.

The difficulties of the times make the financial responsibility of the journal heavy, and subscribers are requested to extent their good offices to support the journal by sending it not only their subscriptions in time, but also gaining further subscription from new subscribers. It is particularly requested that the subscribers intimate changes of address, and give early intimation if their names should not be continued among the subscribers. Neglect of this particular often leads to unnecessary loss in these difficult times. The Editor requests this particular good office from subscribers as a matter of favour.

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Journal of Indian History

Pieter Van Den Broeke at Surat (1620-29)

BY

W. H. MORELAND, C. S. I., C. I. E.,

Writing in this *Journal* (May, 1923) on the Dutch sources for the history of India in the seventeenth century, I mentioned that the published *Voyages* of Pieter van den Broeke (or Broecke) told us very little of his nine years' residence in Surat, and conjectured that his diary might have been greatly curtailed in printing. At that time I did not know that a manuscript of his diary was in the library of the University of Leiden, where it is numbered BPL 952. I have recently obtained photostats of this MS, from 1620 to the end, through the kindness of the Curator, Professor-Doctor H. P. Blok, who has authorised me to publish a translation of such portions as may be of interest to students in India.

My conjecture proves to have been well-founded, for the manuscript record is something like ten times as long as the printed version, but it is a less important document than I had hoped. As a diarist, van den Broeke was unsatisfactory. He wrote very irregularly; he left some incidents half-told, and began others in the middle; sometimes he would record trivial matters at length, at others he would omit all mention of occurrences of real importance; and his diary must be taken for what it is, the hurried jottings of a busy man, certainly not written for publication, though extracts from it were to be published later on, but recording whatever happened to have struck him, and remained in his memory. A verbal translation of the whole would be tedious to readers, and in the account which follows I have attempted to follow the general lines adopted by Sir William Foster in *The English Factories in India,* mentioning every fact and every name, which is recorded in the diary, but translating only those entries which appear to deserve it as throwing a definite light on the economic or social life of the period, or on the individuality of the writer. The portions translated are marked by inverted commas, while square brackets are used for interpolations.

A few words may be said about the writer of the diary. Pieter van den Broeke, who was born in Antwerp on 25th February, 1585, is one of the outstanding figures in the early history of the Dutch East India Company, which he served from the year 1613

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onwards. His first experience of India was in 1617, when he was sent to estabilsh a factory at Surat. His ship was wrecked at the entrance to the Gulf of Cambay, but the crew and goods were saved, and the factory was duly constituted and placed in charge of two factors, one of whom was P. G. van Ravesteyn. Van den Broeke himself marched to Masulipatam in order to return to Java, where he played a prominent part in the operations which resulted in the establishment of the Dutch capital of Batavia.

The Surat factory continued to operate during the next three years, but it was hampered by want of capital and other causes; and the commercial success of the Dutch on this side of India dates from 1620, when van den Broeke himself was posted to Surat, not as a mere factor, but as 'Commander and Director', with the charge of the Company's interests in Arabia and Persia, as well as in the north and west of India. Supplies of capital were at the same time increased largely, and the Dutch had obtained a predominant position in the trade of the Arabian Sea by the year 1629, when, after two extensions of his appointment at Surat, and sixteen years' service in the East, van den Broeke started for Batavia on his way to Holland. After some years at home during which he brought out the record of his voyages (printed at Amsterdam and Haarlem in 1634), he returned to the East, and died at Malacca, during the siege in December, 1640, at the age of 55.

In preparing this account of his diary I have felt some difficulty in deciding the question of annotation. The text is so discursive and allusive that to explain everything at length is practically out of the question, while the bulk of the notes would be mere reproductions from the *English Factories in India,* a series which must be available in every decent library used by Indian students. It has seemed best on the whole merely to give references to this series, and to other works which are within the reach of students, while the notes are confined to explaining matters which cannot be elucidated in this way. The best method of approaching the diary is to read the Introductions to the first three volumes of *English Factories,* (cited below as E. F.), which give a connected account of what happened at Surat during this period [1]; while the following general notes will make the diary more intelligible.

The affairs of the Dutch Company in the East were managed by the Governor-General in Council at Batavia. Members of the

1. When the word passim is used in these references, readers should consult the Index of the volumes cited.

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Council or others sent to inspect outlying factories were usually styled 'Commissary'. The factories were grouped in regions under 'Directors' or 'Commanders', but the latter designation was also applied to the chief officer of a fleet or single ship. A factory was usually in charge of a 'senior factor', with a staff of 'factors', 'junior factors', and 'assistants'; sometimes 'boys' are mentioned, and the designation is accurate, for the diary records the death of a 'boy' of 15, but I have not found evidence to show precisely how they were employed. Merchant vessels were ordinarily 'commanded' by a factor or higher officer, while the 'master' was in charge of the navigation.

'Ships' means sea-going merchant vessels, ranging at this period from about 300 to 1000 tons; they were of course armed, and on occasion were employed for fighting, but their ordinary business was transport. 'Pinnace' means a sea-going vessel, smaller and lighter than a 'ship': 'carrack' denotes the large ships employed by the Portuguese in their trade with Europe. 'Galleons' were the large warships used by the Portuguese, which could be rowed as well as sailed. 'Frigates' or 'foists' were quite small vessels, ranging about 50 tons, which also could be rowed as well as sailed, and were used mainly in the coasting-trade; occasionally, however, they were sent on sea voyages, and they could be equipped for fighting—the Portuguese in particular using them for offence, either in separate flotillas or as adjuncts to the galleons.

Indian shipping was varied. There were great ships of over 1,000 tons for the pilgrim-traffic to the Red Sea; these were usually named, I believe, though I am not sure, that names were practically confined to this class. 'King's ship' meant a ship for the Red Sea or elsewhere sent out by the Mogul Emperor; 'Prince's ship' meant a similar venture of Prince Khurram or Shāh Jahān; but 'Prince's flag' meant the flag of the Prince of Orange, which was carried by the ships of the Dutch Company. Ordinary ships of 200 or up to about 300 tons, plied from Gujarāt to other parts, while along the coast frigates or foists were used, together with a variety of smaller craft, 'sampans' 'prows' 'tonys', etc., etc. The expression 'Moor', i.e., Moslem ships was in common use to denote Indian, as distinct from European, shipping, the chief Indian owners at Surat being Moslems.

The primary objects of the Dutch factory at Surat were to buy (1) the various types of cotton goods saleable in Java and beyond, (2) indigo and plain calico for the European market. To finance this trade, they imported whatever could be sold, chiefly spices, which, as readers of the *Ain-i-Akbari* know, were used very largely in the kitchens of the Moslems in the North; but

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most of their funds had to be imported in the form of silver coins, which were taken to the mints at Surat and Ahmadābād, to be recoined as rupees. The coins imported were chiefly the Spanish reals-of-eight, worth about two rupees. The Dutch kept their accounts in guilders (of twenty stivers), and reckoned the guilder as 5|6 rupee. The Dutch unit of weight was the Holland pound, equal to 1.09 lb. avoirdupois. The local unit was the Gujarāt maund of about 33lb, 20 of which made a *bahār* or candy.

Ships of large size could be brought up the Tapti to the town of Surat, but there was a dangerous bar at the mouth of the river which could be crossed only under certain conditions of weather and tide, and the Dutch ordinarily used the anchorage called 'Swally hole', which the English had developed, near the river-mouth; goods could be taken thence to Surat by water, but this was often dangerous owing to the presence of hostile Portuguese frigates, or the pirate-craft from the Malabar Coast, and as a rule the road between Surat and Swally was used for transport.

In comparing the diary with the English records, it is important to bear in mind that the dates in the former are new style, and consequently 10 days ahead of the old-style dates given in the latter. I have shown every date given in the diary, so that readers will have no difficulty in recognising its incompleteness as a record of occurrences; I hope they will also be able to recognise the informality of the style in the translated portions, which are meant to be absolutely literal. The language is colloquial throughout, and obsolete colloquialisms present many pitfalls to the translator; in cases of doubt regarding the exact meaning I have received most generous help from Professor P. Geyl, Litt. D,. of the University of London, but the responsibility for the accuracy of the version is mine, not his. Some few passages are so obscure as to be practically untranslatable; in these cases I have indicated merely the general sense.

THE DIARY

Van den Broeke sailed from Java for Surat on the *Wapen van [Arms of] Zeeland*, which, after calling at Aden and Socotra, sighted the Indian coast near Damān on 28th September, 1620. On 1st October, while coasting northwards, two *sampans* were met, one of which was engaged to conduct the ship's boat, carrying the factor Johan van der Dussen, to give news to Surat of their arrival. During the night the tide fell and the ship went

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aground, but was refloated without injury on the rising tide. On 3rd, the boat returned, bringing the outgoing President, Pieter Gielisz. van Ravensteyn; and on the 4th, van den Broeke landed and assumed charge as 'Commander and Director'.

On 20th *November,* the *Wapen van Zeeland* was despatched for Batavia. The same evening, two English ships, *London* and *Roebuck,* under Captain Andrew Shilling, anchored in the roadstead; two other ships, *Hart* and *Eagle,* had gone to Persia. The late arrival of the English caused general surprise, but they gave out that they had gone too far south, and had first seen land off Dabhol.

On 6th *December* senior factors Wouter Heuten and Sebolt Wonderar, with junior factor Francisco Pelsert, assistant Daniel van der Bruggen, boy Marcus Elderssen, and also a barber named Marten, arrived overland from Masulipatam, where they had been sent by the Governor-General on the ship *New Zeeland.* On 10th a junior factor (not named) was promoted to be factor, and sent to take charge of the factory which had been established at Cambay for the purchase of cotton goods. The rest of the month was spent in getting cotton goods ready for Java.

1621.

January. "On 4th, I went to Broach to see if I could get any reduction in the toll on the spices which it had been decided to send to Agra with the senior factor Wouter Heuten, seing that they could go by another,[1] though not a shorter, road. When I arrived, the Nawab Himmat Khān[2] had gone to Sarod; wherefore decided to go to him there, where arrived on 5th, just as the fort was taken. The Governor gave me a most friendly welcome. On 6th, I went with the Governor's brother to look at the fort, which was already dismantled. This fort belonged to a blackguard of a Rājput, who had wrought great oppression on travelling merchants, who had to cross the Cambay river just at that spot; now he was a prisoner. After I had received some courtesies from the Governor, I took a friendly leave of him. He gave me a fine Rājput horse; and on the same day I returned in the company of his brother, with sixty horse, to Broach, where I arrived on the morning of the 8th'. On 9th, left Broach after having put the factory in good order. On 20th, I sent senior factor

1. *I.e.,* up the Tapti valley to Burhānpur.
2. Governor of Broach: see *EF.* i. *passim.* Sarod lies on the south bank of the Mahi, on what was then the road from Broach to Cambay.

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Wouter Heuten to be head of the factory now established at Agra, with a caravan laden with cloves, nutmegs, mace, benzoin, and other goods; I gave him Junior factor Francisco Pelsert[3] with these assistants—Willem Jacopssen, Gerret Verdelft, Daniel van der Bruggen, Cornelis Arentssen, barber Marten Ordtmans, with a boatman, and two boys, Marcus Elderssen and Jan Pepper.

February. 'On 7th, our frigate the *Good Fortune* came from Gandivi[4] to lie off Surat, to the disgust of the English, because they had never been able to arrange to buy any vessels from the native, and now we were the first. On 10th, arrived in the roadstead from Ormuz the four English ships which had had a smart fight[5] with four Portuguese galleons, of which Ruy Freire was captain. The English captain Andrew Shilling, was killed. They brought as they said, but one could place no reliance on them, 500 bales of silk from Persia; each bale weighs about 180 Holland pounds'. On 14th, there was much excitement in Surat over a case of Sapphic passion. On 27th, Jan Symonssen Storm of Rotterdam, who came out on the *Golden Lion*, arrived with the Pole[6] from Māndū, after two months' leave. 'I had pardoned the blackguard for having deserted to the enemy from Fort Pulicat. On 29th, towards evening, Jan Symonssen Storm fell overboard and was drowned when he was returning, drunk, from the *Good Fortune*. The body came to the surface next day, and I had it properly buried'.

March. 'On 16th, after lying for a long time off the custom-house flying the Prince's flag, to the disgust of the English and of some Moslems, the frigate *Good Fortune* was sent to Swally to sail with the English ships to Batavia. This is the first frigate that Hollander or Englishman has ever sent from here. On 22nd, I went to Swally to despatch the *Good Fortune*. The English invited me to a meal on their ships. I went on board the *London*, on which Robbert Bly [Richard Blyth] was now captain in place of Andrew Shilling, killed off Ormuz; the others were *Hart, Roebuck* and *Eagle*. According to their custom, they showed me great seeming friendship. The same day the English arrested the two Gujarāt ships[7] which were ready to sail in the name of

3. Pelsaert subsequently wrote a report of his experiences, a translation of which, by Professor Geyl and myself, was published as *Jahangir's India*, Cambridge, 1925.
4. On the coast, midway between Surat and Damān.
5. See *EF.* i. 220, etc.
6. Probably John Baptista, an independent merchant (*EF.* i. 291, 314).
7. An account of these reprisals will be found in the Introduction to *EF.* i.

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the Prince [Khurram], one for Mocha and the other for Jidda; this caused great amazement among the Moslem merchants of the town. On 25th, received news that the English caravan, though it had a *kaul* or pass, had been robbed and plundered[8] by Mansūr Khān, a Portuguese renegade, commander of 5,000 horse in the army of Malik Ambar, the Deccan King [*sic*]. Coming from Agra this caravan, of 356 camels with 300 bales of Biāna indigo and 410 packs of valuable cotton goods from Bengal, had for a long time accompanied our caravan, which I would not allow to come here in such a dangerous war because I had no ships here to carry the goods which was lucky for us: otherwise we should have risked our caravan also, which the English before they started were very anxious should come along with them, but God Almighty then preserved us. On 30th, the chief men of the town requested me to go on board the English ships on their behalf, and speak for them as best I could. I went in the evening, but, before I got on board, the English, fortunately for me, had already released the ship [s]. The said ships sailed the same evening; in the one which was for Mocha I sent Johan van der Dussen to the senior factor Harman van Gil in Mocha.'

April. On 17th, the frigate *Good Fortune* sailed for Batavia in company with the English *Eagle.* The three other English ships sailed for Mocha, to winter in the Red Sea, because it was too late in the season for the voyage home; 'but I am convinced it was more for their private trade than for other reasons.' They also put forward the pretext of hoping to capture the ships of Chaul.[9] On 18th, Sultān Kurram's ship arrived from Achin after a voyage of two months and 17 days, bringing 300 *bahārs* of pepper, with money and other goods of less importance; the ship brought one of the King of Achin's officers with 150,000 reals-of-eight to be invested in gold for him.

May. On 5th, senior factor Adrian Willemsen Gœree, with the assistants Adam Classen and Marten Fredricksx, arrived from Māndū, having without orders left the caravan there in charge of two 'Japponders'.[10] On 12th, the Prince's ship mentioned above sailed for Achin with a valuable cargo of Gujarāt cotton

8. See *EF.* i. 315 ff. The description of Malik Ambar as King is an obvious slip; further on he is described correctly as the King's General.

9. In order to enforce their claim against Ahmadnagar for the destruction of the caravan.

10. At this time the Dutch employed Japanese soldiers in some of their fortresses in the Further East, and it is possible that some of them had been sent as guards for the party going to Agra.

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goods; this was very surprising since it was thought to be too late in the season. On 31st, I sent the factor Gœree to Gandivi, with five Dutchmen and 13 peons, 'to protect the foists [I had] purchased, which the Portuguese of Damān had planned to come and burn'.

June. On 5th, 'it began to rain dust, so that the rains were near at hand'. On 17th, the rains opened with a hurricane. On 25th, went with Mir Jān Muhammad, brother of the Governor of Broach, to hunt buck with leopards. On 26th, saw a snake with a head at each end.[11] '*Note.* There is in the Deccan army with Malik Ambar, General of the King Nizāmshāh, a woman, (who was born in Rānder, a fishing village about half a league from Surat), who can make gold from copper by means of a certain plant with an exceedingly strong smell, which kills the person who smells it when it has been prepared. The gold is exceedingly fine, but if it is melted three times, it turns into copper again. When the said Malik was satisfied of this, he gave his daughter to the woman's son, and afterwards let her bring *schondio,*[12] which is the usual payment among such folk'.

July. On 16th, 'got news that the Portuguese of Damān, Bassain and Tārapur were arming strongly in order to come and burn our foists at Gandivi as soon as the wheather should be favourable; immediately sent there eight more Dutchmen and 20 peons, with three guns'. On 18th, 'since the rumour continued that the Portuguese were arming strongly, and further that they would certainly start at the new moon, sent senior factor Sebolt Wonderar, with 50 lascars from Rānder, to bring the foists here'. On 23rd, 'Sebolt Wonderar brought the two frigates *Mocha* and *Surat* from Gandivi in safety before the custom house here (thank God!); they were now out of all danger from the Portuguese. I sent the two frigates to Rānder, so as to be out of sight of the people at Surat, because the Moslems and English grumbled so much about them.'

September. On 12th, the season began to change, with fine weather and a northerly wind. On 27th, about midnight, the 'elephant' [last storm of the season] came with a strong wind, lasting more than half an hour.

11. Probably *Eryx Johnii,* the blunt-tailed snake which is manipulated by professional snake-charmers so as to appear two-headed.

12. This word, which appears below as *Sonidido* and *schondido,* has not been recognised by any of the authorities consulted; it appears from the context to denote some customary payment made at marriages in this part of the country

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October. On 1st, six ships from England, commanded by John Weddell,[13] arrived in Swally. One of them was a Portuguese prize with 60 Portuguese and more than 100 natives, from Mozambique for Goa; the English valued it at more than £ 6,000 sterling, reckoning only the ivory and wax, and not counting the gold and amber, which were as usual distributed among the principal men. [The prize is stated to have been of 14 last, or 28 tons, burden; but this must be an error, as she was in fact over 200 tons, and perhaps the figure should be 140]. On 20th, the *Samson* arrived from Mocha, having left there the *Wesp,* to follow eight days later. 'The *Samson,* on which were Johan van der Burch, factor, and Tjerk Isbrantssen, master, had taken the following prizes, after having left Mocha peaceably, and given free passes to all the Moslem ships—an incredible act by which they have brought such dishonour and disgrace on our valiant Batavians and Honourable Company and country that it will be talked of for more than a hundred years'. First, a small vessel from cutch near Sind; it yielded 10 bales of *rūnās* [Indian madder] and other booty of little value, and was then destroyed pirate-fashion. Second, a ship of Cannanore, from which they took 2,000 ducats in cash and four women without their husbands ('which was exceedingly cruel'), and then allowed to proceed on her voyage. The third belonged to Dĭū, and had sailed from Helick in Ethiopia, just opposite Mocha; some ivory, uncoined gold, and other goods were hastily taken out because the ship was sinking; they understood that more than 150 pounds of gold remained in her. Both the other two belonged to Dabhol,[14] the *Ibrāhimshāh,* and the *Toccoly*; most of the people were landed on the coast of Arabia, and about 100 brought to Surat. After taking out most of the cash and goods, these two vessels were sent direct to Batavia. 'In short, they have behaved not like honourable merchants, but like pirates, and worse than sea-robbers; and, by giving false passes, have blackened the honest name and fame of the Dutch, who have been regarded as upright people throughout the whole world—besides taking bribes from the Moslems before they would give them these passes! In the evening I went on board, and in council found it good and advisable to liberate all these people, giving to each a gold ducat and a half-real for expenses, because they had been robbed and plundered so bare and naked by our people. This taking of the ships

13. For Weddell's fleet, see *EF.* i. passim.

14. Dabhol, near Ratnagiri, then belonged to Bĭjāpur. I cannot guess what Toccoly represents, unless it be for Taqi Ali.

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has raised no small clamour throughout the country, and brought our nation into no small dishonour and disgrace, to the injury of the Company's business.[15] The English exulted not a little over this, and vomited every possible villainy against us. That brute, President Kerridge, in the public bazaar, presumed to write to Prince Khurram[16] at Burhānpur that he had warned him about us long ago, and did it not appear as he had said, that we were not merchants like the English, but mere pirates and sea-robbers.'

November. On 3rd, the English fleet arrived from Cape Ras-al-hadd, where it had wintered, having failed to reach Mocha. They had sailed by Dabhol, in order to capture some ships in reprisal for the seizure of their caravan, but had secured only one vessel belonging to Chaul. On 15th, Prince Sultān Khurram's ship arrived from Mocha. 'The English had taken out the captain, or *nākhudā,* and the clerk, and forced them to declare what money or goods belonging to Malik Ambar's people were on board. They found 7,000 reals and 3,300 gold ducats, which they took out, and allowed the captain and clerk to return'—a very injudicious proceeding. On 30th, a Portuguese *armada* [fleet] of about 80 vessels passed Swally on the way to Cambay, 'whereupon our men of the *Samson* rashly sent against them two prows, each with eight men, without my knowledge or orders. Senior factor Sebolt Wonderar went in one, and Johan van der Burch in the other, each with seven men. The wind fell as they [? approached] the fleet, and they were surrounded by the strong Portuguese frigates, which were better rowed than our vessels. One of these was captured, having on board factor Johan van der Burch, assistant Egbert Hellinch, boatswain's mate Harman Symonssen, master's mate Andries Gerretsen Alkmaer and seamen Ben Willemssen, Elbert Thomassen, and Jan Willemssen; the other was in great danger, being pursued by the frigates until within range of the ship's guns'.

December. On 3rd, nine English ships sailed for Persia; the *Hart* and *Roebuck* sailed for England with Mr. Kerridge, lately President here, on board. Sent the *Samson* with them to cruise for some days; the English wanted her to accompany them to

15. This passage is of historical interest as showing the first impression made on van den Broeke by this action of the *Samson*. See the Introduction to *EF.* i. for a concise account of the rivalry between Dutch and English at this time.

16. Then Viceroy of the Deccan province. The text is obscure, and may possibly be intended to mean 'had the face to say that he would write'.

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Persia but this could not be arranged. On 23rd, the *Samson* returned to the roadstead, having parted from the English seven days before. On 25th, Anne, the slave of senior factor Sebolt Wonderar, and the child of Jadegar the Armenian, were baptised, the child being named Cattrina; I was a witness, and godfather. May God Almighty allow both of them to grow up in His fear!'

1622.

February. (no entry for January). On 4th, the lading of of the *Samson* was completed; senior factor Adrien Willemssen Gœree was on board. On 6th, she was ordered to lie for four days at the mouth of the river alongside of the Prince's ship for Mocha; and on 10th, she sailed for Batavia with cargo worth 102,000 guilders. The same day I started with eight Dutchmen on horseback to inspect the factories at Broach, Ahmadābād and Cambay. On 11th, 'I reached Broach, a famous *baniyan* market-town, where large quantities of *bāftas*[1] and other cotton goods are made annually. The English also have a factory here, where they buy most of their cotton goods for the South,[2] England, Mocha, and Persia. The town is 22 kos, or 12 Holland leagues, from Surat; it is walled, and situated on a high hill. The Governor is my great friend, Himmat Khān, a Mogul, commanding 3,000 horse. I went to visit him, and he showed me so much respect as to astonish the English and everyone else'. On 13th, started for Baroda, and halted at a village named [blank in MS] 14 kos from Broach. On 14th, starting before sunrise reached Baroda, a very populous market-town, walled, and governed by a commander of 2000 horse. Formerly the English had a factory here,[3] 'but this is now forbidden by the Surat people, because most of the goods made here are suitable for Mocha and the Red Sea, and are bought by the Surat merchants and despatched by the King's or Prince's ships.' On 15th, left Baroda, and halted in a village named [blank in MS] 12 kos distant. On 16th, marched 18 kos, and reached Mahmūdābād, the former capital of Gujarāt, now utterly ruined by the Moguls. On 17th, reached Ahmadābād, a great and famous city, surrounded by high walls, 40 kos from Baroda, and 10 kos from Mahmudabad; I lodged in an old stable in the Armenian *sarai*. The Governor is a Mogul, Nawāb Rustam Khān, commanding 5,000 horse, who rules the whole

1. The trade-name for the plain calico of Gujarāt.
2. 'The South' denotes Java, and the markets served by it.
3. See the Introduction to *EF.* i. for the dispute regarding the Red Sea trade, which was eventually reserved for the local merchants.

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country on behalf of Prince Sultān Khurram.[4] On 20th, I visited Sarkhej, about three kos from Ahmadābād, where the best indigo in all Gujarāt is manufactured. There is an exceedingly fine burying-place of the former Kings of Gujarāt, with many palaces and pleasure houses built in the vicinity. On 22nd, having seen all the gardens and other sights, I decided to leave for Cambay. The English have a factory at Ahmadābād, and do a magnificent trade, selling their reals, and buying indigo and cotton goods. On 23rd, started for Cambay. On the march Gerret Verdelft, an assistant, was thrown from his horse: I jumped off the cart to catch it, but was kicked in the mouth, and lost nine teeth. [The printed text adds that this reminded him that at Surat a sooth-sayer had warned him that his journey would be unlucky]. Halted in a village 14 kos from Ahmadābād. On 24th, I reached Cambay, 30 kos from Ahmadābād. Ordered various goods against the arrival of the ships.

March. On 3rd, I left Cambay, 'crossing the dangerous and famous great river,[5] which at spring tide rises and falls five fathoms. The water comes with the rising tide from the sea, with a noise and fury like that of the bore of Rouen in France. Owing to the channels the ride is seven kos, but it [the river] is not two kos wide. There is great danger to life if the right time is not taken to cross; I understand that from 100 to 200 persons or more are drowned every year. In the evening with great difficulty we reached Jāmbusar,[6] where the indigo *de mato* is made; it is called *singilli* in Hindustan, and is considered to be the worst in all India. Cambay lies on the river Indus,[7] well populated with the *baniyan* nation, and containing fine houses and remarkable buildings. A mighty trade is done in cotton goods. Two or three times a year the Portuguese come to trade with foists and other light craft; they bring much ivory, China goods (which come to Goa from Macao), spices and other goods from the South and Patani. At present [Cambay] belongs[8] to Asaf

4. Prince Khurram was Viceroy of Gujarāt as well as the Deccan province.

5. The Mahi. The comparison is with the Seine, on which Rouen is situated.

6. In Broach district. *De mato* in Portuguese means 'of the jungle', *i.e.*, wild'; and *singilli* is probably for 'jungly'. See *EF.*. i. 64, and *passim*, for the inferiority of the local indigo.

7. This mistake as to the course of the Indus runs frequently in the literature of the period; see, *e.g.*, *The Embassy of Sir T. Roe*, p. 91, where it is corrected.

8. *i.e.*, it was his *jāglr* or assignment.

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Khān, brother of Nurmahal, the King's concubine [*sic*] and is ruled by a Governor who commands 1,000 horse. The English used to have a factory here, but now there was nobody. Saw a hospital for animals'. On 4th, on reaching Broach I heard that the *Wesp* had arrived off Surat, and resolved to return immediately. On 6th, reached Surat. Our caravan from Agra arrived shortly afterwards. Found the factor Van der Dussen, who had come on the *Wesp*. On 7th, went on board the *Wesp*. At the entrance to the Red Sea she had captured a Chaul ship, with 7050 ducats and 8600 reals, 'which came in exceedingly handy for us'. Off Dofar she had captured a Portuguese ship bound for Goa, the crew of 120 having fled; the booty was seven horses, some lacquer desks and boxes from Sind; the ship was fired.

On 8th, three English vessels, the *Lion*, the pinnace *Rose*, and the sloop *Dick* [really, *Richard*] arrived. 'They brought as prisoners the Portuguese commandant Dom Ruy Freire, with 10 or 12 of his chief officers, who had surrendered on the capture of the fort at the watering-place.[9] The English were asked to help the Persians, who had laid siege to this fort with more than 12,000 men; they promptly brought six guns into position, and seeing this, the Portuguese, who hitherto, though in want of everything, had not feared the might of the Persians, immediately opened negotiations, and surrendered the place, on condition that all the Christians should go to the English, and all the Moslems to the Moslems, who forthwith massacred the lot without mercy. The English sent the Portuguese soldiers, 300 men, into the fort at Ormuz, causing great surprise; they brought Ruy Freire here, having promised in the terms of surrender to land him on the Surat coast within 40 days. The four other English ships, with two Portuguese prizes, remained at Ormuz to help the Persians in the capture of the fort and city'.

On 9th', 'received news that at Burhānpur, on the 2nd, Sultān Khurram had personally strangled his elder brother named Sultān Khusraw with a cord,[10] no one else being present'. [I omit a description of dynastic affairs, which is obviously not authoritative]. 'All the people of the country lamented sore over the death of this Prince, for he was a soldier, and good-

9. See the Introduction to *EF*. ii. for a connected account of the operations at Ormuz.

10. See Mr. Beni Prasad's *History of Jahāngīr*, p. 336, for a review of the evidence on this question. The description of Khurram as 'an ignorant man' cannot be accepted in the ordinary sense of the words; possibly something heard in conversation was misunderstood.

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natured, while Prince Sultān Khurram is a severe and ignorant man'.

On 16th, nine or ten Malabar vessels arrived; hitherto they had never come so late in the season. On 25th, very late in the season, a Surat ship left for Mocha. On 21st, I went on board the *Wesp,* which, though it was somewhat late in the season, I intended to despatch, along with the frigate *Surat,* 'During the night Captain Ruy Freire, with two of his officers, escaped by boat from the English ship *Lion* owing to careless watch, which brought the English no great honour'.

April. On 2nd, returned to Surat, and on 3rd, the *Wesp* and and *Surat* sailed for Batavia. On 7th, the English ships *Lion, Rose,* and *Dick* [*Richard*] sailed for Mocha. On 26th, the Gujarāt ship returned from Achin, after what was said to be a very profitable voyage. Cargo: much tin from Perak, some pepper, small quantities of nutmegs, cloves, benzoin, camphor, etc. The ship left Achin on 11th February, making the voyage two months and 15 days. On 27th, arrived a *tauri* of Cihiri[11] [in text, Catsini in margin], which had gone there last year with a pass from me: came in 35 days, coasting nearly all the way. On 29th, the Tocoly [*ante*] reached Dĭū from Mocha. Merchants of Ahmadābād, Cambay and Surat had in her more than 900,000 rupees in cash; the share of Dĭū merchants was thought to be still larger, so that the total was more than 2,800,000 guilders [in margin, 2,500,000 rupees].

May. On 25th, the King of Castini's ship arrived after a voyage of 19 days. 'She brought us the mournful news that our people in Mocha were in great trouble owing to the capture of Moslem ships by the *Samson* and *Wesp;* they also said that two Dutch ships were cruising off the island of Babelmandel.' On 31st, it rained for a short time.

June. On 23rd, heard that 17 *tauris* coming from Goa had been lost off Dabhol.

July. On 19th, 'to my great surprise three drops of blood fell from my nose as I was coming from Anthonny's!'

August. On 16th, in Surat five men were beheaded for theft, and a woman was buried alive up to the waist and then stoned to death, for receiving the stolen property. On 22nd, a *baniyan's* ship arrived from Hodeida in the Red Sea.

September. On 10th, our pinnace *Surat* arrived from the Red Sea, and brought news [not given] of our people in Mocha, where she had left the *Wapen van Zeeland* and the *Noordt*

11. *Tauri,* a small vessel. Cihiri is probably Shehr, on the coast of Arabia.

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[*North*] *Holland*. On 21st, the English *Dick* [*Richard*] arrived from Mocha. In the evening the *Salamati* of Surat also arrived from Mocha with more than 800 persons, and over 200,000 ducats in gold and silver, but little cargo. On 27th, Surat merchants despatched to Achin a ship with a valuable cargo of cotton goods. On 29th, the English *Lion* arrived from Mocha.

October. On 1st, two 'ships of defence', *Wapen van Zeeland* and *North Holland*, arrived from the Red Sea.[12] I at once went to Swally, but could not get on board owing to the weather. On 4th, the four English ships commanded by John Weddell arrived from Ormuz; and, before they had anchored, the *Good Fortune* and *South Holland* arrived with Admiral Jacob Dedel, thus uniting the four 'ships of defence'. Being still unable to get on board, returned to Swally for the night. Heard that the English and Persians had taken Ormuz; and that, after losing the pinnace Hardt in the river [blank in MS], Admiral Dedel with these two ships, and the English *Exchange, Anne* and *Diamond,* had found four carracks and one galleon coming from Portugal with the Viceroy on board, and had driven one ashore, while two others had been burnt after reaching Mozambique. On 10th, the monsoon began to change; 'the natives said the rains had not lasted so long for many years'. On 13th, three English ships, *Blessing, Discovery* and *Reformation*, arrived from England under Captain Hall. On 14th, 'while I was on board, a Hindu woman burnt herself alive with her husband's corpse in the village of [?] Solparre,[13] about two kos from Surat, six or eight Dutchmen from the factory being present. The corpse was laid on straw and other fuel near the river; the woman went very bravely and of her own free will to sit beside it, and allowed a straw hut to be built over her. This being done, she took a lighted candle in her hand and began to pray. The bystanders, who were mostly brāhmans, began to make such an outcry that nobody could hear the laments of the woman, who had now set fire to the hut with the candle: in short, she was forthwith burnt to ashes'. On 25th, Admiral Dedel sailed with the *Good Fortune, Wapen van Holland* and *South Holland,* leaving the *North Holland* to take in goods for Batavia.

November. On 1st, a Gujarāt ship arrived richly laden, from Jidda. On 3rd, the English ships of defence, *Exchange, Anne* and

12. The Treaty of Defence, made in 1619, provided for the maintenance by the Dutch and English of a joint 'fleet of defence'; see *EF*. ii, *passim,* for its activities. Jacob Dedel was Admiral; Humphrey Fitzherbert, the first Vice-Admiral, died, and was succeeded by Michael Green.

13. This may represent Phūlpāra, a village N. E. of Surat.

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Diamond, arrived; one Green was in command in place of the deceased Vice-Admiral. On 6th, Admiral Dedel returned to harbour.

December. On 2nd, after all the goods for Batavia had been put on board the *North Holland,* Admiral Dedel sailed with the fleet of defence to lie off Goa; the fleet included four Dutch and three English ships, but the *Diamond* stayed behind to take in water and fuel. On 17th, the pinnaces *Heusden* and *Wesp,* commanded by Francois Lemmens, arrived from Batavia with cash and goods. On 18th, I went on board to make arrangements, and on 19th came ashore. The same day four English ships and a pinnace left for Ormuz with freight-goods. On 24th, sent the *Wesp* and *Mocha* to Admiral Dedel to communicate the Governor-General's letters [presumably received by the *Heusden*].

(To be continued.)

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Half a Century of the Maratha Navy

(Readership Lectures to the Calcutta University, 1931)

BY

SURENDRANATH SEN, M.A., PH. D., B. LITT.

INTRODUCTION.

The Konkan coast measures some two hundred miles from Bombay to Goa. It is this narrow strip of land open to the sea that made the Maratha navy possible and shaped the history of the Maratha sea power.

The first requisite of sea power is the sea. But access to the sea alone does not necessarily lead to the growth of a fighting fleet. Without convenient ports and harbours, without a sea-faring population and without a steady supply of ship-building material, a country cannot aspire to maritime ascendancy even though its sea board may be fairly extensive. Luckily for the Marathas the western coast of their native province was to a greater or lesser extent blessed with each of these three requisites. The physical features of this coast as well as the common characteristics of its people were fully reflected in the brief history of the Maratha Navy.

Viewed from the sea, the coast presents an apparently unbroken line of hills. Some times the massive boulders rise abruptly from the surging water, sometimes a thin line of sandy beach intervenes between the towering rocks and buffeting ocean. Had appearances been true there would be no naval basis for the Maratha seamen and their maritime projects would have been nipped in the bud; but in reality the rocky rampart is frequently broken by estuaries and creeks, and the small islets in the near neighbourhood easily admit of fortification. About twelve miles from Bombay lie the twin islands of Khanderi and Underi; the former, held by a Maratha garrison, and the latter, in the possession of the Sidis of Janjira, commanded the entrance of the Bombay harbour. Seven miles to the south stood the famous naval station of Alibag at the mouth of a tidal creek named after the village of Sakhar on its southern shores. Further south we come across the more considerable Roha creek where the Kundalika falls into the sea. It forms the northern boundary of the remnant of *Habshan*, the land of the Habshis or Abyssinians. On the right bank of the Kundalika is the

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famous stronghold of Chaul or Revadanda, which in the days of its prosperity could boast of a commodious harbour and provided a safe retreat for the Portuguese fleet. The Habshi state is divided into two unequal halves by the gulf and creek of Rajpuri. The creek penetrates far into the mainland and at its very entrance we find the fortified island of Janjira. "Five or six miles inside of the island, crafts of not more than four feet draught can sail at all times. Further inland it is navigable at high tide only". The creeks and estuaries with their naval strongholds multiply as we proceed further south along the coast of the modern district of Ratnagiri. On the south shore of the estuary of the Savitri river stands Bankot or Fort Victoria. Then follow the well-known stronghold of Suvarnadurg at the head of a small natural bay, Dabhol on the northern and Anjanvel on the southern banks of the Vashishṭhi, Jaygad on the creek formed by the Shastri, Ratnagiri on the Bhatiya, Purangad at the mouth of the Muchukundi, and Jaytapur at the entrance of the Rajapur river. One hundred and seventy miles from Bombay, where the Vaghotan river disembogues into the sea, stands Vijaydrug or Gheria, the Griem of the Portuguese writers, which earned for its strength and impregnability a reputation comparable to that of Gibraltar alone. Devgad with its land locked harbour was far less important; but Malavan or Sindhudurg, Melondim as the Portuguese preferred to call it after the neighbouring mart of Maland, once formed the naval arsenal of the great Shivaji. Here an image of the Maratha hero still receives worship from the descendants of his faithful crew. In the eighteenth century it became known to the trading nations of Europe as the home of the formidable Malavan pirates. The only other port that deserves mention in this connection is Vengurla where the Dutch had a trading settlement. Here came their fighting fleet for provision and fuel when occasions arose. The port is closed during the South-west monsoon but is not always judged safe even in the fair season.

These ports and harbours, creeks and estuaries, gulfs and bays played a part in the naval history of the Marathas more important than is at first sight suspected. Strong by nature and fortified by man, the strongholds suffered from one irreparable disadvantage. The havens were in most cases shallow and the estuaries did not always afford a safe riding to vessels of heavy draught at low tide. The Maratha admirals based their tactics on this feature as well as another peculiarity of their coast. We learn from Grose that "the land and sea breezes on this coast, blow alternately in the twenty-four hours, and divide the day; so that vessels sailing along the coast are obliged to keep in sight of land, as the land winds do not

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reach more than forty miles out to sea."[1] The Maratha fleet therefore crept along the coast and sought safety in the familiar shoals in the face of an adversary of greater burden. Nor had the vagaries of land and sea breeze an insuperable difficulty for the Maratha sea man. When a calm befell or the wind was unfavourable the sailing ship was towed in the desired direction by numerous rowing crafts which formed a considerable proportion of the fleet.

If the peculiarities of the coast dictated the naval tactics of the Maratha it is no wonder that they should influence the personnel of the fleet as well. The maritime districts do not form an integral part of Maharashtra. They are cut off from the main land of the Deccan by a steep mountain wall and are accessible only through a small number of narrow passes. The coast had a seafaring population from the earliest times and the Portuguese commerce suffered not a little from the pirates of Sangameshwar. But the inhabitants of the main land could not claim any familiarity with the sea and the naval service had for them but little attraction. Shivaji had to depend on the Koli and Bhandari recruits for manning his fleet, but they were by no means sufficiently numerous. A glance at the map will show that the maritime districts are not very extensive in area. In proportion to their length their breadth is very inconsiderable, never exceeding sixty miles and sometimes no more than thirty. While the land near the sea is exceptionally fertile a large area consists of nothing but basalt and laterite rocks. The population could not therefore be very considerable at any time. Of them the sailors formed an insignificant fraction. According to the Census of 1872, the fishers and sailors formed but 3.29 per cent of the Hindus in Ratnagiri; in Kolaba their numerical strength was slightly superior, forming 4.60 per cent. of the entire Hindu population. Figures for the period under survey are not available but it may be safely assumed that the change in government has not adversely affected the numerical strength of the sea-farers of the Konkan. The Mahomedans supplied a larger number of recruits for the navy. The Daldis were fishermen by profession; the Konkani Muslims were probably descended from Arab immigrants and the sea had no dread for them. No wonder that the large majority of Shivaji's admirals were Muslims by faith, and even when a naval tradition had been created by the Marathas the Muhammadans continued to occupy positions of trust and responsibility in their navy. If the main land of Maharashtra had an easy access to and uninterrupted communication with the

1. Grose, *A Voyage to the East Indies* Vol. II, p. 213.

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Arabian sea things might have conceivably been different and the navy might draw a considerable number of Maratha recruits. As it is the personnel of the fleet remained mainly non-Maratha in character and foreigners of all nationalities were eagerly employed because a sufficient number of native experts was not available. But for the isolation of the Konkan coast the Maratha navy might have been a national institution like the Maratha army.

The hamlets of Konkan were deficient in sea-faring people, but the forests of Kolaba and Ratnagiri, Janjira and Savantwari yielded excellent timber and that in plenty. Teak is found in all the twelve blocks of Kolaba forest. It is plentiful in the Habshan hills, though those of Ratnagiri are not of good quality. Teak-made ships were expensive, it is true, but both Grose and Stavorinus testify to their durability. The Dutch Admiral was of opinion that an Indian ship made of teak wood could "navigate the seas for a hundred years together." We learn from the same authority that the natives of Western India "have a peculiar way of preserving their ships' bottom, by occasionally rubbing into them an oil which they call wood-oil, which the planks imbibe, and it serves greatly to nourish and keep them from decay."

The Marathas never came into possession of the entire Konkan coast. They had been rather late in the field and were forestalled by others. No less than six rival powers contended for supremacy in this region. At one time the Portuguese fleet dominated the whole coast from their naval stations at Bassein, Chaul and Goa. Their ascendancy was visibly on the wane and they had more enemies than friends. Bombay once belonged to the Portuguese crown but was presented to Charles II as part of the dowry of his queen. The King had no use for the unhealthy island and it passed into the possession of the East India Company. The transfer however had not been effected with good grace on the part of Portuguese Government of India and bitter feelings survived on both sides. Besides the English and the Portuguese, the only non-Maratha power on the coast was the Sidi of Janjira. When the Abyssinian sailors first rose to power we do not know. Early in the 17th century they held the island and a good slice of the coast on behalf of the Sultan of Ahmadnagar. After the Mughul conquest of that kingdom the territories held by the Sidis passed under the jurisdiction of Bijapur but this change did not adversely affect the quasi-independent position of the Abyssinian admiral. When Shivaji turned his arms against the chiefs of Janjira and reduced the major part of their principality on the main land they readily transferred their allegiance to the Emperor of Delhi and subsequently became the admirals of the Imperial fleet. The Sidis succeeded in

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recovering part of their lost ground while Shivaji was still alive. During the turmoil that followed the capture and death of Sambaji they again became the most predominant power in Konkan and when Shahu ascended his grand-father's throne the Sidis held Raigad, the seat of Shivaji's government. The dissension in the royal house considerably weakened the Maratha power, but by the second decade of the eighteenth century the credit of the Maratha navy was restored by Kanhoji Angria who had by that time become the chief commander of the Maratha fleet. The naval stronghold of Malwan was held by a partisan of Kolhapur. The seamen of Malwan co-operated with Angria on rare occasions and usually consulted their own interests in forming their plans and formulating their policy. The chief of Savantwari, otherwise styled the Sardesai of Kudal, was closely connected with the Maratha royal family and bore the same surname as Shivaji. His branch however rose to prominence much earlier, and although he was constrained from time to time to acknowledge the suzerainty of Satara or Kolhapur, he ruled over his principality with sovereign authority. He had a fleet of his own and like his neighbours he also tried to exercise his rights of sovereignty over the sea in the customary way of the coast. The most important port in his State was Vingurla, and as the Dutch had a factory there they also became involved in the naval rivalries of this area. To the trading nations of Europe the chief of Savantwari was known as Khem Savant, after the most distinguished ruler of the State and his followers were called Khemsavants as the sailors of Kolaba and Gheria were called Angrias and those of Sindhudurg, the Malwans.

All the naval powers of the Konkan coast expected merchant men of all nationalities to purchase their passport unless they were exempted from such an obligation by express treaty terms. Any failure in this respect was severely punished and the defaulting ship was liable to confiscation with its cargo. The custom prevailed in the Malabar coast, though in a slightly different form as early as the days of Ibn Batuta.[2] The Portuguese in the heyday of their maritime suzerainty compelled all nations to procure their passport before their vessels could venture into Indian waters. The Maratha admirals emulated this example and advanced similar claims when they felt themselves strong enough to enforce their traditional right

2. Gibb, *Ibn Batuta, Travels in Asia and Africa*, p. 233 "It is a custom of theirs that every ship that passes by town must needs anchor at it and give a present to the ruler. This they call the "right of *bandar*". If any one omits to do this, they sail out in pursuit of him, bring him into the port by force, double the tax on him, and prevent him from proceeding on his journey for as long as they wish".

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and the maritime struggles of the first half of the eighteenth century centred round this peculiar practice in which the sovereignty of the sea was supposed to find a suitable expression.

LECTURE II.

Kanhoji Angria.

1698-1729.

Shivaji was not a sailor but he was the first general of his race to perceive the importance of sea power. The Maratha navy was still in its infancy when its great founder died but it was destined to survive the disasters that befell the Maratha arms on the main land. The two decades that intervene between the death of Shivaji and the rise of Kanhoji do not constitute a total blank in the naval history of Maharashtra, and although the Marathi chronicles seldom throw any light on their exploits, we get an occasional glimpse of the fleet and its leaders. We learn from a letter addressed by Francisco da Tavora, the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa, to Sambhaji on the 28th July, 1682, that the Maratha fleet often harassed the Portuguese merchant men while engaged in their peaceful pursuits. Shortly after Rajaram's flight to Jinji a Maratha vessel circumnavigated Cape Comorin and safely conveyed the ladies of the royal family to their new abode in the Madras Presidency. The details of this voyage have unfortunately not been preserved but it may be fairly assumed that the Maratha sea men considered the high way of the sea perfectly safe while the route overland was deemed dangerous. Nor were they content with a policy of least resistance, for Dom Pedro Antonio de Noronha, Conde de Villa Verde, complained in 1695 in his letter to the newly appointed Maratha Governor of Konkan, that though Ramachandra Pandit, the regent, professed nothing but friendship for the Portuguese, he permitted his gallivats to infest their territorial water and make prizes of their trading crafts. The Maratha admirals were not however always unfriendly to their neighbours of Goa, as seven years later Bhavanji Mohite, Subhedar of Sindhudrug, received a letter of thanks for restoring a captured Manchua to its Portuguese owner, and in 1705 a similar epistle was addressed to Daud Khan, Sarnobat of Shivaji II's fleet in acknowledgement of the kindness the Portuguese men-of-war had received from him in

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the ports of Kanara. Why this Muslim admiral held a military title we do not know but it is strangely reminiscent of Robert Blake's designation of "General of the Sea."

In the opening years of the eighteenth century the numerical strength of the Maratha fleet must have been inconsiderable. But it had scoured the sea for four decades and could boast of a creditable record which had been sadly wanting in the fifties of the preceding century. The Marathas in Shivaji's day had no naval tradition, but his sons had employed at least half a dozen able Captains of their own race in the fleet and one of these Kanhoji Angria accomplished what Shivaji had attempted in vain. For three decades Kanhoji dominated the entire Konkan coast and his fleet became a terror to the trading nations of the west. Feared by his foes, respected by his friends, Kanhoji raised the maritime prestige of his people to a pinnacle never before attained and never surpassed.

Of his early career we hardly know anything. His father Tukoji Sankhpal, according to the official account of the family, served under Shivaji and was posted at the naval station of Suvarnadurg. It is here that his famous son must have spent his early years and served his first apprenticeship in the navy which he was destined to command. The wild stories of his Arabian parentage or Abyssinian origin may be dismissed as utterly baseless. Equally unfounded was the Portuguese myth that he had once aspired to the hand of Shivaji's widow. Nor does it seem likely that he had ever been an inhabitant of the Portuguese island of Versova though the story comes from no less a personage than Conde de Ericeira. In view of his future greatness Kanhoji was a man of humble origin, for his father held no higher rank than that of a commander of two hundred. But it seems improbable that Kanhoji at any stage in his career was reduced to common servitude and earned his living as a menial in the Hindu houses of his native place. He earned his first laurels at Suvarnadurg, if the official account is to be credited. The stronghold was severely assailed by a strong force of the Sidi and Achloji Mohite, the Maratha commander was contemplating capitulation when Kanhoji took matters in his own hand, led a forlorn cause, and saved the place. His daring and resourcefulness soon brought Kanhoji to the notice of his sovereign and he gradually rose to be the second in command of the Maratha fleet. In 1698 he was appointed Chief Admiral by Rajaram and within ten years his fleet became so formidable that a Portuguese writer compared him with the famous Barbarossa, justly dreaded as the scourge of the Mediterranean.

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With his head-quarters at Kolaba, Kanhoji was in the happy position to command and control the high road of sea-borne trade that literally passed by his door. With Bombay, Bassein and Surat on the north, and Chaul, Janjira and Goa on the south, the Kolaba fleet could keep a vigilant eye on all vessels sailing from the north to the south and *vice versa* while the intermediate ports offered safe asylums in case of emergency and danger. From the very beginning of his career Kanhoji was resolved to exercise the sovereignty of the sea, as it was then understood, and make prizes of all vessels unprovided with his pass, irrespective of their nationality. His fleet, if Conde de Ericeira was correctly informed, consisted at first of eight or ten gallivats only, but his prowess was soon rewarded with rich spoils and his neighbours copiously, though involuntarily, contributed to his coffers. With increasing wealth Kanhoji found little difficulty in augmenting his fleet but the very process involved hostilities with his neighbours among whom the English and the Portuguese were the most prosperous and powerful. The Sidi of Janjira was the avowed enemy of his king and therefore his legitimate prey.

Of the two European nations the English were to suffer first. The cause of their early dissension with Angria still remains obscure though it may be safely surmised that Kanhoji wanted them to buy his pass. In 1702 a Calicut boat with six Englishmen fell into his hands. It was useless to protest, for Kanhoji was not the man to be easily intimidated. In 1704 'Mr. Reynolds was deputed to find him and tell him that he could not be permitted searching, molesting, or seizing vessels in Bombay waters.' But his expostulations had no effect and Kanhoji charged the English with bad faith and threatened 'to seize their boats wherever he could find them.' He was as good as his word and three years later attacked an English man-of-war which was destroyed after a short encounter. In 1710 he boldly attacked another English ship in the very neighbourhood of Bombay. Though he was defeated on this occasion his naval supremacy remained unshaken. In 1712 he captured the Governor of Bombay's yacht the *Samuel and Mary*, and an English ketch from Karwar *the Anne*. Next year he was constrained to compose his differences with the English, not because he was particularly afraid of them, but because he had too many nuts in the fire and was prepared to forego some in order to save the rest. Kanhoji was not merely a sailor, he was also a diplomat of uncommon ability.

With the Portuguese he was at peace at the beginning. He wanted a market for his prizes and the Portuguese government

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were prepared to accommodate him while he found suitable customers in the merchants of Chaul, as appears from a letter of the Viceroy Caetano de Mello de Castro, dated the 8th November 1703. We do not know how Kanhoji appreciated this concession but amicable relations apparently did not endure long. From a letter of the Viceroy to His Majesty the King of Portugal, dated the 11th December, 1708, we learn that the Portuguese State was still engaged in a war with Kanhoji Angria. He had indeed repeatedly sued for peace but the Viceroy paid no heed to his friendly advances as he had beheaded in cold blood all the captives he had taken in two Portuguese manchuas. His villages in the neighbourhood of Chaul were harassed and a Captain I. C. Mor, Antonio Cardim Froes, had particularly distinguished himself in this campaign (Monsões F. 3. pl. 11). When exactly the war commenced and why, we do not precisely know although we may reasonably surmise that Portuguese refusal to acknowledge Kanhoji's claims in the sea must have provided the *causus belli.* The manchuas, mentioned above, it may be pointed out, were not trading vessels but fighting ships of the northern fleet. The date of this naval action is yet unknown but from a contemporary Portuguese manuscript we learn that of the two manchuas one was burnt and the other captured by Kanhoji. Of the twenty-seven prisoners all, except one, were put to the sword. The captain saved his life by paying a big ransom of 12,000 xerafins or Rs. 6,000. This was not the first time that Kanhoji had measured his strength with the Portuguese. His first victims were trading vessels with rich cargo but shortly before his engagement with the manchuas, mentioned above, he had captured a Portuguese Pal of war which was going from Chaul to Bassein. The Pal must have provided a very rich booty, for among its passengers was the retiring governor of Chaul. At this period Kanhoji's fleet consisted of six Pals carrying sixteen to eighteen pieces of artillery and thirty gallivats specially equipped for war.

Heavily as they had suffered from the depredations of Angria's fleet, the Portuguese still omitted to provide their merchant fleet with suitable convoys. At one time they were the foremost maritime power in India but they could not safely bank on their past credit for ever. A shrewd observer like Kanhoji could not but notice the steady decline of Portuguese ascendancy in the east, and in 1712 he dealt a stunning blow at the commerce of Goa. The merchant fleet of the North sailed under the convoy of two frigates only under the command of Dom Luis da Costa, the nephew of the Viceroy. Angria fell upon this fleet and went straight for the flag ship which was

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promptly disabled. The second frigate succeeded in running away to Goa with a few parangues but more than forty of these boats fell into Kanhoji's hands. The merchants and private citizens of Goa had largely invested their capital in this fleet and its loss was a calamity of unprecedented magnitude. This achievement added so much to Kanhoji's power and prestige that Luiz de Mello, General of the North, permitted his brother to procure Angria's passes for his trading ships.

Another blow of this magnitude would mean the utter ruin of the Portuguese power in India and the next Viceroy wisely provided for a stronger convoy. In 1713 the merchant fleet sailed under the protection of three frigates, four pals, two manchuas and a pinnace (pataxo). But nothing daunted, Angria hovered about with four pals and six gallivats. As two of the convoying pals kept much behind the rest to protect a slow going vessel the Maratha fleet found an opportunity of engaging one of them and a running battle was fought for two days and nights before they withdrew.

The Portuguese were indeed in a very sad plight. The rising power of Angria had rendered their naval stations extremely insecure. Chaul depended mainly on imported provision and Chaul was within striking distance of Kolaba. It was, therefore, urgently needed that they should take some effective measures to remedy this growing evil and they naturally suggested to their fellow sufferers of Bombay that a joint expedition should be made against the common enemy. Governor Aislabie, however, preferred peaceful negotiations to an expensive war, and Angria was in an accommodating mood, for the Portuguese were not the only enemy he had to deal with.

In 1713 there were two claimants to the Maratha throne and the Maratha nobles were divided in their allegiance. When Rajaram died, his nephew Shahu was a prisoner in the Mughul camp and he was quietly succeeded by his minor son Shivaji II. Shivaji II was a boy of undeveloped intellect but his mother Tārā Bai was a masterful lady of unbounded energy and unlimited ambition. When Shahu returned home in 1707 Tārā Bai refused to acknowledge his claims and prepared to fight for her son's rights to the bitter end. During the stormy days of Rajaram feudalism had been unwisely revived, and Shahu and Tārā Bai now vied with each other to purchase the support of the feudal chiefs. The officers of the army and navy were no longer the paid servants of the State and they seldom lost any opportunity of self-aggrandisement, particularly when their selfish interests could be reconciled with the cause of their king. In the civil

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war that ensued Kanhoji enlisted himself on Tārā Bai's side but he was for all practical purposes an independent ruler. As early as 1704 the English of Bombay described him as a "Rebel independent of the Rajah Sivajee". Unlike Shivaji's admirals he took no order from his nominal suzerain, nor were his activities confined to the sea. He maintained a strong force on the land and captured many fortresses from Shahu's partisans. In 1713 Shahu sent his Peshwa Bahiro Pant Pingle against Kanhoji, but Angria defeated his Brahman adversary and took him prisoner. In the same year Shahu sent Balaji Vishwanath to retrieve his lost position on the western coast. Balaji tried conciliation and converted a formidable foe into a steadfast friend. Kanhoji offered allegiance to Shahu, relinquished his conquests in land and obtained in return twenty six strongholds, big and small on the sea coast. He was formally appointed by his new sovereign to the office of Chief Admiral which he already held, and his new acquisition of Khanderi or Keneri enabled him to control the entrance to Bombay harbour. Some of the strongholds granted to him on this occasion were still held by the Sidi but it appears that the Janjira Chief also came to terms with him after a brief contest. Thus when the Portuguese Viceroy decided to blockade him in his stronghold of Kolaba, Kanhoji had settled his differences with the English of Bombay. Early next year he concluded a lasting peace with Shahu of Satara. In 1715 his long war with the Sidi was brought to an honourable conclusion. In 1710 he had created a fresh enemy in the Dutch by capturing a sloop of theirs, but they were not in a position to cause him much annoyance.

In 1713 Kanhoji had given the Portuguese a fresh offence by attacking one of their frigates conveying provision and reinforcement to Chaul. For some time past Angria had been openly boasting that he could reduce Chaul and Karanja whenever he liked and the Viceroy Vasco Ferandes Ceasar de Menedes at last sent a strong fleet of five pals, eight gallivats and two manchuas against Kolaba. One of the most distinguished Portuguese officers of this time, Antonio Cardim Froes, was appointed to lead the expedition. He blockaded the harbour but lack of a land force prevented him from attempting a complete siege. From October to December the Portuguese fleet lay before Kolaba but it could not make any impression on the enemy. At last Froes had to withdraw to face a fresh danger that threatened the trading ships of his country. An Arab fleet had appeared before Surat and had already captured a Portuguese ship from China. Angria's stronghold was very well provided with munitions of war but the Viceroy complained to the Emperor of Delhi that

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Angria might have been totally annihilated if the Sidis had invaded his territories by land when the Portuguese blockaded his headquarters by sea.

It was useless to invoke the Emperor's aid against Kanhoji; it was futile to inform the Mughul ruler that Angria's triumph meant the ruin of Surat. He was too far off and too weak to be of any real use. The Sidi either would not or could not do anything to check the growing ascendancy of Angria. But the Viceroy found a willing ally in Sambhaji of Kolhapur. To him Kanhoji was a traitor and rebel who deserved condign punishment. Accordingly a treaty was concluded between the two states with a view to the reduction of Angria's strongholds. The Portuguese fleet undertook to co-operate with the army and navy of Kolhapur, they offered to supply Sambhaj with munitions of war if necessary, an alliance was concluded, the treaty was signed and ratified in March 1716 but apparently nothing further was accomplished. Sambhaji was no match for the Barborossa of Konkan. Next year a new Viceroy, the far famed Conde de Ericeira, arrived at Goa and he tells us that Kanhoji offered no insult to the Portuguese State during his term of office except once when four of Angria's vessels were defeated by two Portuguese men-of-war near Anjidiva. But we have reason to believe that while Kanhoji refrained from molesting Portuguese men-of-war on the high sea the fishermen and trading people of Chaul and Bassein dared not launch their boats without his permit and preferred to pay him a regular tribute rather than incur his displeasure. For the time being Kanhoji had no war to wage; in 1715 he had concluded a treaty with the Sidi of Janjira and in 1718 he considered himself so secure as to undertake a journey to Jejury where he made his homage and paid his allegiance to Shahu. But appearances were deceptive and the very same year witnessed the beginning of a war between the English of Bombay and the Lord of Kolaba that was destined to last for thirty-eight long years.

The lengthy war was preceded by a bitter controversy, and insinuations of bad faith were freely exchanged. In February 1713 Kanhoji had voluntarily sought peace with the English and offered to restore the vessels he had captured if an Englishman of credit was sent to Kolaba. The treaty concluded on that occasion was in force until war broke out in 1718. The terms were quite unambiguous and had been carefully worded to safeguard the interests of the two contracting parties. The English demanded that Kanhoji should restore all that he had taken "that belonged to the Company and our people". That he should not

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on any pretence whatever "meddle with any English ships or with the ships belonging to the merchants who live under the protection of the English as Madras, Bengal, or any other Factories or colonies belonging to the English whatsoever." They further demanded that ships coming to or going from Bombay should enjoy immunity from Angria's fleet irrespective of their nationality while within sight of the harbour of Bombay, and lest there should be any misunderstanding about the neutral area it was clearly specified that the space between Mahim Stakes and Khanderi was meant. The English subjects were to be permitted to trade freely in Kanhoji's ports on the payment of the usual customs and he was moreover expected to afford them protection against the vessels of Shivaji Raja and Shahu Raja. The English on their part promised not to permit ships or vessels of other nations to wear their colours and to throw open their ports to the subjects of Angria. Kanhoji was prepared to accept these terms and proposed a few additional articles. Of the six articles suggested by Kanhoji three were roundly rejected but the remaining three demand our attention. As the English were anxious to secure the freedom of the sea for their ships so was Kanhoji eager to exercise in his master's name but in his own interest the sovereignty of the sea. The major part of his revenue was derived from this source and he could not therefore afford to forego these profitable claims. It is on this account that he wanted a clear understanding from the English, whose flags he henceforth undertook to respect, that their protection would not be extended to vessels other than their own even if they might be bound for Bombay or leaving that port. The English replied that they would convoy such ships out of the sight of their port; this area having been clearly defined in the third article proposed by them, the natural assumption is that Angria might deal with such boats as he pleased once they were beyond the specified limit. Secondly, Angria had a large number of aliens in his service and apparently he was not in a position to man his fleet with his own nationals alone. He therefore suggested that "Mariners, inhabitants of your island, that shall desire to serve me of their own free will leaving their families on the island shall not be hindered by you, and also those who, having served here and come to their houses, have been detained by you and have given security; I desire you to discharge their securities, and that those persons may be free." To this request the Bombay Council replied that they would not hinder "mariners inhabitants of Bombay that of their own free will will serve" Angria, and expected reciprocity in the matter. They also agreed to permit Angria's Grabs and Galli-

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vats to come to and leave Bombay without any impediment. But the Bombay Government definitely refused to sell him powder and shot, and to allot him any place for manufacturing munitions. As regards his suggestion of mutual support and co-operation in times of need, the English preferred to retain their freedom to act as they thought fit. Angria's messenger later informed that his master was prepared to accept the first proposals of the English but he desired that these articles should be formally incorporated in an agreement, confirmed by the seal of the Company and delivered to the Chief of Kolaba by an Englishman of credit. The English did not think very highly of Kanhoji's trustworthiness and suspected treachery. The Governor and Council were therefore unwilling to ask any of the Company's servants to put his neck inside the wolfe's jaws, but Lt. Mackintosh volunteered to go to Kolaba in consideration of a gratuity of one-thousand rupees. The treaty was then drawn in English and the country language, and Lt. Mackintosh left for Kanhoji's headquarters, and on the 22nd of February he returned with the *Anne* ketch and the prisoners. Kanhoji promised to restore the yacht and the Company's goods before long. From subsequent correspondence it appears that the yacht was returned without its mast and rigging. The peace was concluded, it must be admitted, with wonderful expedition and as Kanhoji's good faith had all along been under suspicion the treaty or agreement was very carefully worded. For three years Kanhoji did nothing in contravention of his undertaking but the mast and the rigging and the cargo of the captured boats remained a fruitful source of future dissention.

Aislabie's successor Charles Boone arrived at Bombay on the 26th December, 1715. He was a man of masterful spirit and was not likely to tolerate any serious omission on the part of Kanhoji. Angria also had some grievances, real or fictitious, against his new friends and his formal letters of compliment were soon succeeded by those of complaints wherein he alluded to "ill usage in return of the good offices he had done, and boasted of his success. The Governor answered (that) if he kept the articles of the treaty, it would be well: if he had just cause to complain, it should be remedied . . . . that the English never boasted of their performances, but let their actions do it." What ill usage Kanhoji had received from his neighbours of Bombay and what good services he had rendered them during the short interval of three years between the conclusion of the treaty in February 1713 and Boone's assumption of office in December, 1715, must remain a matter of conjecture for the time being.

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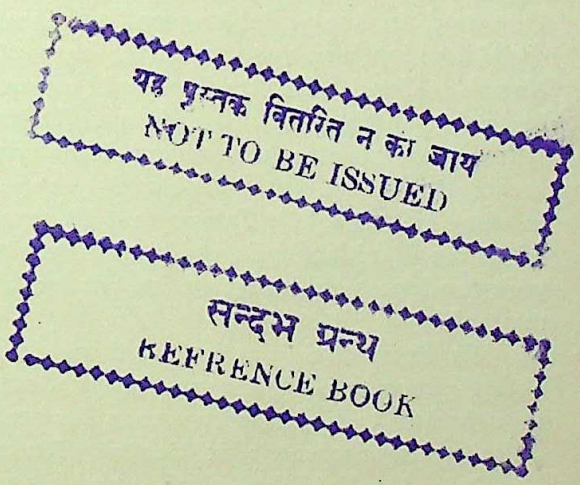
But apparently a storm was brewing; that it did not break out earlier was due to Boone's unpreparedness. Early in 1716 he informed his masters that "some outstanding claims would be pressed upon Kanhoji when the English were in a good posture to oppose him; till then keep fair, but must not be too supple." This indicates the policy that Boone pursued for the next three years. He was busily engaged in equipping a fleet to challenge Kanhoji's supremacy in the sea, he protested whenever Bombay received any offence from Angria but did not seek armed redress until he was fully prepared for a prolonged contest.

(*To be continued.*)



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Policy and Character of Mir Casim

BY

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Mir Casim, son of Mir Razi Khan and grandson of Imtiaz Khan, was of Persian origin.[1] His father was a Mansabdar under the Mogul Emperor, and possessed a jagir in Bengal, where he passed his days with comfort. Mir Casim married Fatema Begum, a daughter of Mir Jafar, and received some valuable articles and a large amount of money as dowry.

Early Career

Alivardi also paid him two hundred (?) rupees per month from his own treasury, but during his time and in that of his grandson Sirajuddowla, Mir Casim's social position was not very high; he was a mere courtier in the Nawab's Court. He appropriated a box of valuable jewellery belonging to Sirajuddowla's Begum Lutfunnisa, while both the latter were running away from Murshidabad. This helped him greatly to better his fortune and to maintain some cavalry and infantry. During Mir Jafar's first Governorship, he was appointed as the Faujdar of Rungpur and Purniah.[2] He was a man of parts and possessed a good knowledge of astrology and mathematics.[3]

His firm administration of these two places, and his other abilities soon created a name for him, and the English Governor thought him to be the proper man for remedying the evils of Mir Jafar's misgovernment of Bengal. Accordingly, after deposing Mir Jafar the English Governor and his party placed him on the masnad of Bengal on the 27th October, 1760.[4] Like Henry VII of England, who had gathered lessons from the Lancastrians as well as the Yorkists, Mir Casim had learnt some lessons from the regimes of Sirajuddowla and Mir Jafar.[5] Sirajuddowla's rule had taught him that the native Zemindars must be placed under

1. Khulāśa-ut-Tawārikh, p. 76b.
2. Ibid, p. 88a.
3. Ibid.
4. For details, vide, Original papers relating to the disturbances in Bengal, etc., vol. II.
5. Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 432.

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proper control and that he must be careful to watch their movements; and the Government of Mir Jafar had clearly demonstrated to him that the strength and life of his government would depend on the improvement of the economic condition of the state and on the proper reorganization of the military department. Mir Casim's policy was formed from these points of view, and he acted accordingly just after his accession.

When Mir Jafar was deposed, there was in his treasury "of ready money only forty or fifty thousand rupees, and about the value of three lacs in gold and silver plate."[6] Keeniram, Moonilal and Checon, the principal advisers of Mir Jafar, declared that the balances due from them were trifling. But the situation demanded a well-stocked treasury, because the troops were mutinous for the non-payment of their arrears of pay and the Company had not yet received the whole amount promised to them by Mir Jafar. Within a week or two after his accession Mir Casim satisfied the troops by promising to pay off their arrears in instalments.[7] To the Company he made over the districts of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong in lieu of the money that had been promised to them and for the expenses of their troops, and pawned some of his jewels with the members of the Council in Calcutta.[8] It is

His measures for the economic improvement of the State.

6. Extract of a letter from Mr. Vansittart and Colonel Caillaud, dated, Moradbag, 24th Oct. 1760, Narrative, Vol. I, pp. 139-140; Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh, p. 93 (a).

7. Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh, p. 92 (b).

8. Ibid, 93a; Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 391; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. I, p. 45. The sanad for the cession of Burdwan runs in the following official language :—

"To the Zemindars, Canoongoes, Talookdars, Tenants, Husbandmen and Chief villagers of the Pergunnah of Burdwan, etc., The Zemindaree of the Rajah Tilluck Chand, in the districts of the Subah of Bengal, be it known that whereas divers wicked people have traitorously stretched forth their hands to plunder the subjects, and waste the royal dominions for this reason the said Pergunnah, etc, is granted to the English Company in part disbursement of their expenses, and the monthly maintenance of five hundred European horse, two thousand European foot, and eight thousand sepoys, which are to be entertained for the protection of the royal dominions. Let the above officers quietly and contentedly attend and pay to the persons appointed by the English Company the stated revenues and implicitly submit in all things to their authority, and the office of the Collectors of the English Company is as follows :—

They shall continue the Zemindars and Tenants in their places, regularly collect the revenues of the lands, and deliver them in monthly for the

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found in the Second report of the Select Committee[9] that he also paid the following sums to the Members: —
to Mr. Vansittart as Governor and President of the Select Committee, Rs. 500,000; to Mr. Holwell, Rs. 270,000; to Mr. Sumner, Rs. 255,000; to Mr. McGuire, Rs. 255,000; to Colonel Cailland Rs. 200,000; to Mr. Culling Smith, Rs. 134,000; to Captain Yorke, Rs. 134,000.

Thus having satisfied the Company and the troops to some extent, Mir Casim proceeded to strengthen the financial resources of his government. At first he detected various cases of embezzlements on the part of the old officers and 'Muttaseddees'[10] and compelled them to render satisfactory accounts of their offices.[11] In this work he was assisted by some old officers "whom he took care to soothe into compliance, by taking them into his favour." He appointed as clerks in the treasury some of the old 'Muttaseddees' of Ali Vardi's time, and employed many of his faithful attendants as Nazirs, Controllers and Supervisors in several offices.[12] One of his most trustworthy friends, named Ali Ibrahim Khan, who possessed a fair talent of "discovering intuitively the decisive knot of the most intricate accounts, was proposed chiefly to the military examination, and to the business of ascertaining the real arrears due to the troops."[13] He appointed Sitaram, an old 'Muttaseddee' and accountant of the time of Ali Vardi, an auditor of the Dewani and an accountant in that department of the treasury from which pensions and other allowances were disbursed. Mir Munshi, who was his own Secretary and on whom he conferred the title of Hafiz Irsar Khan, was also entrusted with the task of auditing certain accounts and of determining

payment of the expenses of the Company, and the pay of the above-mentioned forces, that they may be always ready cheerfully and vigorously to promote the affairs of the King. Let this be punctually observed. Dated the 14 of the month Rubbeulawul 1st sun answering to the 1st of the month of Cartic 1176, Bengali style". Proceedings, November 17, 1760.
Sunnuds for the cession of Chittagong and Midnapur were also similarly worded.

9. p. 20; First Report, pp. 33-34; Carraccioli, Life of Clive, Vol. ii, p. 195.

10. Verelst explains "Muttaseddee" as "a general name for all officers employed in taking the accounts of Government, or any person of consequence". [The modern form is *Mutsaddi*, holder of a comparatively small charge or minor office—Editor].

11. Khulasat-ut-Tawārikh, pp. 92b-93b; Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II. p. 388.

12. Ibid.

13. Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 388.

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the net expenses of the state.[14] He then formed a budget of the income and expenses of his government, abolished the expenses on luxury, and curtailed many other unnecessary expenses, as for example, the expenses on the managerie department.[15] He converted the gold and silver articles in the Taziakhana into coins amounting to several lacs, and stopped the expenses for making Tazias.[16] During his stay at Patna he called Ramnarain, the Deputy Governor of that place, to account for "the quantum of the revenues he had hitherto received during his long administration, and the sum total of the expenditures he had made; the monies charged in the books, as paid to the Djaghiry-holders (jaigir-holders) of the Emperor's Court, and the Nawab's, and the receipts and vouchers of those disbursements; the sums charged as paid to the troops, with a comparative statement of the reviews made, and of the number of horses marked on the thigh, and borne on the books. Vouchers and regular accounts of all these he required of him in the auditing hall, in the presence of a large number of Ramnarain's own officers, and heads of office, with whom he had formed a large circle round the Governor's person."[16a] Ramnarain submitted to the Nawab's orders but he had already sent away some account books with his own men. They were, however, caught hold of by Mir Casim's people, one Sunder Singh being the first to fall within their clutches. He was put in confinement, and as he was found guilty of embezzlements in the army accounts, Jaigir-holders' accounts and in the receipts of the public income, his house was surrounded and 7 lacs in cash and many other effects were taken therefrom. But some of his effects were concealed in the houses of his cashiers Gangavishnu and Mansaram Sahu, rich bankers of Patna. So Mir Casim compelled these two men to pay vast sums of money, and similarly realised a considerable amount from Muralidhar, the head spy of Ramnarain, as well as from Mohammed Issac, the Kotwal or Police Inspector[16b] who had misappro-

14. Ibid, p. 389; Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh, pp. 92b-93b.

15. Ibid; ".. .. .. he curtailed his expenses .. .. for instance the ram office, the nightingale office, the antelope office, and some others, all belonging to the menagery department. Of all that multitude of animals, he kept only a few of each species, and made the rest over to the Zemindars of the provinces on their paying a certain price, which his treasury received from their agents". Seir, Vol. II, p. 391.

16. Muzāffarnāmah, p. 154b; Ryaz-us-salatin, p. 385.

16a. Seir, Vol. II, pp. 417-419.

16b. Ibid; Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh, pp. 103b-105b.

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priated much from the Government fund. He confiscated the effects of Chunilal and Munilal and realised vast sums from them.[17] So far Mir Casim followed a policy of "prudence and economy."[17a]

But in certain points he carried his measures too far. It is said that he extorted money from some of the old relatives and dependants of Ali Vardi and Mir Jafar as well as from those public women who had been lavishly paid by Miran and Mir Jafar, and credited the amount thus realised in the state treasury.[18] He extorted what he could from one Amanullah, who used to place inkstands before Nawab Ali Vardi, and from Mir Muksud Ali, who was the Superintendent of Ali Vardi's elephant-house.[19] Some of his revenue measures were somewhat strict and arbitrary. Francis writes:—"His principle is said to have been that whatever the Ryots paid should be the property of Government; thereby totally excluding all Zemindars. His officers acted accordingly. Their fear of him was so great, both from his skill in accounts and the rigour of his government, that his orders were punctually obeyed; so that partly from the direct produce of the lands, and partly by fines and confiscations it is believed that for two years, he drew almost double the ancient revenue from the coun-

17. Seir, Vol. II, p. 391; Khulāsat-ut-Tawārik, pp. 392b-393b. In this respect and in his treatment of the Zemindars, as we shall find later, the policy of Mir Casim might be well compared with that of Henry VII of England. As Henry's policy of squeezing out money from the nobles, with the help of his agents Empson and Dudley, had served to fill his treasury at the expense of the nobles, so this policy of Mir Casim enabled him to strengthen his financial resources and at the same time to curb the power of the wicked counsellors of Mir Jafar.

The situations at their accession on the thrones of their respective kingdoms were also somewhat similar. Henry VII was welcomed as the saviour of England from the evils of the Lancastrian and Yorkist misrule; and similarly Mir Casim was placed on the Masnad of Bengal to restore order and peace in the country which had been distracted as a result of Mir Jafar's misgovernment. But their ultimate fates were quite different. Henry was able to lay the strong foundations of the Tudor Monarchy, while Mir Casim's aims were completely frustrated. The former had the united support of the people of England behind him, while Mir Casim had to rule a country where such a support could never be expected.

17a. Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. I, pp. 138-140.

18. Ibid. Jagat Sing, a famous 'Mutaseddie' of Ali Vardi's time, prepared a list of his valuables and property and presented it to Mir Casim. The latter was highly pleased at this, and returned to Jagat Sing his property and jewels taking only a portion of it.

19. Muzāffarnāmah, p. 154 (b).

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try."[20] It is stated in the Fourth Report of the Committee of Secrecy, 1773, [21] that in 1760 Mir Casim "laid an additional tax of 1½ annas or 3|32 parts of the original crown rents and estimated this addition at Sicca Rupees, 4,50,164-2-9, which being added to the former revenue of 1,32,82,960-2-17-1 made the whole of these revenues in his time amount to 1,37,33,124-5-6-1 or £1,792,172 sterling". He also took possession of all such local collections as Khajiri-jama (Khadge jama), which had been hitherto concealed, "for the benefit of the provincial treasury, and the increment so obtained for the Nawab was spoken of as Kifayat (corruptly Keffyet) or profit" [22].

Military reforms

Mir Casim paid equal attention to the reorganisation of the military department. He placed the Armenian Gurgin Khan, brother of Khajwa Madar, in charge of this department, and ordered him to organise it after the European fashion.[23] He admitted English sepoys and their officers into his service and "made a vast quantity of firelocks or artillery".[24] He arranged for manufacturing guns and flint-muskets at Monghyr.[25] Shaik Saiyad Ali, an inhabitant of Lucknow, was given the post of (paymaster) and, after his death, his son Muhammad Ali and his nephews Farhat Ali and Barkat Ali were also appointed paymasters to four or five

20. Minutes, etc., p. 23.

21. p. 3, quoted in Firminger's Introduction to the Fifth Report, p. CXV.

22. Ibid, p. XI

Kifayat-i-sair: "the profit derived by bringing to account concealed exactions in custom duties, etc."

Kifayat-i-faujdari: "increased assessment on the frontier lands held by the military governor levied by them, at first for their own benefit, but brought to the credit of the Government by Kasim Ali Khan". Wilson: Glossary of Revenue Terms.

23. Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh, p. 92b, Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 389.

24. Reflections on the Present Commotions in Bengal, pp. 9-10 (Imperial Library, Calcutta).

25. Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 421. Haji Mustafa, the translator of the Seir-ul-mutakherin, makes the following remarks regarding this manufacture of guns at Monghyr:—"The European reader may possibly hear with surprise, that those firelocks manufactured at Monghyr, proved better than the best Tower-Proofs, sent to India for the Company's use; and such was the opinion which the English Officers gave them, when they made the comparison by order of the Council of Calcutta. Their flints were of Radjemahl (Rajmahal) agates, and their metal more mellow. And even to-day, 1786, Colonel Martin, a Frenchman, who has greatly distinguished himself these twenty-two years in the Engilsh service, has, at Lucknow, a manufactory where he makes pistols and fusils better, both as to

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thousand horse.[26] Besides these, he had other officers, whether natives or foreigners, each of whom was appointed in some particular branch. Mohammad Taki Khan, who was appointed as the Faujdar of Birbhum, "with orders to raise men, but to discipline only such as might prove able-bodied and serviceable", discharged his duties satisfactorily.[27]

lock and barrel, than the best arms that come from Europe. The comparison had been repeatedly made; and Sir Elijah Impey, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, carried to Europe one pair of these pistols". Ibid, footnote. Rennel noticed a great gun at Dacca, of which the dimensions were:—

	Feet.	Inches.
"Diameter at Muzzle.	3	1
Do. Breech.	3	
Do. of the Trunnions		11½
Do. of the Bore.	1	
	lbs.	Tons.
Weight of gun	61673	or 279
Do. of shot	474	

(Rennel's Journals, p. 124).

The following particulars are given about this gun in Rennel's 'Memoir of the Map of Hindustan', p. 61:—"It was made of hammered iron, it being an immense tube formed of 14 bors, with rings of 2 or 3 inches wide driven over them, and hammered down into a smooth surface; so that its appearance was equal to that of the best executed piece of brass ordnance, although its proportions were faulty

Whole length.	22ft. 10½	inches.
Diameter at the Breech	3 „ 3	„
Diameter four feet from muzzle.	2 „ 10	„
Diameter of the muzzle.	2 „ 2½	„
Diameter of the Bore.	1 „ 3⅛	„

The gun contained 234,413 cubic inches of wrought iron and consequently weighed 64,814 pounds avoirdupois, or about the weight of eleven 32 pounders. Weight of an iron shot for the gun 465 pounds."

"There is another big gun at Murshidabad, the dimensions of which are nearly the same as those of the one now at Dacca. An inscription in this states that it was made in the reign of Shah Jahan and governorship of Islam Khan (circa 1637) at Jahanginagar (Dacca) by Janaranjan blacksmith". Cal. Review, Vol. XCIV, p. 339.

26. Khulāsat-ut-Tawārik, p. 92b; Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 390.

27. Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 421. The author of this work writes that Muhammad Taki was a more useful and trustworty commander than Gurgin Khan, and remarks that "his conduct and name has been inscribed on the leaves of the historical page". But its translator writes in the footnote that Gurgin Khan "was as much a man of genius, as Mahmed-Taki-

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Mir Casim thus secured for himself a well-filled treasury and a strongly reorganised army, the two essential requisites for a strong executive, especially in those days of disorder and mutual distrust. His third measure, that is, the suppression of the refractory Zemindars, was also a part of his general policy of strengthening his position as the ruler of Bengal. He first turned his attention against Kummanand, the Zemindar of Myhutty paragana, who was possessed of "many goods and effects." He sent his men to bring him to the capital, but the latter fled away from his territory.[27a] He next proceeded against Asad-Zaman-Khan, the Zemindar of Birbhum, for the latter had become very powerful and had refused to comply with the Nawab's demand for some additional rent.[28] He had moreover entered into an alliance with the Raja of Burdwan and both of them had the bad intentions of rising against the Nawab as well as the Company.[29] The Nawab started from his capital in the month of December 1760, and encamped at Boudgram (about 20 miles from Murshidabad), from which place he despatched Khuja Muhammadi Khan, Major Yorke and Gurgin Khan to chastise the Birbhum Zemindar. On their approach Assad-Zaman requested his father Badi-us-zaman to govern the country, and himself came forward to meet them with four or five thousand cavalry and twenty thousand infantry, which he posted at Karidha, two miles north of Suri, and from which place he sent detachments to all the difficult passes of the country.[30] For some time the Nawab's soldiers could not make any headway against the Birbhum Raja's troops.[31] But they were soon helped by Captain White, who had already marched towards Burdwan

Suppression of the Zemindars

qhan, but with more knowledge. It was he who trained and disciplined the Nawab's cavalry, infantry and artillery, in the English manner; and if half-trained, as were those troops, a simple detachment of them fought and defeated as numerous as those that won the battle of Plassey. What would he not have done, had he had already of two years more, to train them thoroughly."

27a. Mir Casim's letter to the Company, November 1760, Long, p. 238.

28. Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 394; Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh, p. 94a.

29. Mir Casim's letter to the Company, November 1760, Long, pp. 238-239.

30. Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 395, Muzaffar-namah, 155a. The author of the Seir-ul-mutakherin had then gone to Boudgram with instructions from Mr. Hay, Chief of the English Factory at Patna, and Major Carnac, Commander-in-Chief of the English, to represent to Mir Casim the state of affairs in Bihar and to request him for proceeding thither.

31. Ibid.

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in order to chastise its revolted Raja[32]. With a few companies of Telingas and other soldiers, Captain White attacked Assad-Zaman from his rear in such a way that all the Birbhum soldiers dispersed in various directions[33]. Some of them fell dead on the field and Assad-Zaman fled away quickly from Nagore towards the hills.[34] Major Yorke and the Nawab's soldiers proceeded to Nagore and took possession of it.

The Zemindars of Bihar were more powerful and turbulent. So, after settling his affairs at Patna with Shah Alam and Ramnarayan, Mir Casim proceeded to suppress these Zemindars. One day he issued an order summoning the more important of them to attend his court. Buniad Sing and Fateh Sing (Raja of Buncary) obeyed his order, but were imprisoned as soon as they reached Patna[35]. Kamgar Khan, the Zemindar of Tirhut, did not pay heed to his summons and, from fear of chastisement for his attachment to the Emperor and for his non-payment of the Government dues, retired with his troops into the Ramgur hills. Pahalwan Sing and other Zemindars of Sahabad (Bhojpuria Zemindars) also stood on their defence[36].

The Nawab, thereupon, sent his nephew Ali Khan and Asad-ullah-Khan, son of Mir Hossein Khan, to subdue Kamgar Khan and himself proceeded to Shahseram[37] at the head of a large army. He had already sent there Roshan Ali Khan, the Paymaster of Miran, and Somru, the German adventurer, to warn and chastise the Bhojpur Zemindars. On his approach Pahalwan Sing and some other Zemindars of Shahabad crossed over to the other side of the Ganges, and settled in the territories of Nawab Shuja-ud-dowla and of Bulwant Sing, Zemindar of Benares. The Nawab took possession of their territories, placed his own collectors in each Zemindary, killed some of those who were most turbulent

32. Mir Casim's letter to the Company, November, 1760; Public proceedings, 24 November, 1761.

33. Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 396.

34. "The 28th of Jemed-ul-awal I received intelligence that the Beerboon Zemindar through the apprehension he was under of our troops had fled from his house at Nagore and gone with the utmost expedition to the hills. Major York with the troops is arrived successful at Nagore."
Mir Casim's letter to the Company, January 1761, Long, p. 249; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. I p. 53.

35. Muzāffarnāmāh, p. 161b; Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 423 Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh, p. 104a-105a.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid; Muzāffarnāmāh, pp. 163a-163b. The author of the Seir-ul-mutakherin was at that time at Patna.

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and dangerous, and gathered every information regarding the families of those Zemindars and other inhabitants of the cities through his head-spy Suk Lal and his assistants [38].

The Nawab then proceeded to visit the fortress of Rhotas, accompanied by the father and the younger brother of the author of the Seir-ul-mutakherin. From Rhotas he came back to Sahseram and put Sahamal, the Deputy Governor of Rhotas, under confinment. He then appointed Mir Mahdi Khan, a nephew of Assad-ullah-Khan's, to command in the districts of Sahaseram and Chainpur with some Zemindars in Seress and Cotombah. Shah Mahommed Akbar Khan, a man of Lucknow and a famous commander, was ordered to help Mir Mehdi Khan and to "keep a watchful eye on the machinations of the fugitive Zemindars, and especially on Pahluvan Sing, a man that might endanger the tranquility of the whole country." Sumro was placed at Buxar with three or four regiments of Telingas, and some pieces of canon. Mir Roshen Ali was kept at Bhojpur with his whole brigade of cavalry and infantry [39]. On his return to Patna the Nawab put Raja Rajbullabh, the Deputy Governor of that place, under confinement and sent some men to confiscate his property at Dacca.

The Nawab visits Rhotas

Raja Nobet Ray was then appointed the Deputy Governor of Patna.[40] It is stated in the Muzāffarnāmāh[41] that, during his stay at Monghyr, the Nabob summoned Raja Krishnadas, son of Raja Rajbullubh, Raja Nityananda, son of Royroyan Umed Ram, Raja Krishnachandra of Nadiya and Muzaffar Ali, Zemindar of Kharagpur, from their respective countries and harrassed them in various ways. The Zemindar of Betiah, who had become rather unruly, was also brought under submission [42].

Suppression of the other Zemindars

Thus, with the above measures, Mir Casim destroyed the evil elements, which had greatly discredited Mir Jafar's administration, and established a strong and efficient Government. Vansittart has given the following estimate of his administration:—

38. Ibid. The author of the Muzaffarnamah, who is all along biassed against Mir Casim, notes that the Nawab laid waste the whole of Shahabad with cruelty and oppression in such a way that many people died of starvation and some sold their own sons for a seer of rice. It is not certain how far he is true in this statement.

39. Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 430.

40. Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 431; Khulāsat-ut Tawārikh, p. 105a; Muzāffarnāmāh, p. 166b.

41. p. 166b.

42. Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 437.

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"He discharged the Company's debt and the heavy arrears of his army, retrenched the expense of his court, which had consumed the income of his predecessors and secured his own authority over the country by reducing the power of the Zemindars, who were before continual disturbers of the peace of the province"[42a]

Nature of Mir Casim's Government.

We have it on the authority of Gulam Hossein [43] that "in unravelling the intricacies of affairs of Government, and especially the knotty mysteries of finance, in examining and determining private differences; in establishing regular payments for his troops, and for his household; in honouring and rewarding men of merit, and men of learning, in conducting his expenditure, exactly between the extremities of parsimony and prodigality; and in knowing intuitively where he must spend freely, and where with moderation—in all these qualifications—he was an incomparable man indeed, and the most extraordinary Prince of his age". There might be some exaggeration in this statement of Gulam Hossein; but the author of the Muzāffarnāmāh [44] has also remarked that 'Mir Casim's fame and authority had spread over the whole of Bengal. During his time, the wolf and the lamb drank water in one place, the rebels were suppressed and the army was strong and reliable' [45].

He reserved two days in a week for the administration of justice, when he himself sat as the judge and decided cases most impartially.[46] The weak were protected against the strong and the poor landholders and tenants, who had been deprived of their hereditary estates and villages, recovered these through the Nawab's help [47]. He was regular in the payment of his troops. He had a great regard for pious and learned men and encouraged them in

42a. Compare an almost similar statement in Hasting's letter to the Governor, dated 26th January, 1762, Gleig's Memoirs of Warren Hastings, Vol. II, pp. 113-114.

43. Same as note 42.

44. From the author's personal references in the work, it is apparent that he had a special prejudice against Mir Casim, whom he indicts almost in every point. In one place (p. 167b) he says that Mir Casim's district officers had dismissed him from his post in the paragana of Laskaspur (?). Moreover he was in intimate terms with Rajbullubh, Jagatseth and others, who had been punished by Mir Casim.

45. p. 143b.

46. Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, pp. 432-434; Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh, p. 105 (a).

47. Ibid.

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their work. His commercial policy aimed at securing facilities for the country merchants and protecting the manufacture and industry of his kingdom. He tried to put a stop to the evil practices of the Company's servants and *Gomasthas,* and to stop the abuse of *dustucks* on their part [48]. Thus, as a ruler, Mir Casim was strong, wise and efficient.

But there were two dark spots in his character as a man. His nature was very suspicious, and he was extremely cruel to those whom he did not like [49]. Gulam Hosein writes that "so suspicious a Government soon interrupted all social intercourse; and people, accustomed to a certain set of acts, and acquaintances and visits, now found themselves under the necessity of abandoning them at once, and of living at home altogether". He maintained a large number of spies, whose business it was "to pry into the secrets of every family, and into the actions of every man, whether in the Nawab's service or not".[49a] During his stay at Shahseram, he put five persons, such as Sitaram, "a minister who transacted a great deal of important business", Shah Sadullah, (Shah Abdulla?) a commander, and three spies of his own Government to death, for their carrying on a treacherous correspondence with the disaffected Zemindars of Behar [50]. Gulam Hosein has noted on the authority of "several persons worthy of credit, that not one of these five persons had committed any such crime as might have deserved death . . . . . ; that every one of them had fallen a victim to conjecture and suspicion" [51]. From what Mr. Hastings wrote from Patna to the Company's Governor in Calcutta on May 4, 1762 [52], it appears that these people were really in a conspiracy with these Zemindars in order to subvert the Nawab's Gov-

Character.

48. Vide, my chapter on "History of the East India Company's Trade in Bengal, 1740-65," the first of which has been already published in the Calcutta Review and the second part is also expected to be published soon in the same journal.

49. Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 427; Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh, p. 115a; Muzāffarnāmāh, p. 163b.

49a. Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 428.

50. Muzāffarnāmāh, p. 164b; Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 428.

51. Ibid.

52. "I am informed that the Nabob had intercepted letters from Sitaram, Sheikh Sadolla, and others to Pulwan Sing and other disaffected persons encouraging them in their rebellion by arguments drawn from the disagreements between the Nawab and Mr. Ellis, which they should contrive to draw to such length as to induce the Nabob to quit the province, and

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ernment, and that they had been slain with the consent of the whole Durbar. As conspirators against the established Government, these men deserved, no doubt, some sort of punishment; but the fact that they were all at once sentenced to death shows that the Nawab was too suspicious a man to allow any conspirator to live at all. When Gulam Hosein, the petition-bearer, died at Sahseram, his wife and two sons were imprisoned and his house was confiscated [53]. Khuja Abdul Wafai, a Kashmirian money-lender, who resided at Murshidabad, was tortured and imprisoned, as the Nawab's people had reported to him that he owed several thousand of gold mohurs to Gulam Hosein Arzbegi. One astronomer of the name of Mir Jafar, who had been associated with Wafai in his business, died from fear of losing his effects and honour [54]. Mirza Daud, who had been married to Miran's daughter, took protection in the English Factory at Cassimbazar for fear of losing his life but he was captured by the Nawab's people, who took him to Monghyr where he was kept in confinment [55]. Ali Quli Khan, the Faujdar of Bhagalpur, was imprisoned on the very day when one of his daughters died [56]. Permission for her burial was refused by the Nawab, and she was buried within the compound of her father's house. Under the Nawab's orders, Ali Quli's two sons, Kelb Ali Khan and Haider Ali Khan, were sent into prison and remained there as long as his Government lasted. He found fault with them for having been in the engagement against the Radja (Raja) of Gohrecpur (Gorakhpur), where Mir Abul Hassan Khan who was the son to Turab-ali-Khan, the Nawab's maternal uncle, had been accidentally killed. Another reason of resentment against

then the design was laid to take his life. Sitaram and the *nircarrahs* were confronted with the letters in a large and public Durbar. They all confessed the guilt, and threw themselves upon his mercy; but the whole assembly unanimously declared that they deserved death, and the same instant they were accordingly carried out and executed. Sheik Sadooll being stationed at some distance, the Nabob summoned him to appear before him, but he refused it, and the Nawab detached a party to bring him by force. A fray ensued, and Sheik Sadoolla with some others on both sides, was slain". Hastings letter to the Governor, dated Patna, 4th May, 1762, quoted in Gleig's Memoir of Hastings, Vol. i, pp. 111-112.

53. Muzāffarnāmah, p. 165a. The author does not state why the Nawab treated Gulam Hosein's family in this manner. We must be careful not to confuse this Golam Hosein with the author of the Seir-ul-mutakherin.

54. Muzāffarnāmah, 165b

55. Ibid. p. 166a.

56. Ibid, 163 a.

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them was "their having made a visit to General Coote, on his journey to Azimabad, on the score of their having already commenced an acquaintance with that officer, when he first passed by Bagalpur, in his pursuit of Musher Lass (M. Law)" [57].

A famous Punjabi archer, named Rahim-ulla Khan, who lived in Bengal with Abdul Rasul Khan, a brother of Dost Muhammad Khan, was cruelly punished by the Nawab who "ordered his nose to be cut off, and himself to be put upon an ass, and carried in that condition all over the town; after which he was to be banished beyond the Keremnassa (Karamnassa)" [58]. The Nawab was offended with him because "he was passionately fond of Sukur-ollah-qhan, alias Aga-baba, son posthumous of Ser-efraz-qhan (Sarfaraz Khan), a young man now under confinement at Djehangirnagar (Dacca) . . . . . and who was extremely suspected by Mir Cassem-qhan, to whom he now and then sent petitions, requesting a release from his confinment. The man's servant used, together with these petitions, to bring letters to the Nawab's principal Ministers. Rahim-ollah-qhan, meeting the above servant in his way carried him home and gave him a lodging" [59]. One Chintamani Das, who was a native of Bhojpur and who had been appointed by Mir Casim as the "superintendent of the finances of that district," was found guilty of carrying on correspondence with the refractory Zemindars of Behar, who had taken refuge at Gazipur [60]. His punishment was that he was tied to an elephant's foot, and carried round till he breathed his last [61].

When, after the battle of Suti, the wheel of Mir Casim's fortune had taken an adverse course, then, seized with anguish and despair, and being more suspicious of the behaviour of his Indian prisoners, he ordered a massacre of them. All the native historians have given the names of the most important of them and

57. Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 426. The author writes that the "satellites, sent by Radja Radjbullub (Raja Rajbullubh) to fetch those ill-fated brothers, having met me by chance on the road, surrounded by my customary retinue, they mistook me for their prey, and desired me to follow them; and although I expostulated strongly, they answered nothing to the purpose; and I was fain to go whithersoever they thought proper to lead. They carried me to Radja Radj-bullub. This Governor, on hearing my name and family, was confounded; he professed much concern, made an apology and dismissed me. I returned thanks to God and went home". p. 427.

58. Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, pp. 438-440.

59. Ibid, Vol. II, p. 439.

60. Ibid, pp. 439-441.

61. Ibid.

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have noted that there were many others besides them who were similarly murdered. The important persons were:—Ramnarain, Rajbullubh, with his son Krishnadas, Mir Muhammad Saddiq Khan with his sons, Royroyan Umid Ray with his son Nityananda, the Zemindars of Ticary, Raja Fateh Sing and Raja Buniad Sing, Shah Abdulla, Jagat Seths Mahatab Ray and Surupchand [62]. Ramnarain was drowned in the Ganges near Monghyr with a bag of sand fastened to his neck; perhaps others also were killed in the same manner.

The massacre of the English prisoners at Patna[63] is also an instance of his cruel and suspicious disposition. It baffled his own purpose. Instead of striking terror into the minds of the English, it made them more furious, and he could not maintain his ground for a long time.

It is true that these Indian officials and Zemindars were entertaining various designs against Mir Casim [64], and that their sup-

62. Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 492; Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, p. 115a; Muzaffarnamah, pp. 179a-180a.

Proceedings, October 26, 1763. We should note that there are different versions regarding Jagat Seths' death. According to Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh (p. 118a) they were murdered at a village Chandi near Bar; the Muzāffarnāmah (p. 184a) also states that they were killed near Bar; in the proceedings, October 26, 1763, we find "that the Seats (Seths) were put to death near Baur and their bodies not permitted to be burnt". But Haji Mustafa, the translator of the Seir-ul-mutakherin, writes that Jagat Seth Mahatab Ray was drowned at Monghyr "from a tower of the castle. His favourite servant Chuni, desired, supplicated, intreated to be made fast with his good master, or thrown before him, and could not obtain that favour; so that he threw himself at last after his master had, in vain, descended to the lowest supplications to obtain his forbearing. These particulars I know, not only from a general report at that time, but also from a relation of Chuni's, one Baburam, a man of some note, who then lived in Djagatseat's (Jagat-Seth's) palace, and has been ten years in my service." Dr. Anderson, who wrote on the authority of the reports of the native servants, writes at one place of his Diary (Aug. 17) that the Seths were killed at Monghyr, at another place (Sep. 28) that they were alive and at Barh. Major Adams in his letter to the President dated the 18th October writes:—"And the Setts were about the same time put to death near Baur and their bodies were not permitted to be burnt but exposed".

Thus it seems that the version other than that of Haji Mustafa is true, or of the two Seth brothers one might have been killed at Monghyr and the other near Bar.

63. Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, pp. 504-508; Khulāsat-ul-Tawārikh, pp. 118a-119b; Muzāffarnamāh, p. 184b-185b.

Wheeler, p. 325; Vansittart's Narrative, Vol. III, p. 396; Diaries of Three Surgeons at Patna, edited by Firminger.

64. "And as his mind had been soured by the alteration which he now observed among the grandees of his Court; and the conjecture required

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pression might have become a practical necessity for his Government. But death was too heavy a punishment for the offences they were guilty of. They might be well punished in some other way. Thus we see, that, inspite of his various qualities as a ruler, as has been already pointed out, Mir Casim could not rise above the two vices of his age, such as cruelty and suspicion.

During the greater part of the Eighteenth century these were the two most dominating evils among the ruling and aristocratic classes. The history of the scramble for the throne among the sons of Aurangazeb [65], the behaviour of Murshid Kuli towards the Zemindars, the manner of Sharfaraz Khan's accession to the musnud of Bengal [66], the treachery of Haji Ahmed, Ali Vardi, Roy Rayan, Jagat Seth against Sarfaraz Khan, the great conspiracy of 1757 against Sirajuddowla, and the relations between Mir Jafar, Roydurlabh, and Ramnarain—all clearly show that the political atmosphere of the age was one of mutual distrust. Mir Casim had been breathing in that atmosphere for sometime before he became the Nawab of Bengal, and his nature was accordingly formed. It is only great men who can rise above the environments of their age. But Mir Casim, was not such. He was only a strong ruler with a firm determination and a sound financial and military genius.

that he should dispose of his prisoners of State, who were in great numbers; he resolved to put all those unfortunate men to death; especially as he had already a variety of suspicions on their account, and they had filled his mind with tormenting anxieties; they were too numerous to be kept under command, and too dangerous to be dismissed."

Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 492.

65. Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. I, Sections I and II, Irvine's Later Mughals, Vol. I, pp. 1-35.

66. "Immediately on the decease of his father Serferaz Khan took possession of the government, but notwithstanding his uncontested succession, he was so apprehensive of the intrigues of his enemies, that he would not venture out of the fort to attend the funeral obsequies of his father." Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 493.

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The Madras Council and its relations with the Golconda administration under Madanna and Akkanna (1672-1686)

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The Editor of this Journal, in the course of a lengthy paper on "Abul Hasan Qutub Shah and His Ministers Madanna and Akkanna", presented to the 10th annual meeting of the Osmania University Historical Society and published in the *Journal of Indian History,* Vol. X; Part II, has explained the significance of Golcanda's alliance with Sivaji which was a necessary preliminary to the latter's Karnatic expedition, and also the consequence of the accession of Madanna and Akkanna to dominance at the Sultan's Court. In connection with the latter topic, he indicated the importance of, and the motives underlying, the attitude of the local representatives of Golconda of whom Podili Lingappa was the most important, towards the English. An attempt is made in the following paper, at the suggestion of the Editor, to explain the significance of this attitude, so far as it can be gleaned from a study of the Madras records.

I

Sultan Abu'l Hasan of Golconda (1672-87) began his reign with Sayyad Muza'ffar Khan as his chief Minister, and with Musa Khan, Khan-i-Khanan as the Governor of the Golconda Karnatak, (i.e., all the coast country of the Coromandel roughly to the north of Madras). Musa Khan succeeded Nēknām Khan with whom the Madras Council had arrived at a definite, rather a quasi-definite, agreement as regarded the rent of the Fort and Town of Madras. The Fort St. George Consultation of the 25th April, 1672 (Sir William Langhorn, Governor) declares that "the Nawab Yecknam Cawn being deceased and Mussa Cawn chosen in his place, having sent us a confirmation of the agreement and *phirmaund,* made by and with his predecessor, with promise that he will be no less, nay more, a

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friend to us than he was, and that he should look upon the *phirmaund* (farman), etc., as received not from Yecknam Cawn but himself." The Madras Council resolved, in the same consultation, to send presents worth 500 pagodas, in the shape of scarlet cloth, looking glasses and such like, by their Brahman agent Venkatapati, to the new Nawab on his accession to the Government of the Karnatac.

Later in the same year, it was entered in a Council consultation of the 20th October, that the captains and *havaldars* (from Arabic *Hawāla*=charge) in the Moors' camp before San Thomē caused great trouble and poisoned the mind of the Nawab against the English, "the Nawab being inexperienced in these parts" and too apt to give credit to the representations of his men and therefore it was resolved to give small *peshkashes* (*Pers.* Peshkash=first fruits, fines, taxes) to them, through their chief merchant, the famous—a rather well-known—character, Casa Verona. Similar presents were ordered to be given to the chief officers of the Nawab when they came to visit the English Governor in May, 1673. In March 1674, Sayyad Fatimeah, the Governor of Chingleput and the son of Sayyad Ibrahim who was a good friend of the English Company in his days, was sent for by the Sultan of Golconda, in order that he might marry the daughter of his (Sultan's) Chief Mufti, a person of great influence. The Madras Council thought it fit to make Sayyad Fatimeah a fitting and acceptable present, to the value of 130 pagodas, "to entertain that friendship of so long continuance and which of probability may be of good consequence to their affairs, he having promised to give the king (Sultan) a good account of all passages here to their vindication, from the many aspersions raised by the Dutch and others at the camp." (Consultation of 26th March, 1674). Sometime later, it was deemed necessary by the Council to proceed with great caution in the matter of the confirmation of their *phirmaund* by the Court, as "through the absence of Madanna, the Great Braminy from Golconda, being gone abroad into the country with the King, our Egyb's proceedings do not yet appear to be too far engaged." (Consultation of the 21st November, 1674).

II

Thus by the end of 1674, Madanna had become supreme at the court of Golconda, thus displacing Sayyad Muzaffar Khan as the chief minister. Akkanna took the place of Musa Khan as the Governor of the Karnatac about the same time. In Feb. 1675 (*vide* Consultation of the 10th), the council resolved to send up *pesh-*

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cashes to their Egyb Venkatapati, to be presented to the Sultan, Madanna, "the great Bramany, who is the great Mogundar and the chiefest person in power, next the King himself," the Nawab Muskmia, Muhammad Ibrahim the new Sarkheil (*Sar-i-khel*= head of the clan, leader), Pulla Pella Yengana, (Polepalli Venkana), the chief Survey Wisse or Comptroller General, Narasa Viṭṭala and others of the great men—as "the King and all the great Crown Officers of this Kingdom of Golconda and Carnataca, having themselves long required that the Honourable Company should *peshcash* them upon his and their new greatness, as a right not to be avoided, and we having deferred it as long as we could with safety on promise to comply with them. . . . and being continually pressed thereunto, with intimation that if we do not give satisfaction to them therein without any longer delay, that we should endanger the displeasure of his Highness and all the aforesaid great Officers past recovery, and instead of their assistance (hitherto enjoyed in all these late troubles), be very much obstructed and disturbed on all occasions and pretences . . . and be in the end compelled to do it by force and much greater expense and disadvantage." The Madras Consultation of the 28th September 1675 gives an account of the ruin to the weaving industry and trade caused in divers places by the high-handed oppressions and extortions of the horsemen sent by Madanna and the Sultan, as a result of which many of the Company's merchants and their families were glad to run away amongst the woods and "by great *peshcashes*, save their money and their lives amongst the thieves themselves" and that the "woodmen and watchmen, being abused by Chinnapelle Mirza's extortions, by the King's order, broke out into hostilities against all the neighbouring countries . . . made no less a disorder amongst the weavers who were fain to desert Bijapuri control for shelter. . . . . "

III

In February 1676, Pollepalle Venganna, who was in charge of the neighbourhood of Madras, put forward a claim to sell paddy coming from the territory of Golconda, free of custom in Madras, at their own rates, as in their own territories, and to reimpose a *havaldar* saying "the King (Abdullah Kutb Shah. *d.* 1672) and Nawab (Nēknām Khan) who granted the *cowle* and *phirmaund* are dead and gone, and this King (Abu'l Hasan) not obliged, as if himself had not confirmed it and received the money"; while the Dutch who were not able to get a similar *cowle* for their settlement at Pulicat, did all they could to infringe ours. But even in

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the previous year Podili Lingapa, the nephew of Akkanna and Madanna, who was appointed to be the *tarafdar* and Governor of the Poonamalle district, had procured (according to a Consultation entry, dated the 16th and 17th March, 1675) a *phirmaund* and *tasheriff* (*Arabic* tashrif = honouring) from the Sultan to the Madras Governor and Agent, "merely to extort a pishcash, as he has from the Dutch at Paliacat, to the value of 800 pagodas." Upon this, the Madras Council resolved to send their chief merchant, Casa Verona, to meet Lingapa at Trivetour (Tiruvottiyur) .. .. to acquaint him that we cannot accept thereof to the prejudice of the Honourable Company's *cowle* (*paṭṭa*, agreement) and *phirmaund*, which exempts us from having to do with any but the Divan itself, and that the Agent write up presently to our Egyb Vencataputty to prevent misinformation and to get a strict order to the said Tarafdar to observe the said *cowle* and *phirmaund* and *sallabad* (*Sāl*+*ābād*=permanent charge) in all things representing to his Highness and to Madana, etc., the prejudice which will otherwise ensue to the King's revenue, should they be any ways disturbed."

As Dr. S. K. Aiyangar remarks, with the coming of Podili Lingapa, there was a stiffening in the administration and the relation between the Madras Council and the Tarafdar of Poonamallee became more or less one of continued hostility. From a quotation in Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras* (Vol. I p. 356) we learn more fully about this change of position. An extract from the proceedings of the Madras Council containing what Casa Verona heard from the Sultan's Mazumdar of Armagaon about Lingapa's attitude towards the Madras Council (given on pp. 90-91 of *the Records of Fort St. George—Diary and Consultation Book of* 1672-78), is informing. Podili Lingapa was given a horse and other presents when he paid a visit to the Dutch towns of Pulicat and Sadras and when he carried a *tasheriff* to the English, they would not accept it, nor would (they) invite him to their town, but gave the messenger who carried their *phirmaund* petty gifts. Polepalle Venganna concurred with him that the English were a scornful people and that Nēknām Khan was ill-advised and foolish in letting them away with a paltry rent of 1,200 pagodas per annum. He further urged that Lingapa should keep a *havaldar* in Madras and the *cowle* of Neknam Khan ended with him and that he would go to the Sultan and prevail on him "to send a Persian to be over Chinnapatnam". The Sultan himself is said to have postponed an order on the matter till his return from Masulipatam towards which he was going and his courtiers advised him to take some definite action in the affair.

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IV

The stiffened attitude of the Golconda government coincided with the establishment of Brahman dominance at the court and of Brahman control over the Poonamalle country, and also with the arrival at a sort of understanding between the Golconda government and Shivaji that was the preliminary for the latter's famous Karnatac expedition. It is doubtful, according to Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, whether "the change was brought about as a normal consequence of the change of ministry or had something to do with the agreement between Shivaji and Abu'l Hasan's administration."

The Madras Council was strong in its view that the Brahman dominance in the Golconda government was inconsiderate towards itself and insatiably avaricious. This view is supported by Manucci who gives an instance of the intolerance of Madanna in Golconda (vide p. 31 of Irvine's Translation of the *Storia do Mogor* (Indian Texts Series) Vol. III; and also *Ma'as'ir-i-Alamgiri*, 227; 272.) In December 1676, the Madras Council complained of the Brahman officials of Golconda "who have been studying to do all the prejudices they can and to cavil at the said *cowle*, labouring to bring this their place (Madras) into the same condition as Paliacat and to force it to receive the King's paddy at his own extorsive rates; as a beginning of evils more to follow. .. .. " The Council was anxious to obtain a new royal confirmation of the *cowle* by the Sultan's own express *phirmaund* (firman) and also a ready access to the throne for its own agent on all occasions of complaints, "whereof", the resolution ran, "we are sensible of a great want since his father's (Abdulla Kutb Shah's—who was the father-in-law of Abu'l Hasan, who was of low origin according to Fryer, but said by others to be descended on his father's side from the Kutb Shahi family itself) decease and Madanna's new greatness". (*Vide* Manucci's *Storia do Mogor* translation by W. Irvine, Vol. IV p. 444) The same consultation continues that the annual rent due for 1676-77 be sent to the agent of the Madras Council at Golconda, the Bramany Yeana Viraraghava to be paid to Nawab Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim (the Sar-i-Khel) and get good acquittances from him for the past and present, and also to engage the said Nawab to give his protection to the Company's business as against the mischief wrought by Lingapa and his master Polepelli Venganna, who were Madanna's creatures. Podili Lingapa had strengthened his hold over the whole country "hereabout from Armagaon to the borders of (the) Bijapur (Karnatac); he desired to force

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the English to purchase only his paddy at exorbitant rates and likewise to extort from them a loan of 10,000 pagodas upon the neighbouring revenues of paddy, "which, formerly being a very sure assignation, as these juggling Brahminys contrive it, is now grown a mere cheat, for by removing the person who took the money, they avoid the obligation, and put folks to seek for their money where they can get it." Nevertheless the English Council resolved in January 1677, a peshcash valued at 30 pagodas, to Lingapa and one of smaller value to the Brahman agent of Akkanna.

V

In May 1677, Sivaji was almost upon them. On the 9th the Council heard that Sivaji, having been entertained in the King of Golconda's service, was in full march upon Gingee with 20,000 horse and 40,000 foot, the vanguard of which had already passed Kālahasti and Tirupati and was expected that night at Conjeevaram. In a consultation of the 14th May, the Council received a letter and messenger from Sivaji requesting some "cordial stones and counter-poisons" and sent him these, along with some broad cloth and a quantity of sandalwood. Sivaji did nothing in the Golconda portion of the Karnatac, in a military sense, and only when he passed into the Gingee territory that was under Bijapur, did he begin serious military operations. The comparative inaction of Sivaji in the neighbourhood of Madras and the consequent immunity that the English Presidency enjoyed were the result of an understanding that had been come to between Sivaji and the Golconda administration, and that was possibly deemed by the astute Madanna as "the best course of action to be adopted in the circumstances, both as against the advancing tide of Mughal aggression, and as the best safeguard for the preservation of what was worth preserving, the Hindu India of the South". Golconda agreed to provide Sivaji with a subsidy of 3,000 huns a day and also with an army of 5,000 men and a park of artillery in which branch of equipment the Maratha invader was weak. In return Sivaji was to give to Golconda such parts of his Karnatac conquests as did not belong to his father Shahji. Thus we can easily comprehend the reason for the vigour and rapidity with which Sivaji overran the Gingee country, which was under Bijapur and drove off Sher Khan Lodi into the forests of Ariyalūr on the banks of the Coleroon.

In June 1677 when Sivaji had just begun the long-drawn siege of Vellore, he wrote to Madras desiring a further supply of

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cordials and counterpoisons; and we are informed by the consultation dated 18th June, that his (Sivaji's) power was increasing and he exercised so much power in the country of the Golconda Sultan that he sent all about to receive the King's rents by his own people and was punishing the *havaldars* and other great men of the country at his pleasure.

When in October a letter from Sivaji reached Madras in which he desired the English to supply him with engineers required for the effective prosecution of the siege of Vellore, the Council resolved to send him a civil excuse, saying that the affair was "wholly unfit for us to meddle in it, there being many dangers consequent thereon as well of increasing his (Sivaji's) power as of rendering both Golconda and the Mogull our enemies, all these parts being spread with his spies, and himself and army now come nearer this way, within two days' march of this place (Madras)".

VI

Meanwhile the bickerings between the Sultan's renter for the Poonamallee country and the English Council at Madras over the right of the former to compel the latter to take off his own paddy at his own rates continued. The renter threatened the English in February 1679 that if they forbad Poonamallee corn to be sold in Madras, he would stop wood and all other provisions from coming to them. When a remonstrance on this matter was addressed to Lingapa who had his headquarters at Conjeevaram, he returned answer that there being much of corn at Poonamalle to be sold, and the Sultan's necessity being urgent, he would take off the stop, if the Council would furnish him 7,000 pagodas to supply the want (Consultation of the 11th February, 1678).

Governor Streynsham Master was anxious to get the support of the Muhammadan officers of Golconda; he took care to send the annual town rent due for Madras for 1677-78, to Nawab Muhammad Ibrahim, at Golconda itself and to convince the Nawab that Lingapa's report that the English at Madras were building a great bulwark was false, but that they were only repairing an old ruined bulwark. He also planned to send the chief and Council of Madapollam to procure if possible, from the Sultan during his forthcoming visit to Masulipatam, (1) a *farman* granting the right for the English to coin silver rupees and copper pice at Madras, the said coins to pass current in all the King's dominions; (2) a *farman* granting the exemption of English goods and trade in the Karnatac and adjacent regions from the *junkan* (Sun-

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kam = toll) and other customs and duties as they were at Masulipatam; (3) the getting of Verasheroone or Madapollam or both of them settled on the English as rent-free grants, or on a fixed unalterable rent which was to be paid only to the Diwan (*Vide* Consultation of the 23rd May, 1678). The English Council subsequently advised the Madapollam Chief and Council to persuade the Sultan to grant Tiruvottiyūr, Egmore and San Thome in the neighbourhood of Madras, either rent-free or at moderate rents which should not be increased at all in future. They were prepared, in the case of San Thome, which they had been long coveting, to pay 1,300 pagodas per annum, as Casa Verona was then paying for it (Consultation of June 3rd, 1678).

The Sultan's *Sar-i-Khel*, Nawab Muhammad Ibrahim, was disposed to be friendly to the English and sent a tasheriff congratulating Governor Master on his accession to his office. The Sultan however was unable to proceed to Masulipatam owing to the oppressive heat and the scarcity of water prevailing on the route. The visit was postponed till after the rainy season of the year should have passed away.

VII

In August, 1678, news was received that a body of Sivaji's horse under the command of Santojee, appeared at Conjeevaram and that it was likely it would proceed further towards Madras and would take Poonamalle castle, that Vellore had surrendered and that Sivaji had now full and quiet possession of all the countries of Gingee and Vellore. The English Council feared that Sivaji would now turn his attention to the Golconda Karnatac. In the beginning of September, Podili Lingappa paid a condolence visit to Casa Verona, on the death of the latter's wife, when he urged that he should be given very valuable presents and a Persian horse by the English, that he had received a new *farman* from the Sultan giving him supreme control over all the Golconda forces in these parts and that Governor Master should not regard himself in any way as his equal. Lingappa's importunate demands were repeated in September when he requisitioned for 10 and got 2 *candies* of gunpowder to be used in subduing the jungle chiefs (*poligars*). Madras had to welcome the *Habshi* general of Bijapur, Abdulla Khan, who surrendered Vellore to Sivaji upon certain conditions, but later thought it safe for himself not to trust to Maratha protection and sought refuge with the English Governor. A letter was received from the English agent at Golconda that Sivaji had ordered his men at Gingee to take a fit opportu-

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nity to plunder Madras, Pulicat and Sadraspatam. But the news proved baseless; and it was learnt that the Marathas had retired from the neighbourhood of Gingee towards Mysore whose ruler had been very formidable to the Marathas on his border; this was greatly to the relief of the English, who however, continued to be pestered by Lingappa's demands for presents which extended even to Casa Verona and the Pedda Naik of Madras.

VIII

In the beginning of 1679 the Madras Council became eager to get some good return for their payments and gifts to the Sultan and the great men with him. A letter was written on the 6th February to the Brahman *Egyb* at Golconda, urging him to endeavour to recover something in lieu of the presents given to the Sultan and to Madanna at Masulipatam during their late visit, when the Chief and Council of Masulipatam could not manage their request as was ordered by the Madras Council. The *Egyb* was asked to persuade Madanna and Akkanna to influence the Sultan to grant gratis the towns of San Thome and Egmore to the English Company, "since the English by their ancient, faithful and peaceable demeanour towards and profitableness to the Divan and his country, have not deserved less, but more favours from him than the Dutch or any other nation residing in his Highness's dominions and it is not for the Divan's honour to do so much for one and nothing for the other. . . . . " (*p. 4 of Madras Records—Letters from Fort St. George 1679*).

To this, the *Egyb* replied that he had an interview with Madanna, the prime minister, who informed him that the Dutch had given their promised present of 6,000 pagodas, and the English had not given theirs of 3,000 pagodas, and when they should do so, he would then begin negotiations concerning the renting of San Thome and Egmore, and obtain the Sultan's permission therefor (*vide* the minutes of a consultation of the Madras Council on the 17th February, 1679). Troubles continued about Lingappa's demand that paddy from his *taraf* (division) should be sold in the market of Madras at his rate and the allegation that the customs raised by the English had increased, thus justifying a demand for a higher rent. To this, Governor Master made the bold reply—"The market of Madraspatam was free to all people to buy and sell in; but if men were content to sell at 12 *kalams* (measures) for a pagoda which was now the market price, no man could force them to sell at 10: and if it should please God to make it dearer or cheaper, it was not in the power of man to alter what

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God Almighty had decreed. . . . . ." (*p.* 18 of the Madras *Diary and Consultation Book 1679-80).* The English Council resolved to resist by force, if necessary, the order made by Lingappa that the citizens of Madras should come and buy only the grain that had been collected at Vepery and Egmore (adjoining the confines of the English settlement) and that no other paddy should be suffered to come into the city.

While this bold face was put up before Lingappa, the Council was anxious to get a *cowle* and *farman* from the Sultan for the places (San Thome, Egmore and Tiruvottiyūr) that they were eager to acquire and instructed their *Egyb* at Golconda that he should "procure the said *phirmaund* (farman) and *coull* (cowl) written very exactly and punctually in all matters and particulars as therein mentioned." They also encolsed a copy of the *farman* that would satisfy them in which they specified by name the six villages dependent on San Thome, the six hamlets belonging to Tiruvottiyūr and the nine villages adjacent to Egmore; and they stipulated that the places should be permanently rented under them and they should have the right to build factories, godowns, etc., in them, to exercise jurisdiction in all causes, both civil and criminal, therein and to be exempt from the former usual customs, *junkan* or other duties.

IX

The higgling over the fixing of the rent for San Thome and its dependent villages was prolonged, as is clearly indicated in the letters to Bramany Viraraghava sent from Madras in the months March to June, 1679. It was feared that the French had a design of securing San Thome for themselves; and Casa Verona instructed Podili Lingappa, before he proceeded to Golconda to settle accounts, to use all possible means to prevent the French coming to that place again. The fruit of this was that Lingappa took possession of San Thome himself on the 17th August, 1679, apparently after his return from Golconda, farming it out of Verona's hands; and the latter endeavoured, in his turn, to wrest San Thomē from Lingappa, as, according to the consultation of the 25th August, he was anxious "to prevent the inconveniences that may accrue to the revenues of this town (Madras) by the stoppage of goods, grain and the calico investment this year".

Lingapa tried hard to improve upon the advantage he had secured and made a "malicious' request to Braminy Akkanna Pantulu to obtain a grant from his Highness for us (the English) to pay him our Town's (Madras') rent merely to encroach

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upon us by degrees" (*p.* 41—*Letters from Fort St. George* 1679). Akkanna was requested not to countenance Lingappa's request for getting the rent of Madras for himself. It continues:—"We hope that your lordship (Akkanna) as a just and upright person under him (the Sultan) will never countenance (*him*) that desires such unjust things as the said Lingappa would persuade you merely to act his ill designs and (malice) he bears towards us." The letter also urged that Verona had a *farman* from the Sultan and a *Rakka* (*Arab.* Ruk'a = letter, note of hand) from Madanna (your worthy brother) and that Akkanna would use all his endeavours to put San Thome again into Verona's hands. Apparently these protestations and appeals to Akkanna had the desired effect; and in October the Brahmin Viraraghava was able to report from Golconda that there was great hope of San Thome being returned to Verona (Consultation; entry for Monday, the 3rd November, 1679). The *Egyb* was congratulated in a letter, dated Fort St. George, 26th November, that "you have done well in preventing granting Lingappa's malicious desire, to obtain our Town's (Madras') rent to be paid unto him, though we are resolved never to yield thereto" and "we have been glad to hear of what you have done in Casa Verona's request to Braminy Madanna and Akkanna concerning San Thome and hope that Lingappa upon arriving at these parts, will not offer to violate their express orders."

X

Casa Verona died on the 28th March, 1680; and certainly the death of one who was a strong champion of the English cause as against the pretensions of the Golconda officials was a serious loss to the Madras Governor and Council. The imposition of a *havaldar* on the town of Madras was attempted in May following on the strength of an order purporting to come from Nawab Muhammad Ibrahim on the ground that "the towne produced more than formerly, and Verona the *Dubass* (Dubash) being dead, therefore it should no longer be under the English, but kept under the King's hands and that Futty Cawn (at Chingleput) should send a havaldar to take the government thereof." Master had to send three files of soldiers and bring the pretender of a *havaldar* into the Fort and sent him back after an examination. Nor were the English less cautious on their side than the situation warranted.

The Council resolved at a consultation on the 3rd of June that "the revenue of the Towne may not be known to the Moors

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as they desire, it is thought good and ordered that the accounts thereof and especially of the customs upon goods exported and imported by sea shall be only kept in English, and the *Braminys, cancoplys,* etc., are not to keep any books or accounts thereof in writing, which the customer is to see observed and act accordingly".

Podili Lingappa was not peculiar in his attitude towards the English alone. He was equally stiff in his demands as against the Dutch; and it may be said of him that "the rights of the question were not altogether all of them on one side, and they got complicated by the steps and counter-steps adopted, and on the whole it cannot be well maintained that Lingappa was doing anything that was not in the interests of the Golconda administration." (Dr. S. K. Aiyangar in *J. I. H.* Vol. X Part II *Abul Hasan Qutub Shah and His Ministers Madanna and Akkanna*). It was reported at Madras towards the end of August 1680, that Lingappa had put a stop to all the Dutch business at Pulicat forbidding their merchants to buy or carry any cloth thither. He followed it up by imposing a similar embargo on Madras from the 1st of September, in the matter of the bringing in of cloth—the prohibition being alleged to be on the ground that the Governor refused to admit the *havaldar* that was sent by the order of the Nawab Muhammad Ibrahim. Lingappa sent word that Verona used to lend him large sums periodically and besides gave him annual presents "which he knew not of whom to have these advantages;" whereupon the Chief Merchants of the Company agreed to send two of their number to Lingappa to treat with him as to the removal of the embargo.

Upon the embargo continuing for some time, the Madras Council resolved to make an application direct to the Golconda court for redress and addressed letters to the Sultan and to Madanna (Consultation of the 13th September, 1680). Lingappa maintained that he did not begin the embargo without orders from his masters and that he would expect from whoever should be the successor to Verona, 2,000 pagodas and loans without interest for his Diwan. The month of September passed without anything being done at Golconda, where Nawab Ibrahim merely put off the *Egyb* of Madras with excuses and delays. What was worse, Lingappa sent orders to stop *chunam* (lime-shell) and brick from coming into Madras (Consultation of the 26th September). It was only in the beginning of November that letters were received from Golconda with *Rukkas* of the Nawab, Madanna

Brahman clerks and the class of non-Brahman accountants.

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and Akkanna upon Lingappa, ordering him not to stop goods going into Madras, nor to hinder the business of the English in any manner. Lingappa was forced thus to stop his embargo; but he was in close communication—one might say, collusion—with a number of painters (of the Company's cloth) and other disaffected persons who deserted over from Madras to San Thome and countenanced them in stopping the goods and corn from being brought into town. In spite of Lingappa's orders, the customs-officers of the Golconda government continued to obstruct English trade and to prevent the free entry of cloth and other goods into the settlement. A further offence was alleged by Lingappa when a messenger of his bearing a farman from Golconda was not received by the Governor in proper form, and consequently he had orders from court to stop again goods and provisions coming into the town. He added to this a threat that he would stop all manner of trade and provisions and destroy the town and bring it to the same pass as San Thome (Consultations of the 27th December 1680 and of 3rd January 1681—*pp.* 87 and 89 of *The Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George for 1680-81).* These persistent threats so worked upon the Council that it was resolved on the 6th of January to settle a factory in the Gingee country "which is out of the Golconda dominions, which is a matter of great security to the Company's investments and one of the main reasons why the Dutch keep so many factories upon this coast, which, being divided into several governments, if they be obstructed in their business by one governor, they have another place to friend, and besides this advantage of preventing Lingappa or any other Subahdar of this country from being capable of spoiling all our business when it depends wholly upon their courtesy."

XI

Akkanna, the minister of Golconda planned to go down to the Poonamalle country to settle the disputes outstanding with the Madras Council himself; and Lingappa wrote to say that he had ordered the village of Triplicane (which had already been given to the Company) to be taken over by the *havildar* of San Thome and would bring it under Poonamalle "threatening much what will be done to us upon Akkanna's coming down, who is now on the way." (Entry in the consultation for the 28th February 1681). Fortunately for the English, Akkanna turned back towards Golconda from Tirupati without marching further; and Nawab Muhammad Ibrahim wrote to Madras to say that he had abandoned all thoughts of raising the rent of Madras.

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But Lingappa was not to be stopped from his course of action. He reestablished an embargo on provisions etc., going into Madras, forbidding the country people to do so and setting watchmen to stop them. All that Governor Master could do was to assure the people of San Thome, Egmore and other villages that if Lingappa abused them and prevented them from sending in provisions, they might retire into Madras and should be protected there. Lingappa however sent word on the 14th of April, by his Diwan, that he had an order from Akkanna to besiege Madras and Pulicat, because the Governors of these two places would not do as they were ordered by the Diwan of the Sultan and also because no Madras official met Akkanna at Tirupati and of other reasons (minutes of the Council of the 15th and 16th April, 1681).

The embargo continued upon all goods and provisions coming into Madras throughout May. In June the Madras Council resolved (*see* consultation of the 6th June) to send 2,000 pagodas as a sort of peace-offering to Akkanna, through Nazar Beg (the Sultan's jeweller) who was deemed to have great interest with the minister. Also it was at last resolved that "Podili Lingappa have a present sent to him to the value of pagodas 300, notwithstanding the Egyb at Golconda acquaints Mr. Master our troubles may be composed for pagodas 2,000: there; yet Lingappa being a person that has of late an unlimited power granted him in the countries adjacent to us and judging that of necessity something must be given him whatever is given at court, it was therefore thought convenient to compliment him with this *peshkash*. . . . ", and a letter from the Governor was sent by Pedda Venkatadri (one of the Chief Merchants of the Company, who was a friend of the Tarafdar) who also was ordered to have discourse with Lingappa that "we might have a friendly understanding between us" (Consultation of the 20th July, 1681—pp. 39-40 of *Diary and consultation Book* 1681).

XII

On August 1st, the Governor was able to inform the Council that all differences with Lingappa were happily concluded. One peculiar result of this was that the Brahman Viraraghaviah, who was the English Company's Egyb at Golconda, and had been dismissed recently from his place, being replaced by one Guruvappa, *alias* Henriques Midao, was reentertained in consideration of his former good service, and what is noteworthy, because "we look upon the present Egyb Grua to be a man unfit for that

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employ as being given to drink, and so not admitted to manage any affairs with the Bramanys who now govern all (in Golconda)." (Consultation of the 6th of October). Lingappa continued to give pin-pricks to the Madras Council even after the present was resolved upon.

XIII.

Lingappa's relations with the English hinged, on, among other claims, the right to receive the rent from Fort St. George which ought to be paid only through him and that the English Council should have no transactions or correspondence, directly with the Sultan or his ministers. *In the Letters to Fort St. George* for 1682, we find on page 8, a mild request from Lingappa to Governor Gyfford that the rent for the current year, or at least half of it, might be sent up to him. In another letter, received at Fort St. George on the 1st March, he wrote: "their Lordships Madanna and Akkanna have once before sent *tashrifs* to your worship through my hands." The English Company's agent at Golconda, in his letter of the 21st January, informed Gyfford that "Podili Lingappa being a great person in these parts, he would have been something grieved, if the *tashrifs* (to the Governor and Pedda Venkatadri) had not been first sent to him, before they had been conveyed to your Worship's hands; therefore Braminy Akkanna ordered the tashrifs to be carried to Lingappa, and there to take one of his people together with the Diwan's *nobut* to come with the *tashrifs*." (p. 16, of *Letters to Fort St. George for* 1682). In spite of the Company's agent's arguments to the contrary, the ministers, Madanna and Akkanna, maintained that Chennapatnam (Madras) and all other affairs of those parts should be of Lingappa's side." The agent however feared that "if we should pay the rent money but one year to Lingappa, he will contrive many ways to bring us into such a labyrinth of troubles that we shall not be able to get out of it." Akkanna himself advised Governor Gyfford that he should "hear Lingappa with credulity in whatsoever business he shall acquaint you about and to get him to write to us when you would have any business to be done here (at headquarters), for the more you oblige Lingappa to write in your behalf, the readier shall we be to favour you." The meaning of this was too plain to be misunderstood and showed how Lingappa had contrived to get all his demands recognised as just and lawful, in the matter of having undisputed and sole authority over the European settlements in his jurisdiction.

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XIV

Lingappa's further attempts to strengthen his position need not be here elaborated. One of the features of his administration was to demand and enforce all the payments due to the Golconda Government strictly and stoutly. These covered all presents which had to be given to himself by convention and also to the great men at headquarters. It is this grasping character of the administration that elicited the suggestion conveyed in the Company's Golconda agent's letter of the 3rd March, 1682, *viz*: "The people in place here now are not like their predecessors, for all the officers are Braminies and when anybody goes to them about business, they immediately open their hands. . . . " Whatever might be said of the grasping avarice of Madanna and Akkanna and Lingappa and other Brahmans in power, there can be no doubt that Golconda's control was stiffened in the Karnatac and even the European settlements in a manner that was not possible in the previous times.

XV

Lingappa soon came to occupy the supreme position in the Golconda Karnatac, analogous to that which was enjoyed by Mir Jumla in one sense and certainly equally good with, or even better than, that of Nawab Nēknām Khan. From the position of the Tarafdar of Poonamalle, he became the Governor of the Karnatac, in succession to Akkanna. His attitude as the champion and defender of Golconda's rights was one of great value; because, as was pointed out by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, he claimed to have taken the town of Chikkanayakanhalli, in the subah of Sira, probably from the hands of the Marathas, after the death of Sivaji, and thus he vindicated his master's cause even against the Marathas who were strong and, besides, the quondam allies of Golconda. The receipt of presents and even the demanding of them should not be taken as a vice peculiar to Lingappa or the Brahman officials of Golconda. It was a commonly prevalent practice at the time and tainted as much the European settlements and their doings, in the epoch. The promotion of Lingappa to the supreme governorship of the Karnatac was consequent upon the transfer of Akkanna to the *Sar Lashkar's* (*lit* head of the army) post from which the Sultan dismissed Nawab Muhammad Ibrahim, consequent upon his weakness in losing the town of Basavapatan to the troops of the ruler of Ikkeri. Thus Lingappa got the Government of all the country from the Krishna

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river in the north as far as all the Karnatac country, as Nawab Nēknām Khan was formerly ruling (The Egyb's letter dated Golconda 17th May, quoted in *p.* 39 of *Letters to Fort St. George,* 1682). The English Company was advised to keep an Egyb at Lingappa's head-quarters, as all the Egybs were gone to him. It was also made known by their Golconda agent that the ministry had positively prohibited any direct petition to them being made and ordered that every one should apply first to Lingappa, "for without his consent no request would be heard here (Golconda)." (Letter of the Company's agent, Viraraghavayya, dated 2nd August, 1682).

Lingappa had now the command of all the forces belonging to the Karnatac; and he demanded from the English, the service of 15 gunners to manage his guns. He also arranged for ships to be built on behalf of Akkanna who wrote, on the 28th August, to Gyfford that "your worship may please to look upon Lingappa as myself." Akkanna was at that time practically the dominant factor in the Golconda Government, as the *Egyb* wrote: "Now Braminy Akkanna is made the chief person who manages the whole affairs of the Kingdom. . . . . for whosoever goeth to speak about any business to Madanna, he sends to his Akkanna." (p. 94 of Letters to Fort St. George, 1682). Akkanna even told the Company's Egyb that the *Sar Lashkarship* was given to Lingappa. The latter designed "to bring the English as much under his command as the rest of the country people and effectively poisoned the mind of Akkanna against them. He even threatened that he would take measures to extort 60 or 70 thousand pagodas from the English as soon as he should have done with the Mysore people (referring to his capture of Chikkanayakanhalli, as noticed in Viraraghava's letter of October 27th, 1682). In 1685 Lingappa was addressed as his Excellency. He took vigorous measures with an interloper, a Jew named Rodrigez who was given permission to live in Madras and ordered his goods at San Thome not to be released and given to him (Letter dated March 16th, 1685, from the Brahmans Narayanappa and Sangana at Conjeevaram—pp. 61-2, of *Letters to Fort St. George,* 1684-85). He took measures to recover seven pieces of timber that had floated to the shore on the San Thomē coast and that had been seized by the English Governor, and his lieutenants thus threatened Gyfford: "Your Honour knows Lingappa's disposition; so soon as you see the letter, Your Honour may please to send the timbers and goods . . . . before Lingappa hath intelligence of it, and then you may live without trouble." (Letter dated 15th July, 1685).

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XVI

Lingappa was turned out of his post before the beginning of 1686, and shortly afterwards quitted this world. Governor Elihu yale recorded in the minutes of a consultation, dated 22nd December, 1687 (p. 200 of, the *Diary and Consultation Book,* 1687) that "Lingappa, late Sar Lashkar of this country, having often endeavoured to put a havaldar upon this Town (Madras) and to impose a custom for the diwan, but being successless therein, he, about three years past orders the building of a *banksall* within a mile of the Fort (at the Great Metta or Periamet) intending there to stop all grain and other goods to pay them Junkan before they would permit them to come into Town, but Lingappa happily leaving this world, before the finishing his ill design on the *banksall* . . . . the Governor privately treated with the havaldar of Poonamalle about buying the said building of him." So let us leave the spirit of the strong-willed Lingappa who had been such a source of trouble to Governors Langhorn, Streynsham Master and Gyfford, still continuing to haunt the pages of Governor Yale's proceedings. The tragic end of Akkanna and Madanna which preceded so closely the fall of Golconda and the deposition of Abu'l Hasan by the Great Mughal and which was so little deserved by them, brought the last vigorous flicker of a dying administration to a close in the midst of foreign conquest and the consequent increase in anarchy.

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Bombay Historical Congress

1931.

The First Bombay Historical Congress held under the auspices of the Bombay Historical Society proved once more the resources of all kinds that exist in a city like Bombay that is proud of her *biruda* "Urbs prima in Indiis". The time for the Congress was not the best. The world's economic depression in general, and the political situation of India in particular presented a gloomy horizon behind the silhouette of the Congress. Yet a slight observation as soon as one arrived at Bombay disclosed that the Historical Congress was going to be a success Bombay was turning to History as the leader of *The Times of India,* December 22, put it. The bright and artistic posters, the sumptuous guide programme—illustrated with many pictures; the nice little badge adorned with an old view of the Bombay Castle—the seal of the Bombay Historical Society—and the enthusiasm of Fr. Heras, of Mr. Braz A. Fernandez and of a set of under-secretaries old students of the former—gave a sufficient guarantee of the success of the Congress. And yet the realization surpassed all expectations.

Whoever saw the stream of motor cars entering the University gardens from early 4 o'clock p. m., could rightly guess that the Congress was to be an unprecedented event in the annals of the city of Bombay. The most important and selected people not only of Bombay but even from outside Bombay were there represented: the Right Rev. the Bishop of Bombay, the Hon'ble Sir Govindrao Pradhan, Member of Council, Hon'ble Moulvi Sir Rafiuddin Ahmad, Minister of Education, the Director-General of Archæology in India, the Government Epigraphist for India, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Mirza Ali Akbar Khan and the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Bomanji J. Wadia of the Bombay High Court, the Superintendent of Archæology, Western Circle and delegates of the Universities of Delhi, Calcutta, Allahabad, Annamalai, of the Christian College, Madras; Samaldas College, Bhavnagar, Willingdon College, Sangli; Rajaram College, Kolhapur; Surat College, Watson Museum, Satara and many more were there present.

His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Sir Frederick H. Sykes, Governor of Bombay arrived at 5 p. m., sharp. He was received

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by Fr. Heras, the President of the Bombay Historical Society at the gate of the Convocation Hall and after introducing the members of the Council of Management of the Society and of the Reception Committee to His Excellency, the latter was led to the dais.

The address of H. E. was short but illuminating. He made a rapid survey of historical research from ancient times :—

"It was with more than ordinary pleasure that I accepted your invitation to open the Congress, because, though the Bombay Historical Society has been flourishing for some time, I believe, I am right in saying that this is the first occasion on which a Historical Congress has been held under its auspices. A century ago, the history of pre-Mahomedan India was a blank. So completely had India forgotten her own past that when, in the middle of the 14th century A. D. the Emperor Firoz Shah removed two of Asoka's pillars to Delhi, not a wise man in the whole of his kingdom could decipher them. The story how the key to these long-buried secrets was wrested from the bosom of the past when James Prinsep found the clue by comparing the bilingual inscriptions on the coins of the Indo-Greek kings, is one of the romances of scholarship. Since then an almost embarrassing stream of inscriptions, copper-plate grants, coins and other relics has poured in, the mass of fresh information had to be sorted out and fitted together like the pieces of a gigantic jig-saw puzzle until at last a more or less perfect picture of the Hindu civilisation of ancient India was reconstructed.

Subsequently explorers and archæologists have found traces of its influence in the heart of Central Asia on the one hand, and in Java, Sumatra and Indo-China on the other, so that it is now realised that India was in those days a centre from which culture radiated to all parts of Asia. And now our attention is turned to those astonishing discoveries in the Indus Valley, which seem to indicate that the culture of India was itself linked up with the still older civilisations of the Euphrates. For the Mahomedan period, thanks to the excellent histories written by contemporary Mahomedan historians, less spade-work remains to be done, but as regards Maratha history, an enormous quantity of state-papers, letters and similar documents was scattered about the country on the fall of the Maratha empire, the collation and printing of which are still in progress.

In this great work, scholars belonging to this Presidency have taken a leading part in the past. Bhandarkar, Fleet, Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji, Buhler and Kielhorn, for the ancient pe-

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riod, and Grant Duff, Elphinstone, Ranade and Rajwade for the modern period are only a few out of the many illustrious names occurring to the mind in this connection.

It is for you, gentlemen, to continue the task of sifting the never ending stream of historical material in the same high, disinterested spirit as your great predecessors. Ample facilities for research are provided by the excellent school of Historical Research started by Father Heras, which has done so much to stimulate research in Indian History, the Prince of Wales' Museum, the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute and Bharat Itihasa Mandal in Poona, and the Satara Museum, and here I may say that the Government of Bombay has not been unmindful of its obligation in this matter. In spite of financial stringency, the valuable collection of Maratha MSS belonging to the late Rao Bahadur Parasnis was acquired and housed in a suitable Museum, which is now thrown open to students; and the work of sorting out and publishing the papers in the Poona Daftar, so eagerly awaited by scholars, is making progress at a rapid rate in the hands of Mr. Sardesai and his co-workers.

There is, I think, some tendency, to neglect history for economics in this part of the world. We all realise the importance of economics in these days, but I may call your attention to one fact with regard to History? Our attention is concentrated at this moment on the constitutional changes which are taking place in India. I feel certain we might with advantage pause at times in our ardent gaze into the future to cast our eyes upon the past. Surely we can obtain some help in our efforts to guide the development of this country from a close study of India's past, her culture and her institutions. If this is so, may we not claim that the studies upon which you are engaged have much more than a merely academic importance, and may be a real and valuable contribution to the struggle of the country for political progress. But I must not detain you longer from your work. I wish you every success, and I assure you that I shall follow your deliberations with the keenest interest. With the greatest pleasure I declare this Congress open."

The address of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, the President of the Congress was as scholarly as it was fascinating. When the copies of the Address were distributed, just before he was elected President, many people looked at the last page of the booklet—it was p. 19—fearing to be forced to stay in that crowded hall, during all the time the address was being read; but even for them time flew as fast as an arrow. One of the most interesting passages of Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, was that, in which

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he defended the usefulness of poems and other literary works as sources of history.

The number of members of the Congress was surprisingly high, above 300. Thus, the expedition to Elephanta Island organized by the Executive Committee was a great surprise to all, when they saw a crowd of 200 persons filling up the two decks of a steam launch. The excursion to visit the ruins of Bassein Fort was not so enthusiatically attended, yet a group of nearly 100 persons went through those interesting ruins so ably identified and explained by Mr. Braz A. Fernandes, the General Honorary Secretary of the Society.

The five sections into which the work of the Society was divided were naturally not so well attended, as the members were also divided into five different groups. Yet the aims were perfectly obtained. A number of a very interesting and scholarly papers were submitted and read. It is not necessary to enter into details as they will, I understand, be published in a special Congress Number of the Journal of the Bombay Historical Society.

A special feature of this Congress was the meeting held one of the evenings to discuss two matters of vital importance, the following two resolutions that were then passed revealed the nature of that discussion, the first being moved by Fr. Heras and the other by Dr. Andreas Nell of Kandy:—

1. That the history courses in Indian Universities generally require reform in the opinion of the Bombay Historical Congress and that the attention of the University is invited to the matter of effecting improvements to that direction.

2. That this Congress supports with pleasure the resolution adopted by the Indian Section of the International Congress of Orientalists, Leiden; That the Section of this Congress welcomes with profound satisfaction the announcement that the Government of India proposes to submit a bill in the Autumn Session of the Legislative Assembly for facilitating the participation of Scientific bodies, Indian and Overseas, with the co-operation and under the supervision of the Archæological Survey, in Archæological exploration. This section feels that the excellent work of the Archæological Survey might be further advanced by the co-operation of competent experts belonging to other scientific bodies, both in India and elsewhere; and that in the making of rules for conducting excavations by these bodies proper safeguards be provided against removing the finds out of this country.

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It is sincerely hoped that the first Bombay Historical Congress will not be the last. Such meetings are of great importance to encourage research and inspire new prospective historians to join the noble work of studying the great history of our country.

(*Communicated*)

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Obituary

It is with great regret that we record here of the passing away of Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Haraprasad Śāstri, C.I.E., on the 17th of November last. Born of an orthodox Śāstri family where Brahmanical learning of the orthodox type passed down for centuries, the late Pandit was a typical representative of that class. Born almost eighty years since, he was early initiated as Brahman youths usually are, into the study of Sanskrit; and very early in his life, he was brought into contact with the best of the Pandits that Bengal still had, in orthodox association on occasions of particular ceremonies in influential Brahman families, as we have actually heard from him. That implanted in him the desire for the pursuit of Sanskrit learning. When forced by poverty to be entirely dependent upon others more well-to-do, he struggled on with success, and early became a well-known figure for Sanskrit learning in Bengal. As he himself mentioned, he remembered almost seventy years of Sanskrit learning and Sanskrit learned men, and had as long ago come into contact with Sanskrit manuscripts. He began work in Sanskrit manuscripts as early as 1878 under the inspiration of that great Bengali Savant Dr. Rajendralal Mitra. Since then his studies have lain in various branches of Sanskrit learning, and much more particularly in the search for manuscripts and their cataloguing. He was a man of extraordinary learning, and his knowledge went into detail, which is surprising for the vastness of his learning. His connection with search for manuscripts began in 1891, and since then he examined the manuscript collections of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, continuing the work of Dr. Rajendralal Mitra. He asquired a vast mass of manuscripts for the Government of India, and succeeded in cataloguing them partially. He was twice deputed to Nepal for the acquisition of manuscripts, and he brought a pretty large collection. He assisted Professor Macdonnel of Oxford in the collection of Vedic manuscripts, during his tour in India for the Max Muller Memorial. He was mainly responsible for the purchase and cataloguing of the 7,000 Nepalese manuscripts acquired for the Bodleian Library.

His literary activities were in connection with the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the Bangĺya Sahitya Parishad, and the journals in which he published various articles. He was a Vice-

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President of the Asiatic Society. He was elected President of the Indian Oriental Conference, and delivered an address of great learning, conveying a mass of information about Sanskrit manuscripts. He was too ill to be able to read the address, and the pleasant duty fell to us, and the address was appreciated very highly by the vast audience. Our association continued through the two years of this presidency of the Oriental Conference. He was honoured with a C. I. E., and a Mahamahopadhyaya by the Government of India, and the Dacca University did itself honour by conferring the honorary degree of D. Litt. The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland elected him as one of their Honorary members. He was among the first Fellows elected by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, when this elective fellowship was instituted in 1910. By his death, Sanskrit learning in India loses its doyen.

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Sir John Marshall on the Indus valley civilisation

Indian Arcœological Survey Report: Publisher, Mr. Arthur Probsthain, London.

AN EPOCH-MAKING WORK.

The long-expected publication on *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilisation* on which Sir John Marshall, late Director-General of Archæology in India, was engaged for several years has at last been brought out in three sumptuous and magnificently illustrated volumes by the well-known Oriental Publisher, Mr. Arthur Probsthain. As Sir John points out, this book should, more than any other, serve to dispel the notion that the pre-Aryan peoples of India were altogether on a lower plane of civilisation than their Aryan conquerors. The discoveries made by the Archæological Department at Mohenjo-Daro in Sind between the years 1922 and 1927, as well as the excavations almost simultaneously carried out at Harappa in the Punjab, exhibit the peoples of the Indus valley in the 4th and 3rd millennia, B. C., in possession of a highly developed culture in which no vestige of Indo-Aryan influence is to be found.

In many respects these discoveries are similar in significance to those made two generations ago by Schliemann and others in Greece and Asia Minor, which proved to be the key to the study of the Mycænian civilisation that was afterwards fused into that of the Aryan Hellenes. "The parallel that Greece presents in this matter, is the more significant, because in Greece, as in India, it was the happy fusion of the southern and northern races and the intermingling of their widely divergent talents that led to the splendid outburst of classic thought and art; and the memory, moreover, of what she owed to her older population, was effaced almost as effectually in Greece as it was in India. To the ancient Greeks the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were as much the beginning of things as the Vedas still are to Indians, many of whom may regard it as little short of impious to look beyond these venerable writings for a possible source of inspiration and knowledge."

THE SIGNIFICANCE AND PLACES OF INDUS CULTURE.

More comprehensive even than its significance and relation to later Indian culture, this newly unearthed Indus culture, brings

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out the importance of the role played by paleolithic man in India and his evolution into the later stages of culture. The Indus discoveries present a picture of a people using utensils of stone side by side with those of copper or bronze, but living in large cities and carrying on agriculture and trade, and enjoying a plentiful supply of gold, silver and copper. The people cultivated wheat and barley as well as the date-palm, they domesticated the buffalo and the short-horned bull, beside the sheep, pig, dog, elephant and camel. The cat and probably the horse were unknown to them. They were skilful metal-workers, used tin as an alloy in the making of bronze, and knew to make the bow and arrow, spear, axe, dagger and mace. They had not yet evolved the sword; nor probably did they know the use of defensive armour.

In the arts of ornamentation they painted *encaustic* designs on pottery, occasionally made vessels of copper, bronze or silver and overlay them with gold, of faience, ivory, carnelian and other stones. They had figurines and toys made of terra-cotta, shell and faience, and they employed, in writing, a form of script which was analogous to the other contemporary scripts of Western Asia and the Near East.

Thus the Indus culture might be said to correspond in its general features, with the chalcolithic civilisations of Egypt, Sumer and other countries of Western Asia. It however presents features peculiar to the Indus valley which is its basis. It displayed the use of cotton for textiles which was not extended to the western world until two or three thousand years later. Again "there is nothing that we know of in pre-historic Egypt or Mesopotamia or anywhere else in Western Asia, to compare with the well-built baths and commodious houses of the citizens of Mohenjo-Daro". Also the Indus sites have not yet afforded relics of magnificent temples, palaces and tombs; but they have given plenty of evidence that the ordinary folk lived in commodiously built houses which were provided with wells, bath-rooms and elaborate systems of drainage, thus showing that the ordinary folk enjoyed a great degree of comfort and luxury. Their art and religion have a peculiar character impressed upon them. The engravings of humped and short-horned bulls on their seals are not only vigorous and refined; but show a continuity with that aspect of Hinduism which is bound up with animism and the cult of Śiva. Indeed, Sir John Marshall thinks that the most surprising revelation of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa is the discovery that "Śaivism has a history going back to the Chalcolithic Age or perhaps even farther still, and that it thus takes its place as the most ancient living faith in the world."

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SOME OF ITS NOTEWORTHY FEATURES.

The architects of Mohenjo-Daro knew well how to construct two and three-storeyed houses according to the usual methods. There are remains of a pillared hall which is conjectured to have been a place of worship and a great bath which is the most imposing of all the ruins. Among conclusions drawn from the study of this Indus civilisation is one by Professor Langdon, who makes out a strong case for deriving the early Brahmi alphabet of India from the Indus script. The language of this script was not Sanskrit; it might possibly have been Dravidic; but as yet there is no definite tangible basis to proceed upon. The skeletal remains point to the presence of four different races in the valley. Stone representations of the phallus have been found at these sites; and they are held to prove conclusively that phallism in India was of pre-Aryan origin. Tree worship also seems to have prevailed; and evidences are available for proving the existence of the Nāga cult. Many of these ideas and cults later manifested themselves in the religion of those who were the descendants and successors of the Vedic Aryans, as the result of the latter's fusion with pre-Aryans.

This Indus civilisation was a part and parcel of the greater civilisation, which, in the Chalcolithic Period, stretched across the broad Afrasian belt. It had spread into the Punjab and as far as the Simla hills on one side. While indissolubly connected with other civilisations by community of ideas and inventions, it is no less individual and national than those of Egypt and Mesopotamia. It is likely that the people of the Gangetic plain and of Central India in that age were possessed of the same degree of culture. Baluchistan was an important cultural centre, dependent on the Indus valley for many of its amenities of life. The Vedic civilisation was neither the progenitor, nor the lineal descendant of this Indus civilisation; very likely it was the later of the two and had an independent development.

C. S. S.

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The Failure of Federalism in Australia

BY

A. P. CANAWAY, K. C. (N. S. W.)

Oxford University Press, *Price* 15sh.

The federal ideal has been accepted for India. It is to be wondered whether there has been any exhaustive discussion of alternative plans before it was declared that India was to go in for some type of a federal constitution. Such a preliminary discussion would have necessitated a detailed scrutiny of the history and practice of federalism in countries where that system is being worked in its various forms. Whatever transitional confusions may be felt necessary and even inevitable, at least the statesmen of the Round Table have made it plain that India should ultimately have a type of federalism in which we shall intermix with the federal principle, the Parliamentary executive. The great example of such a constitution is the Australian Commonwealth. The Report of the Round Table discussions does not reveal an appreciation of the difficulties which Australia has had to face in consequence of this experiment of hers. This is the more unfortunate as facts and arguments connected with this controversy had been martialled skilfully and authoritatively in the course of the evidence and Report of the Royal Commission on the Australian Commonwealth Constitution which reported only a few months before the Conference assembled. Competent critics had also published their views which would have been of inestimable value. Mr. A. P. Canaway's study of the Failure of Federalism in the Australian Commonwealth has been before the public for many months; still the Round Tablers have not given evidence of their study of the interesting work, nor have they tackled the difficulties he has so clearly formulated.

But for a certain unnecessary heaviness of style, the book is one which would make a very wide appeal to all students of institutions. Political institutions acquire permanence however faulty their construction, because you always have a large number of people who are averse to change. They shy at experiments and would rather suffer present inconvenience than take the risk of possible future trouble as a result of readjusting the systems under which they live. Conservatives in Australia were at first opposed to Federation. Now they are tooth and nail against Unification. Yet it would appear that the ideal set before the

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small numbers of the Australians when federation was ushered in was that when the numbers grew and the citizenship was consolidated, the progress should be towards closer and yet closer union. Whether it is time to unify the entire Australian territory or merely to take a step in the direction by further strengthening the National Government is a question which it is not easy for outsiders to answer. Mr. Canaway, and the great Labour Party of Australia certainly think that the time is ripe for full Unification. Within the last thirty years, they claim that the states united under a federal scheme have so far developed a national patriotism and have acquired sufficient common interests to justify their abolition and the creation of a perfectly unitary state.

Mr. Canaway urges his arguments with persuasive force. The development of Dominion Status is isolating Australia more and more from the mother-country. It would soon be necessary for her to depend on herself for her defence. Her international relations will have to be framed by herself primarily. If that is so, would not the problems of defence and of external relations be the more easily solved by an Australian government enjoying plenary jurisdiction over every part of the nation and on every subject? In times of war, we hardly know what is a necessary power and what is not. Instead of merely implying a large jurisdiction in the category of defence, an implication which may be resisted at or by the courts, is it not vital to entrust the power to one single government indisputably? It is in the realms of economics and finance which bear also upon the nation's external policy that there is maximum constitutional inconvenience in Australia arising out of her federal system. The regulation of wages and of hours of work, the compensation payable to workmen, the law relating to Trade Unions and similar very important questions are not dealt with by one body on uniform principles. There are several sets of institutional machinery which deal with them differently, often in a manner to conflict with each other. Take again the question of construction of Railways. State Railways are built on varying gauges so as to break the speed and efficiency of the national transport system. There is then the important problem of increasing urbanisation in a country where pastoral arts are the chief source of national wealth. How are you going to keep a sufficient supply of human material for work in the farms in a sparsely populated land as Australia? The control of public lands is a state subject; and except by regulating the use of the vast areas of public land, it would be impossible to deal with this problem of too rapid

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and detrimental urbanisation. On the question of Public Loans of the Commonwealth and State governments in Australia, we have heard a good deal recently. In spite of the Agreement between the States and the National Government, we have seen the utter collapse of credit and threatening financial chaos, for which the solution offered by the only constructive statesmen in Australia, the Labour Party, is the immediate and full Unification of the country.

These are aspects of national life which can be assessed and evaluated with reasonable correctness. But there are subtler effects, on popular efficiency and psychology which do not yield to analysis in the same way. Mr. Canaway has done well to deal with this aspect in great detail. The presence of rival sets of jurisdictions, causing divided loyalties and sectional allegiances is the surest source of weakness in any nation. It is a truism that in the modern world, only common interests make for a really national existence. Common language and common racial characteristics have their part; but anyone who studies the laws of naturalisation would know that these are but secondary; what is vital is the unity based on interests. If that is so, the maintenance of artificial divisions based on historical accident among a people who have not merely many overwhelming common interests but who all speak the same language, are in a single geographically compact area, although of continental dimensions, and belong to a substantially identical racial stock, cannot be supported by any valid considerations. It is merely the conservative instinct that opposes a change so salutary. The conservation of efficiency and the fostering of ability as well as sentiment, in fact those ideas and factors which help to build and effectively maintain a nation up to the mark in the acute competition of modern times are all weakened in a land where you are going to maintain these institutions especially when they offer no counter-availing advantages. Nations are not museums, and you can never sustain an institution because it was handed down to you from your father though it is proved beyond doubt that it is a clear misfit and quite useless. In Australia, they have to fight unreasoning conservatism.

The practical difficulties of working a constitution which mixes up the federal and the Parliamentary principles were foreseen even at the time of the initiation of the new constitution. Responsible government, which means that the executive shall stand dismissed if the legislature does not require its continuance and that the executive shall answer for its acts day by day to the Legislature which lays down what those acts shall be, is practi-

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cable only with a well-ordered party system. Let us assume that there is full play for such a party system in a federal system. In the National government one party may be dominent and may control policies and administration; in the various state governments different parties may be in power working out contradictory policies. This would be bad enough if there were only two parties in the land; the evil would be absolutely unmanageable if the parties were many as all over the world they are tending to be. No demarcation of functions between the central and state authorities can be so complete that the effect of policy adopted by one will not react upon that of the other; and executives controlled by parties professing different if not opposite ideas of things are to deal with questions of a similar character at the same time. If you take the States themselves, they enjoy the same powers internally and *inter se*. Now, the policy of one state on a state subject dictated by a certain party may be unacceptable to the minority, and the result may conceivably be that the citizens of the minority may even think of migrating to another state where their party is in the ascendant. Laws of Divorce are generally referred to in this connection. This gives rise to a large number of problems which cannot be well reconciled at all. On the other hand the vesting of full authority in one Executive will subject that body to responsibility to a single legislature, and upon all matters of concern to the people, responsibility can be enforced with certainty and speed. Mr. Canaway has discussed this aspect of the problem with great ability and acumen. The vindication of his views is in the proposals now made by the Labour Party for the complete legislative and administrative unification of Australia. Whether that proposal is accepted by the Australian democracy or not, Mr. Canaway has done his people service by calling their attention to the leading aspects of the problem in the manner he has done.

N. D. V.

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Reviews

Diṅnāga's Pramāna-Samuccaya (Chapter I), with Vrtti, Tīkā and Notes, Edited and Restored into Sanskrit, by H. R. Rangaswami Ayyangar, M.A., Government Oriental Library, Mysore; Mysore University Publication; 1930; pp. xxiv; 110; Price Rs. 3 or 4sh. 6d.

The eminence of Diṅnāga in the history of Indian Logic is equalled only by the difficulty of obtaining his books in the language in which he wrote them. A familiarity with some aspects of his teaching has long been established through references in later logicians who controverted his views. The *Nyāya-bindu* and its *ṭīkā*, polemical works which came at intervals more or less long after Diṅnāga, have also been of considerable help. Sometime ago Mr. Randle made a collection of the references to Diṅnāga in other works, under the title "*Fragments from Diṅnāga.*" But anything like a proper knowledge of the master had to come necessarily from Tibetan and Chinese sources, where his works were preserved in translation. The re-rendering of these into Sanskrit, so as to accord with what is known of the works through references elsewhere, is an eminently praiseworthy task. Diṅnāga's *magnum opus* is undoubtedly the *Pramāna-Samuccaya*, and it is no little credit to the Government and the University of Mysore that they have taken up the task of re-rendering his work into Sanskrit.

The scholar in charge of the work has had the benefit of a sound equipment in Tibetan and Chinese under Professors Vidusēkhara Bhattācārya and Tucci. The latter refers as early as 1928 to the work on *Pramāna-Samuccaya* undertaken by his pupil Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar. The result is in every way worthy both of the task and the expectations. We have with us so far only the first chapter, that treating of perception. It considers the definition and the divisions of perception, and closes with the refutation of the definitions of perception offered by Vasubandhu, the Naiyāyikas, the Vaiśesikas, the Sāṅkhyas and the Mīmāmsakas. The Editor's notes bring together the reference in other works, so that the reader may compare them easily with the reconstructed text. We heartily endorse the opinion expressed by Sir B. N. Seal in his Foreword that this work "will help to lay the foundation of an accurate and scientific study of the history of Indian Logic" The book is attractively got up. It is to be hoped that the remaining five chapters will follow soon and at rapid intervals.

S.S.S.

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Bhāvaprakāśana of Śāradātanaya ed. with an introduction and indices by Yadugiri Yatirājasvāmi of Melkot and K. S. Ramaswami Sāstri Śirōmani, Oriental Institute Baroda. 1930 Baroda (Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. XLV. pp. 77 plus 410.)

Sanskritists will welcome this scholarly edition of Śāradātanaya's treatise based on four manuscripts and provided with an elaborate introduction and useful indexes. More of the nature of a popular compilation, rather loose in its structure and style, Śāradātanaya's work does not mark any important stage in the development of the doctrine of Rasa or the theory of dramatic construction. But the author provides more or less reliable summaries of so many of his predecessors, and his illustrations contain so many recondite literary allusions and he incorporates in his work so much of the thought of classic writers like Bharata, Dhananjaya and Ānandavardhana, at times their very words "without an acknowledgement," that this publication of the Bhāvaprakāśana may be expected to furnish valuable assistance in researches into the history of Sanskrit literature and criticism. At the end of a careful discussion Pandit Ramaswami Sastri Śirōmani fixes the date of the composition of the Bhāvaprakāśana 'in a period ranging between 1175-1250 A.D.' He also furnishes an Appendix giving the full texts and the sources of passages cited as illustrations by Śāradātanya; and three indexes of (1) works and authors cited, (2) Important words and (3) verses in the Bhāvaprakāśana. Careful proof reading however does not seem to be received by the work. The editors of this book deserve to be congratulated on the soundness of their work.

K.A.N.

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The Round Table

Summary of articles in No. 84, September 1931.

One article after another in the September issue of the *Round Table* throws light on some aspect of the sudden crisis which overtook the world and most particularly Europe—last July. The first article, on the political foundation for disarmament, brings out the political discontents on which economic trouble was nourished. But its relevance to the immediate question of financial maladjustment is only one side of the problems that will confront next year's disarmament conference. "Its decisions", runs the article, "will probably determine, not merely whether universal disarmament is practicable or not, but whether the ideals which underlie the League of Nations are to prevail, or whether Europe is going to return to the old system of an armed balance of power, which would be the certain prelude to another world war." The writer points out the only way in which the second of these alternatives can be avoided, and suggests the line which the British Commonwealth should take at the Conference.

The reader is then taken right across the globe to Shanghai, which bids fair to become one of the greatest cities of the world. The problem of its future Government is "the knot at the centre of China's tangled relations with foreign Powers", in the words of Mr. Justice Feetham's Report to the Shanghai Municipal Council, which forms the text of the second article. The western ideas of self-government and of the supremacy of law were never better taught to a people from whose tradition they were absent than in the foreign settlements of China's greatest port. But the path of these settlements has never been a smooth one, and the negotiations with regard to extraterritoriality have brought them to the most critical period in their history. A policy is suggested.

The third article deals directly with the events that led up to the recent crisis. It describes the effect of scientific and industrial development upon the world's economic life, and shows how this economic movement has been contradicted in the realm of politics. "We have constructed a twentieth century economic world which we are still trying to reconcile with eighteenth century political ideas". That is the general background of the slump and of the crisis. Against it, there was set a tendency for production to outrun consumption in the basic commodities of

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world trade, and so the article goes on to discuss the problem of output restriction and price control. Trade barriers, monetary disequilibrium and the maldistribution of gold, political difficulties, are weighed as contributory causes; the leading events of the crisis are recalled, and suggestions put forward for a way out.

The fourth article is from an American pen, and describes the political reactions in the United States to the Hoover plan for the postponement of a year's war-debt payments. That leads naturally to an estimate of the chances of the possible candidates at next year's presidential election, and, by way of the tariff problem, to the economic relations of the United States with Soviet Russia and the conception of a planned economy.

The Report of the Macmillan Committee on the relations between finance and industry, which is analysed in the next article, while it proposes, in particular, large changes in the financial mechanism of London, has lessons for the rest of the world too, since no local adjustments can hope to make the international gold standard work satisfactorily or secure an emergence from the present slump. However, as the article points out, that does not excuse Great Britain from facing her own special difficulties. It is significant that the record of events in Great Britain is headed, "the Narrow Way?", since the main problem with which it deals is the choice between economy and a broader road, as presented by the report of the unemployment insurance commission and of the economy committee, and by the recent threat to the stability of the pound sterling. A special section describes the course of wage adjustments in the past few months.

A correspondent in India reports the doubts and difficulties that have darkened the prospect of an orderly settlement of the great constitutional question which is to be faced again this autumn—the uneasy working of the Irwin-Gandhi agreement, the hardening of the Moslem case, the hesitation of the Princes, agrarian discontent and the outbreak of terrorism.

The Irish Free State sends an account of the renewal of armed disturbance and of the efforts of the government to meet it. The intrusion of religion into questions of public appointments and the development of the status of the Free State within the British Commonwealth are other matters of much more than local interest. From Canada comes an account of the parliamentary session, including the amplification of the "Canada First" tariff, and a first-hand description of the condition of the western farmer, suffering at once from low prices and from terrible weather. "Western Canada is at war."

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Among the articles from the self-governing Dominions that from Australia will perhaps be read with most interest since it describes the course of events which forced Australia to face a choice not unlike that which confronts the British people, and the alternative which she actually selected. Of outstanding interest in the article from South Africa are the section on the relation between the Dominion and the Privy Council, and the description of attempts to forsake the federal for the unitary form of government. The account from New Zealand of the attempt to meet the economic emergency by means of govenrment economies, relief works and general wage reductions cannot fail at this juncture to interest the British reader.

Summary of articles in the December Number.

The December issue of *The Round Table* is naturally largely devoted to the crisis. Its world-wide character renders any purely national treatment impossible, but can be approached from various points of view. Thus, the first article, "Great Britain and the Financial Earthquake", takes the British aspect. Our peculiar difficulties are examined, though even these cannot be made clear without explaining the whole machinery of international credit before and after the war, and the factors which have combined to throw it out of gear for which purpose it is necessary to take in both the new and the old world, and countries of a widely differing character. But the author does not confine himself to diagnosis he suggests a cure both for the world in general and for Great Britain in particular. He puts forward indeed what the present Government has been given—a mandate to formulate a policy

The subject of the second article is "The European Problems of the United States," in other words, the world crisis seen from the American angle. History is again invoked—this time to explain American action in Europe. Starting from what he calls the "Paris idea" embodied in the Peace Treaties, the author reviews in succession the Dawes Plan, the Young Plan, the lending period which made reparation payments possible for the time being, the German crisis in which this period ended, the Hoover holiday which raised so many hopes, and finally, the Hoover-Laval understanding. Some shrewd comments follow, and a suggestion which might, the writer claims, effectually put people out of conceit with war and help disarmament.

These two articles lead naturally to the wider aspect which the third article "The World and the Crisis," discusses. It

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describes the fall of the British currency, but from the international, rather than the national standpoint, though the consequences for British industry and the danger of beneficial effects, and still more of artificial measures designed to improve our balance of trade, being neutralised are not left out of account. The political factors which lie at the root of the economic and financial problem are also dealt with, and the concluding section suggests the conditions which must precede recovery.

The next article has nothing to do with either finance or economics. It is just a plain tale, and its burden is the fortunes of the Protestant religion—a far more important element than is usually supposed—in Soviet Russia. But this simple story brings out in an extraordinarily vivid way the remorseless nature of Soviet methods and the peculiarities of Bolshevik psychology.

The fifth article is "Germany in the Storm". German weakness to-day is the nightmare that German strength used to be before the war. A German collapse would hit every one of us, especially the Americans and ourselves, to whom an immense sum is due from the Germans for the private debts which the French are now claiming should rank after reparations. German trade, moreover, is indispensable for our own recovery. The condition of the debtor must therefore be a subject of general interest. The Round Table article takes us through all the post-war phases of German life—reconstruction, disillusionment, and now the rise of the Nazis, the secret of whose appeal is explained by the writer, as well as the failure of parliamentarism and Dr. Bruning's gallant effort to bring his country through. Its greatest anxiety at the moment is the possibility of British tariffs adding to the loss of trade which it has already incurred through the depreciation of the pound.

Next, we have a chronicle of the events of a critical month of the Manchurian crisis, followed by some reflections by the author, who writes from China, on the behaviour of the parties to the conflict. Then "India and the Round Table Conference" discusses Mr. Gandhi's reasons for so suddenly deciding to come to London, and the reaction in India to the proceedings of the Conference.

The British article describes the General Election, the events which led up to it and the formation of the new Government. One of the most interesting consequences of the defeat of Labour described by the author is a tendency to adopt a new policy. A second section explains some of the effects of the devaluation of the currency on British industry. In the Irish article an illumi-

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nating account is given of the recrudescence of political unrest and crime which recalls the old unhappy days just before the creation of the Irish Free State. The consequences of the fall of the pound are also described, and the condition of the balance of Irish trade is dealt with in the usual economic section. Among the contributions from the overseas Dominions the one which will attract most attention is probably the article on "South Africa and the Gold Standard", but the accounts of the way in which New Zealand is meeting her difficulties and of Australia's struggle towards financial rehabilitation recall our own position in so many respects that they are sure to interest British readers. The decision to resume the Imperial Conference at Ottawa next year gives a special importance to all the Dominion articles.

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Select Contents from Oriental Journals

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society: London July, 1931.

An old Imperial 'sanad' relating to Rāisinā or New Delhi by P. V. Bisheshwar Nath Reu.

An Ismailitic work by Nasiruddin Tusi by W. Ivanav.

The latter portion of this contribution is the summary review of the *Raudatu'ttaslĭm* in the order of its chapters.

Notes on Some Pali words: by E. H. Johnston "most of the words have been chosen for discussion because of their interest for Sanskrit lexicography and other general Indian subjects."

A New Factor in the Problem of Sumerian Origins by S. Langdon.

Two Notes on Indian Head-dress: by C. H. Fābri Ph.D., Leyden.

There are interesting plates illustrative of the head-dress of women in early India.

Where the Rainbow ends: by L. C. Hopkins.

Varuna, god of the sea and the sky: by Jean Przyluski, an attempt to explain the name of the Vedic god Varuna as a development of *baru charu* a non-aryan god of the sea.

Māthara and Paramārthe by S. S. Suryanarayan.

Discovery of the last Phonetic sūtras of Pānini by Raghu Vĭra.

Epigraphia Indica January, 1929.

Prakrit Inscriptions from a Buddhist site at Nāgārjunikonda by Professor Vogel.

Nalanda Stone Inscription of the reign of Yaśovarmmadeva by Hirananda Sastri.

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The Calcutta Review July, 1931.

The League of Nations and India by C. V. Hanumantha Rao.

Kingship in Bengal, Behar and Orissa in ancient times by Sarate Ghosh.

The Future Constitution of India by Prof. Pramathanath Bannerjee.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore, July, 1931.

Glimpses into the Married Life of the Ancient Tamil people by K. G. Sesha Aiyar.

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The importance of this article is enhanced by English renderings of a few lyrics from the Kalittogai.

The Date of Māṅikyavācaka by K. G. Sanker.

The date assigned is towards the close of the seventh century A.D.

The Kadambas of Banavase by V. Raghavendra Rao.

Social Legislation in Ancient South India by C. M. Ramachandra Chettiar.

Keladi Dynasty by S. N. Naraharayya.

Life and work of Kesiraja by Dr. R. Shama Sastri.

The author of Sabdamaṇidarpana, a well-known work on Kanarese Grammar.

Journal of the *American Oriental Society*, June, 1931.

Columbus and Cathay and the meaning of America to the Orientalist by Berthold Laufar.

The sources and Nature of *Puruṣa* in the Puruṣasūkta by W. Norman Brown.

The Palmyrene gods at Dura Europos by C. Hopkins.

An examination of the Dura cult.

The Avestan prefix *aś* by Hermann Collitz.

Light Out of Ur by Ira M. Price.

Note on the Sankskrit ghostword *Padvinśā* by F. Edgerton.

Note on *Rātha-chidra* by A. K. Coomaraswamy.

Indian Art and Letters, by the India Society, London, Vol. IV. No. 2

Sculpture in Siam by Reginald le May a survey of sculpture in Siam of which no less than nine schools are distinguished.

A newly discovered Illustrated Indian manuscript by O. C. Gangoly.

"The Ms. of the *Vālagopāla* stotra is of 'signal importance for the study of a fascinating branch of Indian painting, and from the Indian point of view, of scarcely less interest than the medieval illustrated mass of the Psalter or the Book of Hours."

The Interrelation of Indian and Persian Art by J. V. S. Wilkinson.

A Central Museum of Asiatic Art in London by H. V. Lanchester.

Ibid Vol. V, No. 1.

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The Poetry of Sir Muhammad Iqbal by Dr. Mulk Raj Anand.

The Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries. Extracts from the Report are given.

Journal of the Department of Letters Vol. XXI (Calcutta University) 1931.

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Sulika, Cūlika, and Cūlikā-Paiśāci by P. C. Bagchi.

Greek and Hindu methods of Spherical Astronomy by P. C. Sen Gupta.

The paper aims to present a comparative view of the Greek and Hindu methods in spherical astronomy and to bring out the independence of the Hindu astronomers in this subject. It is clear that the Hindu methods are in no way connected with the method of the 'Analemma'.

The position of gold in the Indian currency of the Hindu Period by A. K. Sarkar. An attempt to show that gold was coined and circulated as money in ancient India. The author says that it is quite likely that gold remained the sole standard and that values of silver and copper followed that of gold.

Government and Administrative system of Tippu Sultan by S. C. Sen Gupta.

Śankara on Empirical and Transcendental knowledge by S. K. Mukherjee.

An essay on the nature of empirical knowledge, its limits and defects.

Journal of the Bombay Historical Society, Vol. III No. 2.

A newly discovered Image of Buddha near Goa by Rev. H. Heras.

Remains of a pre-historic civilisation in the Gangetic Valley by Dr. A. Banerji Sastri.

Rāyabhāga Inscription of Dasimarasa by Prof. K. G. Kundanagar.

The Marathas in Bengal (1740-1765) by K. K. Datta.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Vol. XII Pt. II.

Aryan Immigration into Eastern India by D. R. Bhandarkar.

Origin of the Rajputs by N. Roy.

Kumarila's verses attacking the Jain and Buddhist Notions by Dr. K. B. Pathak.

Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population by J. C. Ghosh.

Chronology of the Pāli canon by Dr. B. C. Law.

The Hindustan Review: Oct-Dec. 1931.

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The Lore of the Finger-Ring: A study by U. C. Chopra.

Journal Asiatique July-Sep. 1930.

Note on an Eclipse in the time of Aśoka (?) by Robert Fazy.

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October—December 1930.

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A Greek Text relating to Aśvamedha by Roger Goosens.

Note on Ālambanaparīksā by La Vallee Poussin.

Mesopotamian Element in the Art of India by Dr. C. L. Fabri.

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CORRECTION-SLIP.

Owing to certain difficulties and disabilities, Mr. Abdul Aziz's article on 'History of the Reign of Shāh Jahān' in the last issue (*Journal of Indian History*, XI, i, 86-113) could not be printed with the author's final corrections. As a result, the following correction-slip is issued. The reader is requested to make the necessary alterations in his copy.

1. Page 108 of *J. of I. H.*, XI, i, should be considered cancelled entire; and for it should be bodily substituted the following passage:

LAND REVENUE.

We now proceed to appraise the land revenue of the Mughal empire, taking each successive reign separately.

AKBAR.

One may begin with Abū'l-Faẓl. In the opening passage of the 'Account of the Twelve Provinces' in *Ā'ín*, we are told that when the *Jam'-i-dahsāla* (annual revenue calculated on ten years' average) was assessed, *viz.*, in the 25th. regnal year (1580-81 A.C.), the empire was divided into twelve provinces (which are named), the total revenue of which amounted to 3,62,97,55,246 *dāms* (or over 9 crores of rupees) and 12 lacs of betel leaves. (*Ā'ín, I*, 386).

Now we know that the so-called Kabul province (one of the twelve provinces) was only nominally under the emperor at that time, and did not fall in until the death of Mírzā Muḥammad Hakím in 1585. Kashmir was annexed in the following year, while Kandahar came under Mughal sway in 1595. All these territories were included in what afterwards became the Kabul province.—Again, Sind was conquered in 1590-91, and Baluchistan followed suit five years later—both territories being placed together under Multan as 'Tatta'.

So even in 1595, while the number of provinces remained the same, *viz.*, twelve, the revenue of the empire must have increased considerably. Abū'l-Faẓl tells us in the passage already referred

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to that the empire in the 40th. regnal year (1595-96 A.C.) comprised 105 *sarkārs* and 2,737 *qaṣbas*,[1] though he gives no revenue total for that year.

Accretion to the empire, however, continued. Berar, Khandesh, and Ahmadnagar were conquered and organized into three additional provinces early in 1601, bringing the total number of provinces to fifteen.

Now *Ā'ín* was finished in the first quarter of 1598. If nothing was added to the *Ā'ín* gazetteer after that date it is obvious that there could be no mention of these three provinces in that work. But Abū'l-Faẓl not only mentions them in the passage already quoted from, but the statistics relating to the two provinces of Berar and Khandesh (called here Dāndes) are actually included in the gazetteer that follows (I, 387-596). The only possible explanation is that these details were entered and some necessary alterations made here and there some years after the *Ā'ín* was completed, the heading 'Account of the Twelve Provinces' being allowed to stand as if by an oversight. The figures for the Ahmadnagar province are not, however, included—which is inexplicable.

The total given by Abū'l-Faẓl refers, as we have said, to 1580-81. But his Gazetteer is brought down to 1601. Casting up the sums separately given for the various provinces in the body of the Gazetteer, I arrive at a figure close upon 13¼ crores of rupees,[2] to which is probably yet to be added the revenue of the Ahmadnagar province, which is unknown. It is to be assumed that the difference is accounted for by the addition of territory already noted.

1. This word seems to mean here a *maḥal* or *pargana*.

2. I confess the exact revenue of the Kabul province is not easy to ascertain from Abū'l-Faẓl's statistics.

---

2. In Table on page 113 (end of the article) the second item in the list should have in the 'Date' column '1580-81' instead of '1595-96'; and this second entry should be placed at the top.

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Journal of Indian History

A Chēra Royal Poet of the Śangam Period

By

Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyar,

Retired High Court Judge, Trivandrum.

Every student of the early history of South India knows that the Chēra kingdom was one of the three prominent Tamil kingdoms in ancient times. Scholars have in recent years attempted to give us, with some measure of success, the ancient history of the Chōḷa and the Pāṇḍya kingdoms; and in those attempts, they were able to gain much valuable help from the recorded achievements of south Indian epigraphy. The story of the Chēra kingdom still awaits the magic hand, and the constructive genius of the scholar who will be able to weave it from the scanty material that is available. That story is unknown to epigraphy. It has to be gathered only from the old Śangam works, which eminent Tamil scholars like Mahāmahōpādhyaya Pandit V. Swaminātha Aiyar—*clarum et venerabile nomen*—have, by their disinterested, indefatigable and inestimable effort, made it possible for lovers of Tamil to possess. The task of building up that story is manifestly difficult; and it requires a stout heart as well as a knowing head to attempt it; but let us hope that some day we will be able to have a reasonably connected account of the ancient history of the Chēra kingdom.

The eminent position which the land of the Chēra occupied in the Tamil country is patent from the Śangam works. It is clear that its wealth and importance attracted foreign merchants to its ports, where trade on apparently an international scale was carried on. Tāyam Kaṇṇanār of Erukkāttur, a poet of the Śangam

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age, referring to Muśiri, the modern Cranganore, writes in a poem included in the Ahanānūṛu collection: "The thriving port of Muśiri, where large and beautiful ships of the *Yavanas* laden with gold come, splashing the white foam, on the waters of the Pēriyār belonging to the Chēra, on the banks of which grow *kōngu* and other trees, and go back laden with pepper." (*Aham* 149) Paraṇar, another Śangam poet of the first rank, writes in one of his poems appearing in the *Puṛa-nānūṛu* collection: "Fish is bartered for paddy. Sacks of pepper are brought from the houses to the market. The gold received from the ships in exchange for commodities sold is brought to the shore in barges at Muśiri, where the roar of the surging sea never ceases, and where Kuṭṭuvan presents the rare products of the sea and the mountain to visitors." (*Puṛam.* 343)

If the port of the Chēra king attracted foreign commerce, his court attracted Tamil poets from far and near. A reference to the Śangam classics will show what great patrons of Tamil learning the Chēra kings were, and the countless number of poets who enjoyed their bounty and patronage. Even at the risk of offending the refined ear of the reader with a string of what may be regarded as uncouth names, I shall venture to mention some of the Tamil poets who were the recipients of the Chēra's bounty:—

1. Murañchiyūr Muḍi-nākarāyar,
2. Perum Śāttanār,
3. Kuruṁkōḻiyūr Kiḻār,
4. Poruntil Iḷam Kíranār,
5. Kūḍalūr Kiḻār,
6. Māñkuḍi Marudanār,
7. Muḍa-mōśiyār,
8. Peruñkuṇṛūr Kiḻār,
9. Kuṇḍukaṭ-pāliyādan,
10. Mōsi Kíranār,
11. Pēy-makaḷ Iḷaveyini,
12. Kaḷāttalaiyār,
13. Ōrampōkiyār,
14. Ammūvanār,
15. Kumaṭṭūr Kaṇṇanāṛ,
16. Pālai Gautamanār,
17. Kāppiyāṛṛuk-kāppiyanār
18. Nacchelḷaiyār,
19. Ariśil-Kiḻār,
20. Auvai,
21. Paraṇar,

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22. Kapilar,
23. Nakkírar,
24. Poigaiyār.

The list is not exhaustive; but it is long enough to show how much Tamil literature of the Śangam period owes to the generous patronage it received from Chēra kings. It is a fact of great interest that the well-known *Padiṟṟup-pattu* collection is entirely devoted to the eulogy of the kings of the Chēra country; and another Śangam collection, *Aiñkuṟunūṟu,* was collected at the instance of a Chēra prince, Yānaikkaṭ-Chēy Māntaram-Chēral-Irumpoṟai.

The Chēra kings and princes were not only great patrons of learning; several among them took an honourable place among the Śangam poets as poets themselves. To one of these royal poets, I desire in this short paper to call prominent attention and to pay my humble meed of respectful praise. Chēramān-Peruṁ-Kaḍuṁkō was a ruling king of the Chēra country. Unfortunately, very little is known of this king's history; but there is indisputable evidence afforded by Tamil literature to show that he liberally patronized poets, and that he was himself a poet of the first magnitude. In *Puṟam* 11, a poetess named Pēy-makaḷ Iḷveyini acclaims him as the king of Vañchi, and extols him for his prowess in war and his munificence to poets. There is another poem in the same collection (*Puṟam* 282), which appears in a mutilated form; and so far as I can make out, it is also in praise of this king. He is different from Chēramān Kaḍuṁkō-Vāḻiyādan, about whom the well-known Śangam poet, Kapilar, has sung the 7th decad of the *Padiṟṟup-pattu* collection. This latter king is also known in literature as Chēramān Śelvak-kaḍunkō-Vāḻiyādan; and to differentiate from him the royal poet we are considering, the latter is usually known as Pālaipāḍiya-Chēramān Perum-kaḍuṁkō. The initial descriptive epithet has reference to the fact that this Chēra king is the author of *Pālaik-kali,* the first section of *Kalit-tokai,* which is one of the very best among the Śangam collections. The Aha-nānūṟu collection has also 12 poems by him and *Kuruṁtokai* and *Naṟṟiṇai* contain each 10 by him all dealing with *Pālai.*

Puṟam 11 conveys the information that he was a reigning prince, ruling in Vañchi, where the cool waters of the Porunai flow; and the scholiast, of whom unfortunately nothing is known, explains Vañchi as Karuvūr, and Porunai as Ānporuṇdam. Very learned disquisitions have recently been written by two well-known Tamil scholars of undisputed ability, to establish that

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Vañchi is Karūr in the Trichinopoly district; but, in my view, their position, though superficially plausible, cannot be accepted. That Vañchi is Koḍun-kōḷur, of which Tiru-vañchikaḷam is a suburb. has been held as an undisputed axiom by Tamil scholars from the beginning; and the reasoning by which that view has been attempted to be controverted by these two scholars is more bewildering than illuminating or convincing. It is not my purpose here to discuss the question at any length; but I may, nevertheless, state a few relevant facts of outstanding significance.

The close connection of *Śilappadhikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai* with the Chēra country and its capital city is well-known; and it is worthy of note that while they speak of Vañchi or Vañchi-mūtūr, they do not mention Karuvūr at all. *Padiṟṟup-pattu,* which is devoted entirely to the praise of the Chēras, does not so much as even mention Karuvūr, while Vañchi-mūtūr occurs. The *Puṟa-nānūṟu* collection, which contains many lyrics in praise of Chēra kings, refers by name to Vañchi in three places; but it does not mention Karuvūr anywhere. Among the *Aha-nānūṟu* collection, 2 poems mention Vañchi, and one mentions Karuvūr; and this is the only instance in ancient poetic literature, so far as the published works of the Śangam age go, of Karuvūr appearing in the text. It is also significant that one of the two poems in this collection where Vañchi is mentioned as the city of the Chēra, is by a poet whose name is given as Karuvūr Kaṇṇampālanār (*Aham* 263). In *Pari-pāḍal,* no mention of Karuvūr is found; but Vañchi occurs, and is described as of equal importance with Madura and Kōḷi (Uṟaiyur). So too, in the *Pattupāṭṭu* collection Vañchi alone occurs and its position in the Chēra kingdom is described to be of the same eminence as Madura in the Pāṇḍya kingdom and Uṟandai in the Chōḷa kingdom. *Kaḷavaḷi-nārpatu* was composed by Pōikaiyār to secure the release of Chēramān Kaṇaikkāl-Irumpoṟai, who had been made a captive by Chōlan Kōccheñkaṇṇan; and in that poem too, only Vañchi occurs and not Karuvūr. An examination of the Śangam works thus shows that the ancient poets knew the capital city of the Chēra as only Vañchi, and except in one solitary lyric in *Aha-nānūṟu* (*Aham* 93), they have not mentioned Karuvūr at all. Even this solitary instance need not, as Mr. S. Somasundara Bhārati of Madura has pointed out, be regarded as really an exception; for Karuvūr, as it occurs there, may be explained as meaning 'the prominent or impregnable city,' and need not be regarded as a proper noun. That the city which was known to the poets as Vañchi and was celebrated by them under that name was not Karuvūr of the Trichinopoly district, also seems to be clear from *Aham* 263, where

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Karuvūr Kaṇṇampālanār sings of *Vañchi* as the capital city of the Chēra. Obviously, Vañchi and Karuvūr in Trichinopoly were regarded as two different places; and that derives strong support from another fact we gather from ancient Tamil literature. That the Karuvūr region enjoyed the unenviable distinction of being the cock-pit of the Tamil country is patent from ancient works. Kongu-nāḍu was originally under an independent chief; but it afterwards passed into the possession of the rulers of each of the three Tamil kingdoms. *Padiṟṟup-pattu* 22, 88, and 90 show that it once became subject to the Chēras. *Puṟam* 373 shows the territory had been conquered by the Chōlas; and *Aham* 253 shows that the Pandyās had also brought it under their sway. A place in such a region would obviously be ill-suited for the metropolis of a flourishing kingdom like Chēra-nāḍu. *Puṟam* 5 is sung by a poet called Nari-verūut-talaiār, in praise of a Chēra whose name is given as Chēramān Karuvūr-ēṛiya-oḷvāṭ-kōpperum-Chēral-Irumpoṛai. This Chēral Irumpoṛai must have *gone to reign at Karuvūr*, as his name signifies, from some other city which was the metropolis of the Chēra kingdom; and there can be no doubt that that city was Vañchi. Probably, greed for power and territory, or the political exigencies of the period, impelled the ruling Chēra to establish a viceroyalty at Karuvūr, which as a frontier town was, perhaps, coveted as a key position. This Chēral Irumpoṛai, apparently a junior member of the house, went there invested with palatine prerogatives. From that time, some of the Chēral Irumpoṛais of whom we read in literature probably occupied the position of Chēra viceroys of the north, with their seat of government perhaps at Karuvūr; but more likely at Toṇḍi; but the Chēra king himself had his capital at Vañchi and not at Karuvūr. To avoid all possibility of confusion from the use of the expression *Karuvūr* in the *Aha-nānūṛu* lyric already referred to, the early Tamil lexicons, *Piñgalandai and Śēndan Divākaram*, explain by a separate *sūtra* that Karuvūr denoted Vañchi. That *sūtra* was necessitated because of the occurrence of the unfamiliar or rare word Karuvūr in a classical work; but, perhaps, owing to that very circumstance, later generations in course of time came to regard Karuvūr and Vañchi as alternative names for the same place, little suspecting that it might lead long years afterwards to confusion.

Another fact that we gather from ancient Tamil classics may also be noticed here. Karuvūr of the Trichinopoly district is, as every one will admit, in what was known as Kongu-nāḍu and not in Malai-nāḍu. The third decad of *Padiṟṟup-pattu* is written by

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Pālai Gautamanār, a well known Śangam poet, in honour of Palyānaic-chel-keḻu Kuṭṭuvan, the younger brother of Imayavaramban-Neḍum-Chēralādan, father of Śeṁ-Kuṭṭuvan; and one of the poems in that section (P. 22) tells us that the hero of that decad effected the conquest of Kongu-nāḍu. Obviously then Karuvūr of the Trichinopoly district could not have been the original capital of the Chēras; for the Chēras, as we know from literature, had already, before the conquest of Kongu-nāḍu, established their fame and power as a ruling dynasty in the Tamil country. Again, we gather from *Aham* 209 that Kāri, the chief of Muḷḷūr, slew Ōri, the chief of Kolli-malai, and delivered it to the Chēra, who may be taken to be a successor of either Chēramān Kuḍakkō Neḍuṁ-Chēralātan or Śeṁ-kuṭṭuvan, both of whom were contemporaries of the poet Paraṇar (Puṛam 63, 369, P. P. 5th decad); who in *Aham* 208 and in *Naṛṛinai* 6 and 265 refers to Ōri as still lord of the Kolli mountains. These circumstances will show that Kongu-nāḍu and the adjacent region did not belong to the Chēras originally, but they were acquired by them only later. All this clearly indicates that the capital of the Chēra kingdom, Vañchi-mūtūr, lay elsewhere than in Karuvūr situate in Kongu-nāḍu.

Though Vañchi and Karuvūr had come to be regarded as convertible terms, it did not, however, mean that in the conception of the Tamil literary world the capital of the Chēra kingdom was not Vañchi in Malai-nāḍu, but Karuvūr in Kongu-nāḍu. The commentators, who came several centuries after the Śangam period, when they explained Vañchi as Karuvūr, took care also to state that it was not the Karuvūr of the Trichinopoly district. Thus, Aḍiyārkku-nallār tells us that Vañchi is Koḍunkōḷūr; and Mahāmahōpādhyaya V. Swaminātha Aiyar, to whom all lovers of ancient Tamil literature owe an immense debt of endless gratitude, writes the warning note that Karuvūr, the capital of the Chēra, is the city in Malai-nāḍu and not the Karuvūr situated in Kongu-nāḍu (Maṇimēkalai pp. 190-1,376). Śēkkiḻār, the author of *Periya-purāṇam*, states clearly that Vañchi is Koḍunkōḷūr, and that Karuvūr in Kongu-nāḍu is a town of the Chōlas. The inscriptions found in the latter place are all Chōla inscriptions; and there is nothing in them, or anywhere in literature that I know, which attributes its origin and rise to the Chēras. When Tirujnāna-Sambandha sang a hymn in praise of this place, he called it *Karuvūrānilai*, obviously to distinguish it from Karuvūr or Vañchi of the Chēras in the west coast (Vide his hymn ஏதாண் டெலாமலர்). Modern Tamil lexicons, e.g., *Abidhāna-chintāmaṇi*,

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explain that Vañchi is Koḍunkōḷūr, near Cochin. It is the place that Sundaramūrti has in his *'Tiru-anjaik-kaḷam'* hymn, described in the following words:—

மலைக்குங்கரொப்பன வன்றிரைகள் வலித்தெற்றி முழங்கி
வலம்புரிகொண்
டலைக்குங்கடலங் கரைமேன் மகோதை யணியார்
பொழிலஞ்சைக்களம்.

Makōdai or Muśiri is the sea-port in the delta of the Periyār, and is a part of the ancient royal city of Koḍunkōḷūr, of which Tiruvañchik-kaḷam in the centre formed the royal residence. It is a fact of history that the ancient town of Koḍunkōlūr extended from the bar at the coast to Tṛkaṇā-matilakam, about four miles inland north-eastward, once the seat of a famous Śaiva shrine, now unfortunately destroyed, to which the temple at Guruvāyūr and other places were once subordinate. Another name for Tṛkaṇā-matilakam was Guṇapuri or Guṇakā, apparently the Guṇavāyil of *Śilappadhikāram.* It is interesting to note that immediately to the north of Cranganore (the modern anglicized name for Koḍunkōḷūr) and forming its approach from the back-water leading to Ernakulam, is a place bearing the significant name of Karūr-paṭana or, as it is more generally called, Karur-paṭanam. It stands on a hill, and it is only about four miles north of Tiruvanjik-kaḷam.

In *Śilappadhikāram,* we read that Śeṁ-kuṭṭuvan left Vañchi-muṟṟam to go to the forests. It will be seen that Vañchi-muṟṟam and Vañji-kaḷam have the same meaning. It has, however, been objected to the identification of Vañci with Tiru-Vanji-kaḷam that the name of the latter place is properly *Añjaik-kaḷam* (அஞ்சைக்களம்) as that is the name which it bears in Sundarar's hymn. No doubt, in Tamil Śāivite literature, *Tiruvanjai-kaḷam* is the consecrated name for the place; but I cannot regard this difference in spelling as a serious objection. Place names often change in form, owing to various reasons; and the change here by no means presents an insurmountable obstacle. In two *vaṭṭeḻuttu* inscriptions found in the Śiva temple at Tiruvāñji-kalam, the name is written as *Tiruvañja-kaḷam* (திருவஞ்சக்களம்). By a pardonable mistake Va (வ) may have been regarded as A (அ) transformed owing to rules of *sandhi,* and I (இ) changed into Ai (ஐ) innocently in pronunciation, or from false analogy. We know that there is a tendency for Tamil place-names to end in Ai (ஐ) cf. Uṟandai, Karandai, Tanjai, Nellai, Anantai.

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Thus Tiruvañji-kaḷam may have in course of time been unconsciously changed into *Tiruvañjai-kaḷam;* but however that be, the objection appears to me to be too trivial for serious consideration. It may also be noted that in the inscriptions found in the Śiva temple at this place, the name of deity is given as Vañjuḷēśa (vide 6 Trav. Arch. series pp. 191-2).

For some reason, which at this distance of time it is not possible to ascertain, Vañji, the ancient capital of the Chēras also came to bear an alternative name Karuvūr; but as stated above it misled no Tamilian into believing that the Karuvūr was the town of that name in the Trichinopoly district. The alternative name of Karuvūr for Vañji seems to have been known from the first century of Christian era; for Ptolemy (*circa* 150 A.C.) mentions Karoura as 'the royal seat of Kerobothras'. Bishop Caldwell, influenced by the similarity of names, suggested the identification of Ptolemy's Karoura with "Karur, an important town in the Coimbatore district, originally included in the Chēra kingdom" (Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages); and this wrong lead, which the learned bishop unwittingly gave, has now been followed by some scholars with what I am compelled to regard as misdirected zest and misapplied learning. Possibly when he suggested the identification, Dr. Caldwell had momentarily forgotten that Pliny in his *Natural History* (before 77 A.C.) had mentioned Muzuris as the capital of the Chēras. After stating that 'Muzuris' was "the first emporium of India", he said: "The station for ships is at a distance from the shore, and cargoes have to be landed and shipped by means of little boats. There reigned there, when I wrote this, Coelobothros". A few years after Pliny, the Periplus (*Circa* 89 A.C.) contained the statement that 'Mouziris', "a city at the height of prosperity", was "two miles distant from the mouth of the river on which it is situated" and was "the seat of Government of the kingdom under the sway of Kerobotras." From the language of the classical writers, there can be no doubt that the two places, Karoura and Mousiris, were not regarded as essentially different. Karoura of Ptolemy denoted the interior, where the Chēra's palace was, the present Tiruvañji-kaḷam, while Muzuris denoted Musiri or Makōtai, the commercial mart or port, about a mile and half lower down, at the mouth of the Periyar-the Pēriyāṟu of *Paḍiṟṟup-pattu* 28, 43,,88, *Aham* 149, Śilap, etc.—or the Pseudostomos of the Greek writers. The same idea is conveyed by *Puṟam* 343 which describes Muziri as the place where the Chēra presents the produce of the sea and the mountains to those that visit him.

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If Vañji is Koḍunkōḷūr or Tiruvañjik-kaḷam, it must follow that the river Porunai or Ān-poruntam could not be the river Āmrāvati, but should be the Periyār which falls into the sea on the southern side of Koḍunkōḷūr. Kōṭṭai-mukku, which is the site of an old fort at the north-eastern corner of Cranganore, is washed by the river Periyār on the south. The river is mentioned and described in *Paḍiṟṟup-pattu* as the most important of the rivers in the Chēra kingdom. The following citations show that Vañji is on the bank of the Porunai river:—

தண்பொருனைப் புனற்பாயும்
வின்பொரு புகழ் விறல்வஞ்சி. *Puṟam* 11

வஞ்சிப்புறமதிலலைக்குங்
கல்லென் பொருநை. *Puṟam* 387

தன்பொருனை குழ்தருஞ் வஞ்சி *Śilap canto* 29

Porunai is apparently the Tamil variant of *parṇi* in Tāmra-parṇi, for which river it is the recognised name in classical Tamil; and, according to the lexicons, an alternative name for *Porunai* is *Porundam*. Thus

பொருநை தண்பொருந்தம் *Pingalantai & Divākaram*
பன்னியபொருனையின்பேர் பகர்ந்த தண்பொருந்தானே. *Chūḍamani*

Tāmra-parṇi is, as is well known, a river of the Pāṇḍya kingdom flowing east-ward; and obviously to distinguish the Porunai of the Chēra country from the Porunai of the Pāṇḍya kingdom, the prefix Ān (ஆன்) was sometimes added to the former. Thus we have

தண்ணான்பொருனை வெண்மணல் சிதைய *Puṟam* 36
தண்ணான்பொருநை மணலினும் பலவே *Aham* 93

These are the only two instances in old literature that I have come across, where the prefix appears. It has been suggested that in these lines Ān (ஆன்) is, perhaps, a mistake for Ār (ஆர்) ; but it is, I think, a needles suggestion. The ancients may have thought that both the Tāmra-parṇi and the Periyār had the same source; and indeed, their sources are not far distant from each other. The former rises in Agastya-malai and the latter in Aḷitai-malai (அழிதைமலை), most probably the (அயிரைமலை) of the Śangam works, both in the Alpine chain of the peninsula, separating the Tinnevelly district from Travancore"; and both rivers came to bear the same name, Porunai from the proximity of their sources; but to distinguish one from the other, the particle Ān (ஆன்) was prefixed to the river in the west. Ān denotes Vṛṣabha; and Ān-porunai would mean the *porunai* that is in flood in the month of Vṛṣabha or Vaikāsi. Both *Piṅgalandai*

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and *Divākaram* mention a river *Ānporundam,* besides Porunai or Porundam. I may state here that Lakṣmi Dāsa in his *Śukasandēśa*. (C 1000 A.C.) describes the river flowing near the *rājaḍāni* 'Mahōdayapuri' as 'the sister of the Tāmra-parṇi.' After the manner of Kāḷidāsa, Lakṣmi Dāsa employs a parrot as messenger to take his message to his wife at Tṛkanā Matilakam or Guṇapuri. The expression occuring in the poem is **शोदरी ताम्रपरर्ण्या श्रूर्णी** In this expression, I am inclined to think that *Chūrni* is a mislection for *Pūrṇi, Pūrṇā;* for written in grantha characters, one may easily be mistaken for the other. I also learn that in *Śankara Vijaya,* wrongly attributed to Vidyāraṇya, Kāḷaḍi, the birth place of Śrí Śankara, is said to be situate on the banks of the Pūrṇa river. This work, I am convinced, is spurious, being not more than a century old; but I refer to it only to show that in a Sanskrit work written very long before the present controversy arose, the Periyār bears the name Pūrṇā.

Accepting *Ānporunai* or *Ānporundam* as an approved literary name for the river on which Vañji is situate, we have still no warrant for taking those names to denote the Āmrāvati river. The name *Āmrāvati* is unknown to the Śangam poets, lexicographers, or the commentators. It is said that in *Karuvūr-Sthala Purāṇam,* a recent work by a comparatively unknown author, the following line occurs:

பொற்புமலியாம் பிரவதியான் பொருனையெனவும் புகலுவாரால் :

and on this casual statement found in a work of fancy or imagination, is rested the momentous conclusion that Ānporunai is Āmrāvati! Another reason given is that Ambiram (ஆம்பிரம்) means the mango tree; and as the Pingalandai gives Chūta-nadi (சூதநதி) as a name for Ānporundam, and as Chūtam (சூதம்) also means the mango tree, Āmrāvati and Ānporunai are identical! I may add in passing that *Divākaram* does not mention Chūta-nadi (சூதநதி) as one of the names of Ānporuntam. All the lexicons-*Pingalandai, Divākaram* and *Chūḍāmaṇi* agree in mentioning *Āni-vāni* or *Vāni* as a name for Ānporuntam; and Vāni is a western river belonging to the Chēra (P. P. 86), which, it is admitted, cannot be the Āmrāvati.

As a result of this short discussion, we may hold that Pālaipāḍia Chēramān Perum-Kaḍuñko reigned at Vañji or Tiruvañjikkaḷam or Koḍunkōḷūr, which is on the Periyār river. His date cannnot be accurately fixed; but some approximations may be reached. He was anterior in date to Māṇikkavāsakar, as a comparison of *Kuṟuṁ-tokai* 37 with *Tiruk-kōvaiyār* 276 will show;

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and I have placed Māṇikkavāsakar in the third or fourth century A.C. (I. Tamilan Antiquary No. 4). It is an established literary tradition that Nal-Anduvanār of Madura, who wrote *Neydal-kali,* was also the compiler of the collection that goes by the name of *Kalit-tokai,* and contributed the initial invocatory poem to it. This poet is mentioned by Marudan-Iḷa-Nākaṇār in *Aham* 59, which speaks of Tiru-paraṇ-kuṇram as the hill which has been sung about by Anduvan; the reference being to *Pari-pāḍal,* 8. Marudan-Iḷa-ṉākanār has sung about Pāṇḍyan Ilavandikaip-paḷḷit-tuñjiya Nan-Māran (*Puṛam* 55). This Pāṇḍya has also been sung about by Nakkíranār, son of Kaṇakkāyanār of Madura (*Puṛam* 56); and the language of the poem shows that the king and the poet were contemporaries. Nak-kíranār has celebrated in song Neduñjeḷian, the hero of Talai-ālaṁkānam in *Aham* 36 and in *Neḍu-nalvāḍai.* Paraṇar has also sung in praise of this monarch (*Aham* 116; 162), and is also the author of the fifth section of *Paḍiṟṟup-pattu* in praise of Śeṁ-kuṭṭuvan of *Śilappadhikāram* fame, who rewarded him handsomely. I have on previous occasions discussed in detail the probable date of *Śilappadhikāram* and Śeṁ-kuṭṭuvan, and have tried to establish that the date should be sought in the second century of the Christian era (1 I.H.Q. pp. 473 ff, 643 ff). We may therefore conclude that Pālai-pāḍiya Perum-Kaḍunkō, who should be placed earlier than Nal-Anduvanār, belonged, perhaps, to the first century A. C. From the prefix *perum* to the name, it will not be amiss if we hold that this royal poet was anterior in date to Chēramān Kaḍunkō-Vāḷiyādan, whom Kapilar, the friend of Paraṇar, has celebrated in *Paḍiṟṟup-pattu* 7.

The provisional date here suggested for Chēramān Perum Kaḍunkō may be supported by another line of reasoning. It can be gathered from *Naṟṟiṇai* 391 that this Chēra king was a contemporary of Koṅkānaṭṭu Nannan, a well-known chief and patron of learning, about whom several Śangam poets have sung. This Nannan had annexed to his dominion some portions of the Chēra kingdom; and the Chēra king, Kaḷankāyk-kaṇṇi Nār-muḍic-Chēral, slew him in battle at Perumtuṛai and recovered his lost territory (*Aham* 199; *Paḍiṟṟup-pattu* IV). Kaḷankāyk-kaṇṇi was a son of Imayavaramban Chēralādan and consanguine brother of Śēran Śeṁ-Kuṭṭuvan (*Paḍiṟṟup-pattu* IV and V). It follows that Perum-Kaḍunkō must have been anterior in date to Kaḷan-kāyk-Kaṇṇi, and his successor, Śeṁ-Kuṭṭuvan, who were both reigning Śēras; and as Śeṁ-Kuṭṭuvan is placed in the 2nd century A.C., Perum-Kaḍunkō may well be placed in the latter half of the 1st century A.C.

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The eminence of *Kalit-tokai* among the Śangam classics is attested by its description, *Kali* which is praised by scholars (கற்றறிந்தார் போற்றுங்கலி) occurring in the old *veṇbā* that enumerated the eight Śangam collections known as *eṭṭu-tokai*. A later Tamil poet, in his admiration for the poetic excellence of *Kalit-tokai*, goes so far as to say that he prizes it as higher than Tiru-Takka Dēvar's *Jīvaka-Chintāmani*, Kambar's *Rāmāyaṇam*, *Tiruk-kuṛal* and *Perunkadai!* This may be exaggerated praise; but there can be no doubt whatever that, judged by any standard of poetic excellence, the poems of *Kalit-tokai* are, in point of lyric form and passion, beauty of sentiment and felicity of expression, among the best in ancient Tamil literature.

The poems of *Kalit-tokai* are regarded as classical illustrations of what is known to Tamil students as *ahat-tiṇai*. In ancient days, Tamil society seems to have regarded love and war as practically embracing the entire field of human pursuit and activity; and these two supplied the two categories of *poruḷ* or poetic material. Tamil rhetoricians call these two categories *aham* and *puṛam;* and it is interesting to note that this classification is as old as the *Tolkāppiyam* itself, which gives a detailed account of their grammar. *Aham* denotes internal or subjective state; and it relates to the moods and fancies, feelings, sentiments and passions of lovers placed in diverse circumstances and situations. *Puṛam* denotes external or objective pursuits; and it treats of outside relations, principally war, and embraces within its scope the treatment of the political organisation of the Tamil people, and the rules and conventions regulating the mutual relations of the chiefs of the Tamil land. Five regional varieties are postulated and described by Tamil rhetoricians; and these are *Pālai* or desert region, *Kuriñji* or mountain region, *Mullai* or forest region, *Marudam* or arable country and *Neydāl* or seaboard region. Each of these regions has its distinctive features, natural and also conventional, and is peopled by its own stratum of society, differing in occupation and the level of social and economic culture or development from the people of other regions; and each has its own presiding deity. Thus, suitably to its desert character, *Pālai* has for its deity Durgā and the burning sun; its inhabitants are robbers and highwaymen, the animals of the region are worn-out elephants, tigers and wolves, and the appropriate birds are vultures. The deity of *Kuriñji* is Muruka or Subrahmanya; its people are Kuravars, who gather honey and live on roots and millet and on game; among its animals are elephants, lions, tigers, bears and boars, and its birds, the parrot and the peacock. The presiding

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deity of Mullai is Māyōn or Kṛṣṇa. Its inhabitants are Iḍaiyar, who are neatherds and shepherds, and are also lower agricultural people living on cereals other than rice, their pastime being playing on pipes; its animals include the hare and the deer, and its birds the peacock and the wild fowl. The appropriate deity of Marudam is Indra. Its inhabitants are Uḻavar, who cultivate paddy for food; they are pure agriculturists. The characteristic animal of the region is the buffalo, and its birds are the stork, the duck and the water fowl. Varuṇa is the deity of Neydal; the inhabitants of the region known as Paradar or Nuḻaiyar, are fisher folk, who live by fishing and manufacturing salt. Shortly then, we may say that the Tamil country was, according to the evidence supplied by early Tamil literature, peopled by five occupational classes, each class being appropriate to one specific region; and these we may term pure agriculturists, fisher folk, pastural people and cattle keepers, hunters and robbers.

Kalit-tokai consists of five sections, each by a different author. Each section is exclusively concerned with the distinctive motif of married life accepted as appropriate to the specific region of which it treats. Of the fourfold objects of life, *Aham* is concerned with *Kāma* or, as it is called in Tamil, *Inbam*. It is concerned with enjoyment or pleasure, especially the pleasure of conjugal life. Obviously, the vicissitudes to which life is subject must depend considerably on the physical conditions of the region and the occupation and general mode of life of its inhabitants; and poetic convention in Tamil has prescribed a distinctive motif for the love poetry of each of the five regions, in accordance with its distinctive physical and social character. According to Tamil poetics, the appropriate motif of *Pālai* amatory poetry is *pirital* or separation; and the lyrics of *Pālaik-kali*, accordingly, describe the effect on the wife when the husband proposes to go to distant lands across an intervening desert, in quest of wealth. The married couple do not belong to *pālai-nilam*, but may belong to any of the four other regions. It is the prospect of separation and of the journey through a desert that supplies the poet with appropriate material for *pālai* amatory poetry. *Pālai* is, for that reason regarded as common to the other four regions; and possibly for the same reason, Tol-kāppiyar in his enumeration of the *nilams* omits *pālai*. The *pālai* section of *Kalittokai* is by Chēramān Perum-Kaḍunkō; and it consists of 35 lyrics of finished artistic beauty of form, charm of expression and richness of poetic imagery. They are faceted gems fashioned by a master. The artist is equally skilled in describing the awful desolation of the desert with its

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harrowing scenes of anguish, and the moving tenderness of the loving Dravidian wife, whom the very thought of a possible separation from her husband fills with agony; and between these two extremes of horror and love, the poet sounds a range of passion tones with marvellous skill and subtlety. The poems form lovely cameos of the Tamil wife's invincible attachment to her husband, even though he may, as he occasionally appears to be, stone-hearted, and the Tamil maid's staunch loyalty to her mistress; and as illustrations of married life in ancient Tamil society, they are of great human interest. I append English echoes of the first ten poems of *Pālaik-kali*, in the hope that, perchance, some of my readers will thereby be attracted to the study, not only of this section but of the other sections also of *Kalit-tokai*, of which a very valuable and scholarly edition has been published by Brahmasri Pandit Anantarāma Aiyar, retired Tamil Pandit of the Presidency College, Madras, whose recent death will be deeply mourned as a great loss to sound Tamil scholarship.

Specimens from Pālaik-kali.

Palai 1.

As blazed the wrath of Śiva, when to save
Ayan[1] and other gods, who sought His aid,
He smote the dreaded, troublous Rākṣāsas,
And their destructive triple fortress laid
In utter ruin, with like fierceness burns
The sun, whose heat intense beats on the rocks,
And bursting them, with wreckage blocks the way
In that vast desert! And in quest of wealth
That fearful region dost thou now propose
To cross, forsaking e'en thy loving wife,
Whose constant thought is but of thee, and who,
If thou shouldst leave her, would give up her life!

When those who once had wealth beseech thy help,
It may vexation cause to thee to lack
The needed means; and so, belike, thou dost
Desire to cross the mountain, seeking wealth.
What value has that wealth when it is weighed
Against the bliss thou sharest with thy wife,
To whom thy separation will bring death?

1. Brahma, the creator of the Hindu Trinity.

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To fail to help the needy who implore
Thy aid is mean and unbeseeming; so
Thou wouldst go forth beyond the hills in search
Of riches. But what are they worth, compared
To the true happiness thy presence gives?
Thy wife did marry thee, regarding thee
As the reward deserved by her good deeds,
And trusted thou wouldst never her desert.

If one not having sufficient to meet
His want entreats thy help, and thou shouldst be
Unable to assist him, thou wouldst feel
Distressed; and so thou wouldst the desert cross,
Pursuing wealth. What is it worth, compared
With the felicitous companionship
Of thy true wife, who like Arundhati[2]
Is honoured as incarnate chastity?

When I with him expostulated thus
And urged he should not prefer wealth to thee,
If thee he truly loved, thy spouse, behold!
E'en as the strong male leader-elephant
Yields to the *yāl's*[3] soft, persuasive strains,
Though unsubmissive to the mahout's goad,
Submitted to thy humble servant's plea,
And has his contemplated journey stopped!.

Palai 2.

Thou art intent on leaving; dost thou know
The wretchedness felt by thy faithful wife?
Her heartless neighbours' gossip fills her mind
With pain and shame. She dreads the very thought
Of thy great agony when thou dost cross
The desert vast. The bracelets which she wore
Have slipped from off her wrists. Her welling tears
Her eyelids are too powerless to hold.
The fever of her burning love hath wrought

2. The chaste wife of Vasishta. She is held as the ideal chaste wife and is given a place near her husband in Great Bear.

3. A Tamil stringed musical instrument somewhat like the Vīna of modern times. Editor.

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Great havoc to her shapely face and limbs.
Her conquering beauty's gone. And yet thou wouldst
Insist on going! May I say a word?

My imploration thou with disregard
Hast treated. Know, thou art her very life,
And thy departure hence will mean her death!
If my poor words avail not against thy will,
From flowers shrunk, that withered with their stalks
When ponds upon thy path ran dry, learn thou
That with thy spouse her kinsfolk too will die!

Take head, if thou dost leave, her beauteous form
And features will for certain wear away.
Slight not my words; for, if she die, learn thou
E'en from the sight of withered flowering vines
That lost their life when shrunk the trunks of trees
To which they clung, her kinsfolk too will die!

I do entreat thee not to leave thy spouse.
Forsake her not, just after this short spell
Of married bliss, if thou wouldst have her live.
Wouldst thou still go? O! May the tender leaves
And branches, that have shared the hapless fate
Of withered trees that block thy path, convey
The truth to thee, that all her kinsfolk too
Will breathe their last when she doth pass away.

Thou wouldst not harken to my remonstrance?
O! May the terrors of the desert wild
Like true relations who will dare set right
When one goes wrong, prevent thy going hence!

Palai 3.

My mistress knows thou dost, with spear in hand,
Forsaking her, intend in search of wealth
To cross the desert wild, where robbers prowl,
Strong-limbed and fierce, with curly shag and eyes
Like tigers, shooting down with deadly shafts
Poor travellers, whose tortured agony,
From sight of which e'en vultures keep away,
They view with callous hearts and joy malign.

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She thus complains: "My spouse not satisfied
With long embrace of me, on whose young breast
The shining pearl-strings nestling lie, will toy
And dally with my hair, which he will plait!
I fail to comprehend his present mind.

"My lover, when he sees my ornaments
Have by his warm embrace been disarranged,
Will place them right, repeating all the while,
The ceaseless-flowing nectar from my teeth,
Like pointed thorns or blades of reed-grass, sharp,
Gives more exhilaration than one gets
From toddy. How his present mind is changed!

"My husband will with love-filled eyes regard
My shapely, gold-hued breasts, when me he clasps
In fond embrace; and not content, the beads
Of perspiration from my forehead fair
He will himself remove! His present mind
I fail entirely to appreciate."

The happy married life you two enjoyed
Made her expect fresh tokens of thy love,
And never led her to anticipate
Such separation as thou dost intend.
The very thought of it has filled her mind
With torture. Shouldst thou even for a day
Desert my mistress, she would not survive!

Palai 4.

To the bewilderment of robbers vile,
Large-eared, huge-jawed and ruttish elephants
In herds obliterate the desert track.
If thou didst know thy wife is worth to thee
Far more than aught beyond the desert wild
Thou dost intend to seek, small need were there
To tell thee, that like seamen in a gale,
Which has their ship destroyed, she would be plunged
In mute despair. What further can I say?
When such her plight, the planets and the stars
Themselves will thy departure hence prevent.

Like to a scene of noisy festival,
Which after all the gaiety is o'er,
Though it deserted looks, does still not cease

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To be, dost thou expect thy wife can bear
To continue to live when thou hast left?

Like to a country that has been laid waste,
Which fills its ruler's mind with pain and grief,
But still continues to exist, will she,
Her face bereft of all its loveliness,
Retain her life, when thou hast gone away?

Like lotus blooms which, though the tank wherein
They grow runs dry o'er-night, fade not at once,
But still continue fresh, dost thou believe
She will remain alive when thou hast left?

O gracious sir! Know this for very sooth!
The day thou leavest her and dost proceed
Towards the desert in thy quest of wealth,
That day will she give up her precious life!

Palai 5.

Thou tellest me the desert is so parched
For want of rain, the wild and roving deer
On prickly cactus plant is forced to feed;
And by the shafts of heartless robbers pierced,
Wayfares in that arid region lie
Writhing with thirst, which they attempt to slake
With tears that trickle to their dried-up tongue!
If 'tis thy notion this would frighten me,
Thou dost not know my nature. 'Tis not meet
Thou shouldst our bond thus disregard and go!
To be with thee and, in thy journey, share
With thee the perils of the desert track,
Know that alone can give me happiness!

Palai 6.

May I, fair sir, a simple question ask?
Thou wantest now to go in search of wealth
To foreign lands, beyond the desert wild,
Where, scorched by summer heat, the elephants
With bodies shrunk and thirst unquenched, pursue,
Mistaking it for water, the mirage!
Knowest thou how my mistress feels, while thou
Dost preparations make to go abroad?

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While thou, the bow-string tightening, dost test
Its tautness with thy fingers, know from me,
Across her shining face dim sorrow spreads
As does a dark cloud o'er the faultless moon!

While thou thy belt dost gird and careful fill
With arrows sharp thy quiver, know from me,
Her tears the lids with black cosmetic lined
O'erflow, like pouring rain from out the cup
Of water lilies, slender stalked and blue!

While thou unfeeling, caring but for wealth,
Thy trusty shield dost burnish, know from me,
The shining bangles her round wrists desert,
As falls the pollen from bright-petalled flowers!

Know, if thou dost depart, her life will cease!

The wealth thou bringest home from distant lands
May bring thee pleasure. Will it also bring
Thy dear departed wife to life again?

Palai 7.

Like to a king who by a minister bad,
Unsympathetic and unjust, is led,
The scorching sun with fiery rays doth beat
Upon the desert sands. 'Must' elephants,
The fragrant discharge from whose foreheads once
Attracted swarms of buzzling beetles, now
Deformed and shrunk, lie prone upon the ground,
Their legs outspread, their tusks thrust in the sand,
Like ploughs in dry, hard ground. From heated rocks
Spread scorching waves that render all attempts
To cross the desert futile. And these sands
Thou wouldst now cross without informing us!
A word I have to say; wilt thou hear me?

The seven stringed *yāḻ* when with the fingers played
Yields music sweet. The strings may snap; and then
The instrument is useless! Wealth is more
Unstable than the *yāḻ*. Will, then, the wise
Desire to seek such ephemeral wealth?

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The fickle goddess Fortune oft forsakes
Her one-time favourites, e'en making them
Objects of ridicule. More fickle far
Than she is wealth. Will wise men seek it, then?

The minister who in the sunshine basks
Of royal favour, working still with zeal
But for his master's good, without regard
For his own benefit, doth sudden fall
Under displeasure, and he loses all!
Wealth is inconstant more than royal grace.
Will wise men, then, desire to seek such wealth?

Do not desire this fleeting wealth, my lord!
Thy journey drop; it will be for thy good.
Honour thy guests: enjoy domestic bliss;
Thy home make happy. There lies lasting wealth.

Palai 8.

"Hail, holy Brahman sage! And hail ye all,
Holy disciples with *Kamaṇḍalam*[1]
And trident symbolizing unity
Of the Trmūrtis![2] Ye who 'neath the shade
Of umbrellas traverse these burning sands,
Have ye in this wild region seen a pair,
My daughter and another woman's son,
Who from their homes, their union clandestine
Becoming known, have to the desert fled?"

"Not that we have not seen them. We have seen
The pair, and hold their conduct right. Art thou
The mother of the fair young lady, decked
With jewels bright, who chose accompany
Her lover of manly virtue through the sands?

"The fragrant sandal, though on mountain born,
Has value but to those who use its paste;
E'en so thy daughter in respect of thee!

1. The water-pot in sling or otherwise carried by hermits.
2. The Holy Triad, the Creator, the Protector and the Destroyer. Editor.

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"The precious, shining pearls, though ocean-born,
Are useful but to persons wearing them;
But to their native ocean, of what use?
E'en so thy daughter in respect of thee!

"The music sweet the seven stringed *yāḻ* doth yield
Gives pleasure to the singer, but the *yāḻ*
Does it from music any joy derive?
E'en so thy daughter in respect of thee!

"O! Worry not thyself on her account.
The chaste young maid has with her lover gone,
Who dearer than her parents is to her.
No higher merit for a loving pair
Exists than constancy. That helps, besides,
To keep the two inseparate in heaven."

Palai 9.

Like the youth of the poor, with branches all shrunk,
Like the wealth of the miser, no shelter affording,
Like the wicked, unhonoured, deserted while dying,
Stand withered to the root the bare trees, sore stricken
By the fierce heat of the burning sun in the desert!
Like a land where the ministers fleece without scruple
And grind without mercy the people who groan
Under crushing misrule, is that desolate region!

If she but hears thou dost intend to cross
The desert in thy quest for wealth, her heart
Will on the instant break, and from her eyes
The light of life will flee. Dost thou not know
She could not even bear if thou by chance
Shouldst slip from her embrace, when of a night
Ye slept together, but would moan in pain?

Wilt thou unfeeling go, on gain intent?
If she but hears it, will her eyelids close
In sleep? With tears her eyes will be surcharged
Knowest thou not if thou shouldst keep away
A tiny moment just in sport, her tears
Will spoil the radiant beauty of her face?

If she but hears thou dost in quest of pelf
Mean to depart, thy wife whose radiant form
Is matchless, will in grief be plunged. Dost thou
Not know if for a while thy loving eyes
Light not on her, what misery she feels?

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Glad tidings, my lady of beauty bewitching!
I warned him if for pelf he from you did depart,
You would part with your life; and your lord, so illustrious,
In whose hands shines the spear, did relinquish at once
His journey. So now, wear your bracelets again!

Palai 10.

Munificent in deeds of charity,
Valiant in war, destroying all his foes,
My spouse, so tender in his love to me,
Has gone abroad in search of wealth; but, hark!
I am premonished he will soon return.

He said: "My beauteous love! the scorching sand
Is like the fire too hot for feet to tread!
And in that desert, at the scanty pool,
By restless calves made turbid, waits the bull
That the cow elephant may drink there first!"
Did he not when he started, tell us so?

And he said too: "With leaves all withered, dry,
The desert is a dreadful waste, devoid
Of aught that brings least pleasure to the sense!
And in that desert, the male dove with love
Flapping its wearied wings, relieves the pain
Its listless mate endures!" Said he not so?

And further-more he said: "The burning sun
Dries up the drooping bamboos on the hills
And makes the desert unapproachable!
And in that desert, which no shade affords,
The stag its suffering mate from heat protects
With its slight shadow!" So my spouse declared.

My husband, when he left, did speak to us
Of such endearing scenes that there exist.
He will not stay away, and so prolong
My pain of separation, but must come.
The lizard, hark! betokens his return!
And see, my well shaped left eye quivers too!

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The Gupta and the Valabhi Eras

BY

Mr. M. Govind Pai.

It is well-known that the epoch of 319-320 A. C. ascribed for the Gupta as well as the Valabhi eras and now universally accepted as their true and exact epoch has been solely or mainly deduced from the statements of Alberuni, which in brief are as follows:—

(i) The Gupta era came to be dated after the Guptas had become extinct;

(ii) The Valabhi era is also the Gupta era;

(iii) The Gupta era as well as the Valabhi era are later than the Saka era by 241 years.

That the Gupta era was founded or came into use after the Guptas themselves had become extinct is on the face of it quite improbable, if not impossible; and his other statement that the epoch of the Gupta-Valabhi era is 319-20 A.C. fails in its applicability as will be seen from the following instances.

(1) A solar eclipse on the 15th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Vaisakha has been mentioned in the Bhattakapatra grant[1] of the Valabhi king Dharasena II dated in Valabhi Samvat (V.S.) 257. If Alberuni's epoch is correct, there ought to be a solar eclipse on the specified day in the years 576-77 A.C. But there was none on that day whether in 576 or in 577 A.C., nor in any other year between 573 A.C. and 592 A.C.

(2) The Ceylonese king Meghavarna is said to have sent an embassy to the court of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta,[2] and it is therefore certain that those 2 kings were contemporaries. We know that the Ceylonese king Mahasena, the predecessor of Meghavarna, reigned from 808 to 835 years after the *Nirvana* of Buddha, and also that Meghavarna ruled for 27 years thereafter, i.e., from 835 to 862 years after the great decease.[3] Now according to all established tradition, Buddha's *Nirvana* took place

1 Mysore Archæological Report (M. A. R.) for 1927 (p. 27).
2 Geiger's '*Mahavamsa*' (Introd. p. XXXIX).
3 Ibid (pp. XXXVIII-XXXIX).

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in the year 544 B.C.[4] Whether that date may or may not be correct as the actual year of Buddha's demise, it has to be accepted intact as such, if we would maintain the integrity of the ancient history of Ceylon without affecting its chronology, as that date (544 B.C.) has been in use for over two thousand years as the epoch of the Buddha era in which the entire ancient history of the island has been recorded and the regnal years of nearly 77 successive kings have been dated. Thus then Meghavarna's reign would be from 291 A.C. to 318 A.C., when, according to Alberuni's date, the Gupta era had not yet been founded and Samudragupta perhaps not yet born.

(3) The Khoh plates of Samkshobha[5] dated in Gupta Samvat (G.S.) 209 contain the explicit words '**गुप्तनृपराज्य भुक्तौ**' ('in the enjoyment of sovereignty of the Gupta kings') with reference to the era in which they are dated; and it cannot mean otherwise than that the Gupta kings were still in power and still ruling over the land when those plates were engraved and issued, or in other words the Gupta sovereignty had not yet been overthrown at that time. We have likewise the plates of the Valabhi king Dhruvasena I dated in V.S. 207.[6] If therefore the Gupta and the Valabhi eras are identical, the plates of Dhruvasena I would be evidently 2 years earlier than those of Samkshobha, as is apparent from their respective dates; and if again according to Alberuni, 319-320 A.C. be the common epoch of these 2 eras, V.S. 207 would be 207+319-20=526-527 A.C. and G.S. 209 would be 209+319-20=528-529 A.C.

From the Mandasor inscription of Daksha (F.G.I No. 35), it is evident that Yashodharma was still living and ruling[7] in the Malava year 589 i.e., 532 A.C., and that he was the same as Vishnuvardhana,[8] which was thus only an *alter nomen* of his, and further that he was an emperor.[9] Consequently the fact

4 Ibid (p. XXV).

5 Fleet's 'Gupta Inscriptions' (F. G. I.) No. 25.

6 Indian Antiquary (I. A.)—Vol. V.

7 '**अथ जयति जनेन्द्रः श्री यशोधर्मनामा**' (v. 5), in which the predicate is in the present tense.

8 '**पुनश्च श्री विष्णुवर्धन नराधिपतिः स एव ।**' (v. 6).

9 '**राजाधिराज परमेश्वर**' (v. 7). In F. G. I. (No. 34). Yashodharma speaks of himself as '**स श्रेयोधाम्नि सम्राडिति**' whence also it is clear that he was an emperor. From the words (F.G.I. No. 35) '**तस्य प्रभोर्वंशकृतां नृपाणां पादाश्रयाद्विश्रुत पुण्यकीर्तिः ।**', it is evident that Yashodharma sprang from a family of rulers, and was not of any obscure origin.

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that the defeat and subjugation of the Huna tyrant Mihirakula, which has been so distinctly mentioned in the other Mandasor inscription (F. G. No. 34) of Yashodharma himself, has not been even referred to in this (i.e., Daksha's) Mandasor inscription (F. G. I No. 35) sufficiently proves that Yashodharma's inscription (F. G. I No. 34) is undoubtedly the earlier of these two Mandasor inscriptions, and as such the subjugation of Mihirakula, being so fresh and so recent at that time, was mentioned in it as a matter of course, or in other words the very motive probably that actuated Yashodharma to set it up was more than anything else to make known to the world his victory over Mihirakula and the sway he acquired thereby over dominions vaster than those ruled over by the Gupta kings,[10] wherefore that inscription must have come to be engraved immediately after that victory; whereas while Daksha issued his inscription (F. G. I No. 35), which by the way is purely a private record of the inauguration of a well, Yashodharma's victory over Mihirakula was already some or several years old and that well and widely known fact thus needed no reiteration. Further as Daksha's deceased uncle Abhayadatta is said to have been the viceroy over the region lying between the Vindhya and Pāriyātra mountains (F. G. I. No. 35 v. 19), which position he could hold only after Yashodharma had dislodged Mihirakula from Malva and totally defeated him, Yashodharma must have finished his conquest of Mihirakula and have been crowned as Emperor sometime before Daksha succeeded Abhayadatta whereafter he inaugurated the well. Thus also it is evident that Yashodharma's inscription is several years earlier than that of Daksha. The interval between these two inscriptions may be at least some 15 years, and as Daksha's inscription is of 532 A.C., Yashodharma's inscription (F. G. I No. 34) may be assigned in round numbers to circa 515 A.C. by which time therefore Mihirakula had been entirely subjugated.

The Gwalior inscription of Mihirakula (F. G. I No. 37) in which he is called **'पातः पृथिव्याः'** (lord of the earth) and **'नृपवृष'** (the best of the kings) is dated in his 15th regnal year. Mihirakula therefore must have reigned for at least 15 years before he was finally defeated by Yashodharma, and his overthrow of the Guptas may have been accomplished some 10 years before that date, say in circa 505 A.C., or in other words, the long rule of the Imperial Gupta dynasty which commenced in G. S. 1 (i.e., the 1st

10 'ये भुक्ता गुप्तनाथैर्न सकलवसुधाक्रान्ति दृष्टप्रतापैः।' (F. G. I. No. 34 v. 4.)

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year of G. S.) must have been once for all brought to an end in about 505 A.C.

Now from the Valabhi king Dhruvasena I's plates of V.S. 207 (I. A. vol. V), it is evident that it was emperor Yashodharma himself who anointed Dronasimha, the predecessor and elder brother of Dhruvasena I, on the Valabhi throne.[11] It is equally evident from the expression '**परमभट्टारक पादानुध्यात;**' used in the same plates by Dhruvasena in speaking of himself with reference to Yashodharma that Dhruvasena also acknowledged the suzerainty of Yashodharma, who, however, must have been just or already dead when the said plates were issued; for a mere comparison of that expression with the similar '**तत्पादानुध्यात**' occurring in many a record of the Valabhi kings themselves[12] sufficiently proves the fact that such and similar expressions were used by those kings with regard only to their predecessors whom they had seen and known, but who were already deceased. Hence the expression '**परमभट्टारकपादानुध्यात**' in which Dhruvasena I speaks of himself with regard to Yashodharma conclusively proves that Dhruvasena must have seen and known his paramount sovereign Yashodharma who, however, had been just or already dead when the plates were issued in V. S. 207.

From Daksha's Mandasor inscription (F. G. I No. 35), we have already seen that Yashodharma was still living and ruling in the Malava year 589 i.e., in 532 A. C.

If therefore we accept Alberuni's date 319-320 A. C. as the true and exact epoch of the Gupta—Valabhi era, the date of Dhruvasena I's plates V.S. 207 would be 207+319-320=526-527 A. C. when Yashodharma was still living and ruling; and likewise the date G. S. 209 of Samkshobha's Khoh plates (F. G. I. No. 25), when the Gupta kings should be still ruling over the land as expressly stated in it[13], would be 209+319-320=528-529 A. C. when, as we have seen, the Gupta sway had already been swept away by Mihirakula in about 505 A. C. i.e., about 25 years since. Further according to Alberuni's date, Samkshobha's Khoh plates of G. S. 209 would be later by 2 years than those of V. S. 207 of Dhruvasena I, whereas, in fact, Samkshobha's plates issued while the

11 '**अखिलमन्डलाभोग स्वामिना परमस्वामिना स्वयमुपहित राज्याभिषेकः।**' (vide. also 'Fleet's Kanarese Dynasties' (p. 312).

12 I. A. Vol. VI (pp. 14; 15; 18; 19); Vol. VII (pp. 74; 77; 82) etc.

13 '**गुप्तनृपराज्य भुक्तौ**'

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Gupta kings were still ruling (and therefore prior to circa 505 A. C.) must be more than 25 years earlier than those of Dhruvasena I (which, as we know, must have been issued after the demise of Yashodharma) as at least 25 years had elapsed between the final overthrow of the Guptas in circa 505 A. C. and the date 532 A. C. of Daksha's Mandasor inscription (G. I.. No. 35) when Yashodharma was still living.

The only conclusions deducible, therefore, from these instances are

(1) that the Gupta era and the Valabhi era cannot be identical, and

(2) that neither of them can have 319-320 A.C. for its epoch.

Thus then Alberuni is no safe pilot. We shall have therefore to drop him for the present and in this redetermination of the epochs of the Gupta and the Valabhi eras we shall simply rely upon that chart of facts and figures which the various Gupta, Valabhi and other contemporary records provide.

THE GUPTA ERA

It need not be said that a correct construction of the Gupta genealogy, and at least an approximately correct settlement of their chronology are the first sure and secure steps in the determination of the correct epoch of their era. We shall therefore first try to settle them. From the Bhitari pillar inscription (F. G. I No. 13) we have their correct genealogy from their progenitor Gupta Maharaja[14] downwards to Maharajadhiraja Skanda Gupta, which is as follows:—

Gupta
|
Ghatotkacha
|

14 From the fact that Ghatotkacha is mentioned without the surname 'Gupta' attached to his name wherever it occurs in the Gupta inscriptions (F. G. I. Nos. 1; 4; 10; 12; 13), these inferences can be made—(1) The Gupta kings took the surname 'Gupta' from Chandragupta I (the 1st 'Maharajadhiraja' of the dynasty and the founder of their dynastic era) downwards; and therefore (2) something else, and not Gupta, was the original and real name of their family, and also therefore (3) Gupta, and not Srigupta, was the proper name of their progenitor, and 'Sri' prefixed thereto is merely honorific as is commonly the case with the names of all the kings of that or any other dynasty.

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Chandragupta I
|
Samudragupta
|
Chandragupta II
|
Kumaragupta I
|
Skandagupta

and the dates so far known of some of these kings (F. G. I. Int. p. 17) are as follows:—

(1) Chandragupta II—G. S. 82; 88; 93; 94 or 95.

(2) Kumaragupta I—G. S. 96; 98; 129; 130.

(3) Skandagupta—G. S. 136; 137; 138; 141; 144; 145; 146; 147; 148; 149.

Now from the following verse[15]

वर्षशते गुप्तानां सचतुः पञ्चाशदुत्तरे भूमिम् ।
शासति कुमारगुप्ते मासे ज्येष्ठे द्वितीयायाम् ॥

it is evident that in G. S. 154 a certain Kumaragupta was on the imperial throne of the Guptas; and as G. S. 154 is just 5 years from G. S. 149 when, we know, Skandagupta was reigning as king, it is quite obvious that this Kumaragupta must be the second of that name, and certain it is that he was the immediate successor of Skandagupta, as there is scarcely any room for another between these two, and it is equally certain that he must be the son of Skandagupta in that, his name is the same as that of Skandagupta's father. Assuredly therefore it was after the death of this Kumaragupta II, who perhaps died issueless, that his uncle Puragupta (son of Kumaragupta I and brother of Skandagupta) ascended the throne, and after a brief reign he in his turn was succeeded by his son Narasimhagupta otherwise also known as Baladitya. This Narasimhagupta Baladitya was a contemporary of the Huna tyrant Mihirakula and he thus seems to have been the last monarch that sat on the imperial throne of the Guptas. Knowing as we do that the reign of Puragupta was very short and that Skandagupta could not have ruled for more than 20 years at most

15 Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist monuments, Northern Circle, 1915 (p. 6).

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(circa G. S. 130-150), it may not be unreasonable to presume that the intermediate reign of Kumaragupta II must be a sufficiently long reign of about 40 to 60 years; or in round numbers he may be said to have reigned for about 50 years i.e., from about G.S. 150 to about G. S. 200. Thus then the years G. S. 156 (F. G. I No. 21). G. S. 163 (Do. No. 22), G. S. 165 (Do. No. 19), and G. S. 191 (Do. Nos. 20 and 23) would necessarily fall in the reign of Kumaragupta II.

It may therefore be remarked once for all that neither Budhagupta (F. G. I No. 19) nor Bhanugupta (Do. No. 20) could have ever sat on the imperial thone of the Guptas, as neither of them was a 'Maharajadhiraja' (paramount sovereign), but Budhagupta was merely a 'Bhupati'[16], and Bhanugupta only a 'Raja'[17] and also because the date G. S. 165 of the Eran pillar inscription (F. G. I. No. 19) in which Budhagupta is mentioned cannot but fall in the reign of the Emperor Kumaragupta II and likewise the other date G. S. 191 of the other Eran posthumous inscription (F. G. I No. 20) in which Bhanugupta is mentioned falls also in the same reign. In all likelihood therefore they were members of the Imperial Gupta family closely related to the reigning sovereign and were thus placed in charge of large provinces with some or several feudatories under them: they were thus at most viceroys of the blood royal.

Now let us draw up the Gupta genealogy assigning such dates as have been already found in the records or coins of the respective monarchs from Chandragupta II to Skandagupta, and giving approximate dates to the others that follow.

Gupta
|
Ghatotkacha
|
1. Chandragupta I
|
2. Samudragupta
|
3. Chandragupta II
(G. S. 61-95)
|

[16] 'भूपतौ च बुधगुप्त' (F. G. I. No. 19).
[17] 'भानुगुप्तो राजा' (Ibid No. 20).

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4. Kumaragupta I
(G. S. 96-130)

5. Skandagupta (G. S. 130-150)	7. Puragupta (G. S. 200-210)
6. Kumaragupta II (G. S. 150-200)	8. Narasimhagupta Baladitya (G. S. 210-)

The next question before us is who is the Kumaragupta of Bandhuvarma's Mandasor inscription (F. G. I No. 18)? Whether the 1st or the 2nd King of that name?

This so-called Mandasor inscription of Kumaragupta and Bandhuvarma is neither an inscription of Kumaragupta nor that of Bandhuvarma, but in fact it is an inscription of a guild of silk-weavers who had migrated into Western Malva and settled at Dasapura, which is perhaps Mandasor itself. It is a poem consisting of 2 different parts: the first part relates to matters as they stood in that part of Malva in the Malava year 493 i.e., 437-438 A. C.[18]; and the latter part speaks of matters as they stood in the Malava year 529 i.e., 473-474 A. C., though for certain that inscription as a whole was composed and engraved in 473-74 A. C. In the first part Kumaragupta has been mentioned as the paramount sovereign (v. 23) and Bandhuvarma as his feudatory prince ruling over that part of Malava (vv. 26 & 29), wherefore both of them should be living and ruling in 437 A. C. In the second part, however, there is no mention either of the paramount sovereign or his feudatory ruler of Malva, but on the contrary, we have the following words: 'बहुना समतीतेन कालेनान्यैश्च पार्थिवैः।' (v. 36) —'when a long time had passed by and when other kings (were

18 In this inscription, the sun-temple is said to have been consecrated on the 13th day of the bright fortnight of the month of 'Sahasya' (i.e., 'Pushya') in the Malava year 493. In 493—58=435 A. C., the 'Uttarayana Samkranti' i.e., the winter solstice occurred on this very day, which was Thursday 19th December 435 A. C. It is quite befitting that the temple dedicated to the Sun-god should be consecrated on the day of his northern passage, as it is not only one of the most sacred days in the Hindu religious year, but also the most sacred in the year for the solar worshippers. It therefore seems that the equivalent year should be 435 A.C. and not 437 A.C.

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ruling)'; whence it is conclusive enough that some radical change must have taken place in the affairs of that country in the interval between 437 and 473 A. C.

The astounding feature of this inscription is that while it mentions the names of the Gupta Sovereign and his Malva feudatory who were ruling in 437 A. C. i.e., some 40 years before it was actually composed, it not only does not mention who the contemporary Gupta emperor was and who his feudatory ruler of Malva in the year 473 A. C., when it was composed and engraved; but seems to be obviously reluctant to mention even the name of the then ruler of the country in which it was set up. The only possible conclusion, therefore, seems to be that in the interval between 437 and 473 A. C. that part of Malva must have been conquered and wrested from the hands of the Guptas, and the conqueror must have installed himself or his own viceroy on the throne of Bandhuvarma; for it is certain that in case that country had not yet passed out of the hands of Bandhuvarma or his successors, and also if it had not yet ceased to be a part of the Gupta empire before 473 A. C. the composer, who had eulogized with such patriotic zeal the Gupta Emperor and the prince of Malva that were ruling about 40 years ago, would never have failed to pay an equally fervent tribute to the contemporary Gupta Sovereign as well as the ruler of Malva, when he composed it in 473 A. C. The omission therefore is due neither to any ignorance nor any negligence on the part of the composer, but it seems to be the direct outcome of his deliberate indifference, if not disdain, towards the person who was then (473 A. C.) sitting in the throne of Bandhuvarma.

It is therefore not only certain that Western Malva (in which Mandasor stands) had been conquered between 437 and 473 A.C. and the conqueror could be none else than the Huna leader Toramana, whose Boar inscription of the 1st regnal year (F. G. I. No. 36) stands at Eran in eastern Malva, but also that the year of that conquest falling as it does between 437 and 473 A. C. would in all probability fall in the reign of that Kumaragupta who was on the Gupta throne in 437 A. C. or in that of his successor, if that Kumaragupta had been dead by that time.

Now it is admitted on all hands that the date 52 found on the coins of Toramana is indicative of the number of his regnal year. We have also a record of the 15th regnal year (F. G. I No. 37) of his son Mihirakula. The total length of the reigns of both of them would thus be 70 years more or less. As we have already seen that the downfall of Mihirakula must have been brought

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about in about 515 A. C. by Yashodharma, the 1st regnal year of Toramana would be circa 515—70 i.e., circa 445 A.C. It is therefore in circa 444-445 A. C. that Toramana must have conquered that portion of the Gupta empire over which Dhanyavishnu ruled i.e., eastern Malva, where in Eran his (F. G. I. No. 36) Boar inscription, (in which he acknowledges the suzerainty of Toramana in the latter's very first regnal year) stands. Toramana's conquest of the western Malva, in which Bandhuvarma's Mandasor inscription (F. G. I. No. 18) stands, may therefore be placed approximately between 445 and 450 A. C.

We know that G. S. 165 is the date of the Eran pillar inscription of the brothers Matrivishnu and Dhanyavishnu (F. G. I. No. 19), and as it is only 11 years from G.S. 154, when we have seen Kumaragupta II was on the throne, it must naturally fall within the reign of the said Gupta emperor. Necessarily therefore the Kumaragupta of the Mandasor inscription of Bandhuvarma (F. G. I. No. 18) must be Kumaragupta II (and never could he be Kumaragupta I) inasmuch as its first date 437 A. C. is only some 8 years anterior to circa 445 A. C. which, as we have seen, is the 1st regnal year of Toramana and in which the aforesaid Dhanyavishnu acknowledges the suzerainty of the foreign conqueror.

Thus then while Kumaragupta II was ruling as the paramount Sovereign, and Budhagupta was his viceroy placed in charge of the Government of eastern Malva, the brothers Matrivishnu and Dhanyavishnu were ruling over a petty state in eastern Malva (which had perhaps Eran itself for its capital) subordinate to the feudatory prince Surasmichandra in G. S. 165 (F. G. I. No. 19). The reason why the elder brother Matrivishnu associates with himself his younger brother Dhanyavishnu in the erection of the flag-staff (F. G. I No. 19) seems to be that Matrivishnu was perhaps already well-advanced in years at that time and perhaps also issueless, in which case it is but natural that he should associate with himself his younger brother and heir-apparent in the performance of that solemn act. If so, Matrivishnu was then perhaps of about 60 to 65 years of age, and his younger brother Dhanyavishnu some 10 or 15 years junior. In the latter's Eran Boar inscription (F. G. I. No. 36), Matrivishnu is said to have been dead, wherefore it may be at least 10 years later than both the brothers' Eran pillar inscription of G. S. 165 (F. G. I. No. 19); i.e., to say the Eran Boar inscription may be assigned to G. S. circa 175. We have already seen that this Eran Boar inscription, which is dated

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in the 1st regnal year of Toramana (F. G. I. No. 36) may be approximately assigned to 445 A. C. Therefore G. S. 175 and 445 A.C. must be sufficiently close to each other, or in other words the initial year of the Gupta era must be close to 445—175=270 A.C.

We have seen that G. S. 154 is an early date in the reign of Kumaragupta II, and we have also seen that in G. S. 209, in which Samkshobha's plates (F. G. I. No. 25) are dated, and which is perhaps the latest sure date we have in the chronology of the Guptas, the Guptas were still in power. The difference between G. S. 154 and G. S. 209 is 55 years, and probably G. S. 209 fell within the long reign of Kumaragupta II himself. Even if not, it is certain that G. S. 209 cannot be far anterior to the date of the overthrow of the Guptas and therefore the said date (G. S. 209) may be placed with fair certainty about 15 to 20 years in advance of that event. Consequently the overthrow of the Guptas may be placed in about G. S. 229, and we have already assigned it to circa 505 A. C. The initial year of the Gupta era must therefore be some where close to 505—229=276 A.C.

To find out the true and exact epoch of the Gupta era, we have to use a test case and apply that test to about 20 years from 260 to 280 A. C. to find out which of them gives the correct and accurate results.

The handiest case is supplied by the New Mathura inscription of Chandragupta II, which is dated the 5th day of the bright fortnight of the first (i.e., intercalary) month of Ashadha in G. S. 61 (which is also the 1st regnal year of Chandragupta II).[19] So there was an intercalary month of Ashadha in the 61st or 62nd year of the Gupta era (as it is not expressly stated whether the year is current or expired). Adding 61 and 62 to every one of the years from 260 A. C. to 280 A. C. we find that in all those years from 321 A.C. to 342 A.C. it was only in the year 334 A.C. that the said lunar month was intercalary. Deducting therefore both 61 and 62 from 334 A. C. we get the years 272 A. C. and 273 A. C. Thus then 272-273 A. C. ought to be the epoch of the Gupta era.

19 'भट्टारक महाराजाधिराज श्री समुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्य श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य विजयराज्यसंवत्सरे (प्रथमे?) गुप्तकालानुक्रम...संवत्सरेऽकषष्ठे आषाढमासे प्रथमे शुक्लदिवसे पञ्चम्याम् ।'

This extract was very kindly communicated to me by Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, now the Curator of the Satara Historical Museum; and the same scholar has lately informed me that his article on this inscription will be soon published in the 'Epigraphia Indica.'

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Let us now see if this epoch holds good with regard to other test cases.

(1) The Eran pillar inscription of Matrivishnu and Dhanyavishnu (F. G. I. No. 19) of which we have spoken above, is dated thus—Thursday the 12th lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month of Ashadha in G. S. 165.

Now 165+272=437 A. C. and
165+273=438 A. C.

In 437 A. C. the 12th lunar day of the bright half of the natural month of Ashadha (**निज आषाढ**) was Thursday the 1st of July.

(2) The Khoh grant of Parivrajaka Maharaja Hasti (F. G. I. No. 21) dated G. S. 156, in the 'Maha-Vaisakha' year, on the 3rd lunar day in the bright half of the month of Kartika.

156+272=428 A. C.
156+273=429 A. C.

The lunar day specified in the grant is equivalent to 16th October 429 A. C., when, according to the 12-year cycle of Jupiter, the year was Maha-Vaisakha.

(3) The Khoh grant (F. G. I. No. 22) of the same prince dated G. S. 163, in the 'Maha-Ashvayuja' year on the 2nd lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month of Chaitra.

163+272=435 A. C.
163+273=436 A. C.

The specific lunar day is 17th March 435 A. C. when the year of the 12-year Jovian cycle was Maha-Ashvayuja.

(4) The Majhgawam grant ((F. G. I. No. 23) of the same prince dated G. S. 191 in the 'Maha-Chaitra' year on the 3rd day of the dark fortnight of the month of Magha.

191+272=463 A. C.
191+273=464 A. C.

The specified day is 14th December 463 A. C. when the year of the said 12-year Jovian cycle was Maha Chaitra. The date as doubly recorded in this grant proves that the scheme of months in the Gûpta year was 'Purnimanta' i.e., to say the dark fortnight preceded the bright.

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(5) The Khoh grant of Samkshobha (F. G. I. No. 25) dated G. S. 209 in the 'Maha Ashvayuja' year, on the 13th lunar day of the bright fortnight of the month of Chaitra, which was also the 29th day of the same month of Chaitra.

209+272=481 A. C.
209+273=482 A. C.

In 481 A. C. the Maha-Ashvayuja year commenced on the 10th or 11th day after the vernal equinox (which was 18th March 481 A.C.) i.e., to say it began on the 28th or 29th of March, and lasted till about 7th May 482 A. C. The day specified in the grant, which is 29th March 481 A. C., thus happens to be the very first day of the Jovian Maha-Ashvayuja year. At the end of this grant, there is mentioned also the solar day चैत्र दि 29' i.e., the 29th day of the month of Chaitra, which therefore is identical with the lunar day mentioned in the body of it. This double record of the date also conclusively proves that in the Gupta year, the arrangement of the months was 'Purnimanta.' It also seems to settle another important point, and it is that the full-moon day of the month of Phalguna was the first day of the Gupta year, for the date 29th March of this grant which is also said to be the 29th day of 'Purnimanta' month of Chaitra, is exactly the 29th day from the full-moon day of the month of Phalguna (both the days inclusive) which occurred on 1st March 481 A. C. Probably therefore it was on the full-moon day of the month of Phalguna (i.e., Wednesday 19th February 273 A. C.) that the Gupta era was founded and the imperial title of Maharajadhiraja assumed by Chandragupta I.

(6) From the 'New Mathura Inscription' already referred to, we know that Samudragupta died in G. S. 60 or 61 i.e., 332 or 333 A. C. His reign may thus be safely placed between 293 and 333 A.C. He was thus precisely a contemporary of the Ceylonese King Meghavarna, who, as we have seen, reigned from 291 A. C. to 318 A. C.

(7) From Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription (F. G. I. No. 1), we know that one of the kings he conquered in his South Indian campaign was Vishnugopa of Kanchi (कांचेयक विष्णुगोप) was no doubt a contemporary Pallava king of that name. As neither the genealogy nor the chronology of the Pallavas has as yet been satisfactorily settled, the date of this Pallava king has to be discussed at length and afresh. I therefore propose to deal with it in my forthcoming article on the 'Chronology of the Pallavas.'

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(8) Next there is the Nepal inscription of Manadeva (F. G. I. Int. pp. 95-7), in which the date runs—'samvat 386, on the 1st lunar day in the month of Jyestha, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism called Rohini'

386+272=658 A. C.
386+273=659 A. C.

In 658 A. C. the specified day was 8th May, and in 659 A. C. it was 28th April, on both of which the moon was in conjunction with the constellation of Rohini. This is not so crucial a test as those others, in that a mere glance at the Indian almanacs, say from 1915 to 1932, will at once show that in these 18 years, the moon was in conjunction with the constellation of Rohini on the first lunar day of the month of Jyestha in 1915, 1916, 1917, 1919, 1920, 1922, 1925, 1927 and 1928, i.e., in 9 out of 18 years, and some of these 9 years are also consecutive years. Further, it has not yet been conclusively proved that the 'Samvat' in which this Nepal inscription is dated is Gupta era and no other. In fact, the so many Nepal inscriptions that have been collected and given in Appendix IV of Dr. Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions (Int. pp. 177-191) have yet to be more closely inquired into before the eras in which they are dated can be settled once for all.

Thus 272-273 A.C. is the epoch of the Gupta era.

Let us now take a cue from the Jaina tradition[20] according to which the duration of the rule of the imperial Guptas was 231 years.

गुप्तानां च शतद्वयम् ।
एकत्रिंशच्चवर्षाणि कालविद्भिरुदाहृतम् ॥

The Gupta rule must have accordingly come to an end in 272—273+231=503--504 A. C. or in other words, the Guptas were conquered and overthrown by Mihirakula in 503-504 A. C. In that case, these few further remarks can be made—

(1) The year 214 of Sarvanath's Khoh plates (F. G. I. No. 31) which Dr. Fleet was obliged to refer to the Kalachuri (or Chedi) era,[21], inasmuch as when referred to Alberuni's Gupta era (319-20 A. C.) the result would be 319-20+214=533-34 A. C., when

20 Jinasena's "Jaina Harivamsa' (quoted in M. A. R. 1923: p. 12).
21 F. K. D. (p. 293).

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according to Daksha's Mandasor inscription of 532 A. C. (F. G. I. No. 35), Yashodharma had already conquered Mihirakula and therefore the Gupta rule had been pretty long ago extinct, will now be rightly referred to the Gupta era. For the very fact that Hasti and Sarvanatha, both of whom were feudatory princes, settled a boundary question between themselves without referring the same to their respective paramount sovereigns, as recorded in their Bhumara pillar inscription (F. G. I. No. 24), suffices to prove that they were the co-ordinate feudatories of the same paramount Sovereign, as otherwise that political question should have been referred to their respective suzerains, who alone had the right to settle it whether in peace or by war. Now as the 3 other records of Hasti (F. G. I. Nos. 21; 22; 23) are clearly dated in the Gupta era गुप्तनृपराज्य भुक्तौ (=when the Guptas were still ruling), it is quite certain that he was a feudatory of the Guptas. The other prince Sarvanatha therefore was also a feudatory of the Guptas; and the year 214 of his Khoh plates (F. G. I. No. 31) should consequently be referred to the Gupta era and it thus would be 214+272-73=486-487 A. C.

(2) Similarly, the Mathura image inscription (F. G. I. No. 70) of the year 230 seems in all likelihood to have been dated in the Gupta era, in which case it would be 230+272-73=502-503 A. C. This is perhaps the last date we have got in the Gupta era.

(3) But the year 269, in which the Bodh-Gaya inscription of Mahanama (F. G. I. No. 71) is dated cannot be referred to the Gupta era, as in that case its date would be 269+272-73=541-42 A. C. i.e., more than a third of a century after the Gupta rule, and with it also the Gupta era, had become extinct. This Mahanama, as he has told us in this inscription was a Ceylonese by birth (लङ्काद्वीपप्रसूतः) and it is quite probable that he may have dated it in some Ceylonese era that was current in his day.

(To be continued)

(Note: The Editor regrets that this has had to be allowed to go in without the proper diacritical marks.)

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Bābar's Inscriptions near Aligarh

BY

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There is a small village about 14 miles from Aligarh which is now called Pilakhnah. This village is of small account just now, although it is locally known as the home of the late Mowlavi Lutfullah, once the Mufti of the Hyderabad High Court. Local tradition has it that the name of the place was really Phílkhānah or Pílkhānah, i.e., Elephant-stables, and it was here that the early Mughal Emperors kept their elephants. The environs are mentioned by the famous Arab traveller, Ibn-i Batūtah who halted at Jalāli, situated three miles from Pilakhnah and who speaks of a Kōshak-i Sultāni or the Royal Kiosk, now, marked perhaps by a huge mound of earth near the villages Sādabād and Bahrāmpur. The other day I happened to go to Pilakhnah on an historical expedition and was surprised to find beautiful relics of the time of Bābar and Humāyun almost intact in their perfection. The Jum'a Masjid of the village contains the following inscription:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم. قال النبی صلی الله علیه وسلم

عجّلوا الصّلوٰة قبل الفوت. وعجلوا التوبة قبل (الموت)

کرد این مسجد بنا چون کعبهٔ ملجائے عام

اشرف الاشراف گهورن بن محمّد بن اسلام

سال هجرت بود نوصد وسی وپنج اندر شمار

نوبت ظهیر الدین محمّد بابر بادشاه

"With the name of God the Merciful and the Compassionate,
"Said the Messenger, God's Peace and His Compliments be on him!

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'Hasten unto Prayers before death, and hasten unto righteousness before (death).'

"The foundations of this mosque were laid as the ka'bah of the wishes of all

"By the noble of the nobles, Ghooran son of Mohammad, Son of Islam

"The years of the Hijra was 935,

"The reign of Zahiruddin Mohammad Bābar, King."

This seems to be one of the very few monuments of the reign of Bābar extant, and it is a pity that neither this nor the following monuments have been declared "preserved" by the Archaeological Department of India.

The next monument worthy of note is a square domed building called "Humāyun's well," which is no longer a well but a place where local tazias are now housed. The building shows the early development of the typical Mughal or the "Indo Saracenic" arch, while the Jum'a Masjid is built mainly on the "Hindu-Pathan" model which reminds one of the style of the Quwwatul Islam mosque at Delhi and the Jum'a Masjid of Dowlatabad (Dn.). It is interesting in that it contains not only the straight lines of the Pathān mosques and the characteristic pillars of the pure Hindu style but also the early development of Mughal arch which is a feature of the gateway.

The inscription on "Humāyun's well" reads:

مرتب شد این چاه در عهد شاه
محمد همایون بادشاه
بنا شیخ محمود اهل انام
پسر شیخ بهورن .....
بتاریخ نه صد و سی و ..... بود
شد اتمام این چهه .....

"This well was planned during the reign of King Mohammad Humāyun, Emperor. It was founded by Shaikh Mahmūd, the worthy son of Shaikh Bhooran. . . In 93 . . . was completed this well."

Near by are the remains of what is called the House of Shaikh Bhooran (Ghooran), containing some delightful arches. It is a pity I did not happen to have camera, otherwise it would have been a treat to photograph them.

It is locally mentioned that Ghooran was the keeper of the stables in the days of Bābar and his descendants actually own a part of the village in Zemindari.

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Hamayun & Maldev.

By

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When Sher Shah and Hamayun were fighting out their claims to the Empire of India, Rao Maldev of Jodhpur was busy in conquering the larger part of Rajputana. Succeeding to the throne of Jodhpur on 5th June, 1532[1] when he was barely twenty[2] he had by the middle of the century converted Jodhpur into the greatest state of Rajputana. When the battle of Kanauj was fought, he was already master of the whole of Jodhpur, Nagor, Ajmer, Merta, Bikaner, Jaisalmer and had made incursions into Mewar as well. Besides, he held some districts in Jaipur[3]. As Persian Historians are agreed in stating, he was at this time the greatest Hindu Ruler in the country.[4] His territories marched within an easy distance of the imperial dominions.

When the battle of Kanauj sent Hamayun a fugitive for his life Maldev felt that an opportunity had been offered him of intervening in the affairs of India. He sent an invitation to Hamayun when he visited Bhakkar towards the end of January, 1542.[5] He offered to join him with a force twenty thousand strong.[6] Maldev thought he might thus be able to persuade Hamayun to join his forces with him and thus challenge the might of Sher Shah. Though the battle of Kanauj had been fought a year since, Sher Shah had not yet had time enough to consolidate his powers in India. He had expelled the Mughals from the Punjab, he held the Doab, Bengal was under him; yet the greater part of India had yet to be conquered. His army was busy subduing the Blochi chiefs and the Ghakkars in the Punjab.[7] Mirza

1. Nensi's Chronicle of Jodhpur, 95.
2. Born on December 4, 1511, Mundhyar Chronicle, 77.
3. Cf. Nensi's (pp. 95 to 121), Mundhyar (77 to 88), Kaviraj 63 to 78.
4. Tabaqai-i-Akbari, 231, 232.
5. Tabaqai-i-Akbari, 205, Akbar Nama, I, 172.
6. Tarikh-i-Hindo, Sind, 280.
7. Tabaqat, 230; Dorn I, 130.

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Haidar was disputing the throne of Kashmir against Sher Shah's nominee.[8] Bengal was up in arms against him under his own Governor Khizar Khan and Sher Shah had hastened there to conquer the province that had made him Emperor of India.[9] Malwa lay unsubdued with Hamayun's Governor Abdul Qazim in possession of Gwalior in the neighbourhood. Mallu Qadar Shah of Malwa was also hostile to him.[10] The smaller chiefs in the neighbourhood were not likely to be well affected towards him with the bigger ones in open hostility.

This was Maldev's chance. With the unsuccessful example of Rana Sanga's invitation to Babur before his eyes, he was prepared to attack the Muslim dominion in India through a puppet. Hamayun had been defeated and driven out; he had only an army 3,000 strong with him. Maldev on the other hand was the strongest Hindu chief of his times, his armies had never yet been defeated. He had moreover an army of 50,000 Rathors, brave in battle. If Hamayun would but join his fortunes to the resources of Maldev, the Rathor Chief was sure he would be more than a match for any other ruler of India. Sher Shah who, with armies ten times as strong, had to run away at the mad rush of a handful of Rathors later on, would have been no match for his Rathor antagonist who was as much a master of diplomacy as the Pathan Chief. When the Pathan was defeated —so Maldev must have argued—why, Hamayun would have had to be content with a subordinate position as independent Governor of the frontier provinces of the Punjab, Sindh, Multan and Kabul, or, be nominal emperor like Shah Alam under the Sindhia later on—of India that would know Maldev as her Master.

But the best of it was that Sher Shah could not have offered the Rathors and their Mughal allies, a speedy battle. He could not leave Bengal in arms behind him, the Ghakkars left unsubdued would have provided for him a rather tough problem. The call to battle against the Rathors could only have been answered by retreating from a position where retreat would have meant a definite set back to his fortune. It would have been just the game that he had himself played against Hamayun.

8. Tarikhi-i-Rashidi, 485.
9. Tabaqat, 230, 231; Dorn, I, 131, 132; Badayuni, I, 365.
10. Khulast-tuwarikh, 349; Dorn I, 132.

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But Hamayun was a blunderer. He did not even deign to return an answer to this invitation.[11] He had always mocked at his good fortune and now proved that oft-repeated judgment on his career that he was his worst enemy. Was he afraid of joining his fortune with this wily Rathor who was as much a master of guile as Sher Shah? Is it possible that Hamayun was afraid of falling from the frying pan into the fire? He may have thought he still had some remote chance of conquering India from Sind. He may have doubted the wisdom of owing his throne to such a powerful prince as Maldev. The Mughals as yet had never joined issue with the Rathors of Jodhpur. But Kamaran's invasion of Bikaner in 1535 had been an inglorious rout.[12] Anyway Hamayun did not accept this invitation which was repeated several times during the course of the year.[13]

But Sind was an inhospitable country. Hamayun's siege was not successful. Mirza Shah Hussain turned against him; his cousin Yadgar deserted him and Hamayun was thankful to get back to Bhakkar with the loss of his baggage only. Here again his ill fortune dogged his footsteps. He was not sure even of his safety here. Despondent, he talked of leaving the world and retiring to Mecca. Now his companions bethought of Maldev's invitations.[14] Deserted on all sides, hunted by his friends and foes alike, he decided to proceed towards Maldev's territories.[15]

It was easier said than done. There was a direct route from Bhakkar to Jodhpur; but it was discovered that it was too dangerous for Hamayun to attempt it just then. It was decided, therefore, to march by way of Uch and Jaisalamer into Maldev's territory.[16] Hamayun left Rohri on May 7th reaching Arud soon

11. No answer is recorded in Akbar Nama; Tabaqai-i-Akbari, Hamayun Nama, Memoirs of Jauhar, Na'mat Ullah, Tarikhi-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan; Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi.

12. Ballad of Rao Jetsi, edited by Dr. Tessitori (A.S.B.).

13. Akbar Nama, I, 179.

14. Muntikhib-ut-Tawarikh 439; Tarikhi-Sind 281. Maasum and Badayuni leave one under the impression that an invitation was received about this time. They do not mention an earlier invitation. But all other accounts of Maldev's relations with Hamayun agree in the statement that Hamayun's march into Jodhpur was separated from the invitation by a long interval.

15. Hamayun Nama, 54; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, 205; Akbar Nama, I, 179; Badayuni, 439; Tarikh-i-Sind, 281.

16. Tabqai-i-Akbari, 205; Hamayun Nama, 55.

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after. Here a great quantity of corn and fodder fell into Hamayun's hands.[17] Passing Mhow, Hamayun was well out of the territory commanded by the Governor of Bhakkar, and he thanked his stars that he had escaped unhurt.[18] Soon after Uch was reached. The privations of Hamayun's companions were increased by the scarcity of supplies, and they had to live on *bers* and other wild fruits. Bakhshi Langah, the Governor of Uch, assumed a threatening attitude, and Hamayun was lucky to escape with safety from his dominions.[19]

A wandering mendicant now came to the rescue of the royal party. He told them that the fort Dilawar in Maldev's dominions was well provisioned, and that they would do well to march thereto.[20] This led Hamayun to march in that direction. Dilawar was duly reached. Here the royal fugitive remained for three days. Abul Fazal and Gulbadan Begam assert that this did not help the royal party very much whereas Jauhar declares that they were able to get abundant provisions here.[21] Naturally Jauhar's statement is worthy of more credence.

Hamayun had now entered Maldev's territory. It would have been best for him to encamp here for sometime and to wait for Maldev's response to his approaches. But Sheikh Ali Beg, one of his commanders, counselled otherwise. He proposed that Dilawar be attacked and taken by surprise. Hamayun wisely rejected this treacherous advice.[22] But it seems the news of a projected attack spread far and wide, and Hamayun had to slip away from Dilawar. So great was the distress into which the Mughal party had fallen at this time, that for once Hamayun departed from his usual generosity. A Mughal merchant to whom Hamayun was in debt was found to be dying of thirst on the roadside. Hamayun coolly marched up to him, demanded the cancellation of his debt as the price of a pitcher of water and when the Mughal nodded assent, asked three of his courtiers to stand witness. The mockery gone through, Hamayun gave the Mughal water who was then able to reach the camp.[23]

17. Jauhar, 35.
18. Jauhar, 35.
19. Jauhar, 35.
20. Akbar Nama; Hamayun Nama, 55; Jauhar, 35.
21. Jauhar, 36.
22. Hamayun Nama, 55; Jauhar, 36.
23. Jauhar, 36, 37.

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Hamayun now set his face towards Jaisalmer. After three days' hard marching, the party was approaching Jaisalmer. The Rawal of Jaisalmer, Lun Karn, disputed their further advance. A skirmish followed. When the Raja's party discovered that Hamayun had slunk away, they gave up the fight and returned to the fort.[24] Hamayun however found the position so dangerous that the party rode hard for life, and traversed 120 miles that day in order to leave the territory of this hostile ruler far behind.[25]

This took them into the territories of Rao Maldev again. Wasilpur was sighted first and then the party reached Bikaner.[26] Hamayun stayed at Bikaner for some time and sent Rai Mul Soni as an observer to Rao Maldev's capital. He was to discover Maldev's intentions secretly by freely mixing with his chiefs and report to Hamayun the result of his endeavours. If he found communicating his answer in writing difficult he was to do so by signs already agreed upon.[27]

From here the party marched on to Phalodi about 120 miles from Jodhpur. It had not yet been incorporated in Maldev's dominions[28] but the local Rai was a Rathor, and he affected to be subordinate to Maldev now when such a powerful prince was encamping in his territories.

Meanwhile news of Hamayun's approach had already reached Maldev. Hamayun had first entered Maldev's territories at Dilawar about three weeks ago. Maldev must have heard of it and seems to have watched Hamayun's movements since then. When Hamayun's party reached Phalodi, Rao Maldev's messengers came bearing presents of fruits, arms and gold. Maldev further added that Hamayun could have Bikaner.[29] Hamayun accepted the gifts graciously like a Mughal Emperor, and, not content with Maldev's delicate hint, now despatched Mir Samand as an imperial envoy to Maldev's court.[30] Mir Sarmud gone, Hamayun stayed here for some time and then marched on towards Jodhpur.

24. Hamayun Nama, 55.
25. Akbar Nama, I, 179.
26. Tarikh-i-Hindo Sindh, 282; Akbar Namah.
27. Hamayun Namah, 55; Akbar Nama, I, 180.
28. Kaviraj, 33; History of Philodi by Dr. Tessitori in J. A. S. B. No. 3 of 1916, pp. 89, 90.
29. Hamayun Namah, 55; Tarikh-i-Hindo Sindh, 282.
30. Hamayun Namah, 55; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, 205.

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Maldev meanwhile was not idle. He wanted to get an exact estimate of Hamayun's resources and just as Hamayun had sent Rai Mal Soni secretly to Maldev's court, the Rajput ruler sent Sanga, a trusted officer of his, to Hamayun's camp. Sanga appeared in the Mughal camp when it was marching towards Jodhpur and passed as a merchant. He displayed a costly diamond among his wares. Suspicion was excited and a searching examination revealed the true character of Sanga. Hamayun however could not pick a quarrel with Maldev on these minute particulars of ceremonial and was content with letting Sanga go with a warning.[31] This was probably due to the fact that one, Raju, Humayun's door keeper, left the Emperor's camp about this time and went to Maldev. He reported that Hamayun carried a large amount of wealth on his person in the shape of jewels. In order to ascertain the truth of this piece of news, Maldev may have sent Sanga to Hamayun's camp.

Marching swiftly Hamayun reached Kaul-i-Jogi, about 8 miles from Jodhpur. Here Hamayun finally pitched his tents.[32] Maldev had not yet informed the Emperor of his intentions, and Hamayun thought it best to send another envoy to his court in the person of Shams-ud-Din.

Meanwhile Maldev found himself in difficulties. He had invited Hamayun no doubt, but that invitation had been sent almost a year earlier. As was said above, Sher Shah at that time was away elsewhere, and Maldev could have easily helped Hamayun. Now however the tables were turned. Sher Shah's officers must have been informed of Hamayun's intentions in May, 1542, when Hamayun had been obliged to leave Bhakkar and seek refuge in Maldev's territories. His movements in Jaisalmer, Bikaner and Jodhpur must have been watched anxiously by Sher Shah. Now when Hamayun was encamping in Jodhpur territories, Sher Shah showed his hand. He invaded Nagor[33] which had been a part of Maldev's territories since 1535[34] and occupied its outlying parts. He followed this expedition to Maldev's territories by sending an ambassador to Maldev's court.[35] Thus Shams-ud-Din and *Mir Sammud,* Hamayun's envoys, and Sher Shah's representatives were at Maldev's court at the same time.

31. Akbar Namah, I, 180; Jauhar.
32. Jauhar, 37; Tarikh-i-Hindo Sindh, 282.
33. Tabaqat-i-Akbari, 206; Akbar Namah, I, 180.
34. Mundhyur 78, Kaviraj, 68.
35. Hamayun Namah, 55; Akbar Namah, I, 180.

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Maldev had a difficult decision to make. Hamayun was no doubt his guest. But to help this royal fugitive was just now impossible for him. His unopposed march into Jodhpur territory had already cost Maldev Nagor. If he joined his forces with Hamayun he would have to face an immediate war with Sher Shah whose armies were already in Nagor. He had no chance of taking Sher Shah by surprise as would have been the case had Hamayun accepted his invitation the previous year. To clinch it all Sher Shah's envoy was holding out promises of immediate withdrawal from Nagor and cessation of additional territories in the neighbourhood.[36] Faced with these alternatives, it is not surprising that Maldev was at last persuaded into agreeing to Sher Shah's suggestion of not helping Hamayun.[37]

But there was Hamayun within his borders encamping only 8 miles from the capital. How was Maldev to send him away. Politician as he was, Maldev let his intentions be known. Rai Mal Soni, Hamayun's jeweller, thereupon sent a messenger to him at Kaul-i-Jogi to tell him that there was no hope from Maldev. Meanwhile Mulla Surkh who had once been Hamayun's Librarian and was now in service with Maldev, probably in charge of his Persian secretariate, also wrote to the Emperor to Kaul-i-Jogi to tell Hamayun that Maldev was entertaining Sher Shah's envoy and that he had better not trust him.[38]

Maldev wanted to frighten away Hamayun; but he had no intentions of delivering him into Sher Shah's hands as the latter's envoy had demanded. He had therefore to convince Sher Shah's representative that he was in earnest in his intention not to help Hamayun so that Sher Shah may be induced to withdraw from Nagor. He ordered therefore that Shams-ud-Din and Mir Samand, Hamayun's two envoys, be carefully watched.[39] This frightened them all the more. They slunk away from Jodhpur one fine morning escaping the none too careful vigilance of Maldev's guards. Maldev connived at their escape so that they were in time to warn Hamayun and persuade him into moving away; and that was exactly what Maldev intended.[40]

36. Hamayun Namah, 55; Akbar Namah, I, 180; Tarikh-i-Hindo Sindh, 282.
37. Akbar Namah, I, 180.
38. Hamayun Namah, 55; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, 206.
39. Tabaqai-i-Akbari, 206.
40. Tabaqat-i-Akbari, 206.

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Shams-ud-Din reached Kaul-i-Jogi and there told Hamayun of the danger of waiting any longer for Maldev's answer. Hamayun at once struck camp and left Kaul-i-Jogi.[41]

But now that Maldev had fallen in with Sher Shah's views, his representatives demanded more. He asked Maldev to pursue Hamayun so that he may not escape. Maldev appeared to fall in with this view, but so delayed the sending of his men that Hamayun had put many miles between him and his pursuers before Maldev's troops started in pursuit.

Hamayun had set out for Amarkot this time. His way lay through a country which his men hardly knew. It was necessary therefore to obtain guides. Two villagers who were found riding their camels close by were brought in. A Kazi from Hamayun's camp explained to them that they would best serve their interests if they faithfully guided the imperial party to Amarkot. All his persuasions however failed to make them consent to take up this unpleasant task, and they declared that they knew nothing about the road Hamayun wanted to travel by. At this they were made prisoners and threatened with death. This was too much for them and they soon managed to escape their captors. Dagger in hand they fell upon their guard and killed him, and, before the Emperor knew what was happening, they had stabbed seventeen living beings, men, women and beasts. But two men could not after all hold up the whole imperial cavalcade; they were surrounded and put to death.[42] This daredevilry of two Rathors increased the Emperor's distress. Many of his followers deserted him[43] and the lack of riding beasts created difficulties of its own. Even Hamayun was without a mount till one of his followers offered him his own on which his mother was riding.[44] Hamayun now told off some of his men to cover his own retreat and ward off any attack that may be made.[45]

The cavalcade at last passed Phalodi and reached Satalmir. But meanwhile the covering party had got separated from the main body in the dark. They remained wandering all night. When the dawn was approaching, Hamayun's main body discovered they were being followed. Their pursuers at last came up with Hamayun's stragglers near Satalmir. Their number has

41. Jauhar, 37.
42. Jauhar, 38; Hamayun Namah, 55, 56; Jauhar, 38.
43. Jauhar, 41,42.
44. Hamayun Namah, 56.
45. Hamayun Namah, 57.

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been put at 1,500 by Jauhar, but even Abul Fazal did not give credence to his story. Hamayun's covering party numbered less than ten, the two parties met as the Rajputs were issuing forth from the mouth of a pass. Hamayun's men under Shaikh Ali were able to check their advance and after a show of earnestness the Rajputs retired with some loss.[46] It is preposterous to assume that these soldiers whom the Mughals were able to put to flight even though at the mouth of a pass, were Maldev's soldiers sent in hot pursuit of Hamayun. Of course it is possible that to beguile Sher Shah into the belief that he was earnest in his desire to head of, if not capture Hamayun, Maldev may have sent a detachment of his soldiers. But to say that 1,500 soldiers of his were put to flight by a group of half a dozen Mughals is to put too much strain on our faith. Of course it is possible that Maldev may have sent a detachment of 1,500 soldiers in pursuit. Anyhow the covering party now overtook the main body of Hamayun's followers.

They now marched into Jaisalmer. Here two representatives from Rawal Karn's court met them demanding that Hamayun ceased injuring the feelings of the Hindu inhabitants of these places by killing cows in this Hindi territory. They further submitted that his uninvited passage through their territory was disturbing the peace of their country. Hamayun unwisely detained these two envoys to find when he reached the capital that the water supply was being guarded by the Raja's men. After some hours' skirmish the Raja's men withdrew defeated, and Hamayun's men were able to have their fill of water at Jaisalmer.[47]

But Maldev, the son of the Raja of Jaisalmer, had been sent by his father to make the progress of Hamayun difficult. He had filled the wells on their way with sand and it was with great difficulty that Hamayun's men obtained water after three days' hard marching. So great was their distress on the march that one morning on awakening Hamayun found his sword drawn by somebody who must have been thinking of putting an end to Hamayun as the author of all their distress and who was disturbed in his designs by Hamayun's early rise. On the fourth

46. Akbar Namah, I, 181; Tabaqat, 206; Hamayun Namah, 57, 58. Jauhar, 39.

47. Akbar Namah, I, 181; Jauhar 39, 40; Tarikh--i-Hindo Sindh, 283.

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day they reached water. Here another son of Rawal Karn approached Hamayun and complained of his excesses demanding the release of the two ambassadors sent earlier by the Rawal. Hamayun consented thereto and he was supplied with means of drawing water from the wells, where he was encamping.[48]

At last on August 23, 1542, Hamayun reached Amarkot where he was well received and rendered thanks to God that he had escaped safe from the unlucky desert of Rajputana.[49]

Hamayun's privations must have loomed all the larger as his young wife Hamida Banu Begum was pregnant. It was at Amarkot that Akbar was born. Thus to the dangers of the desert must have been added the ever haunting fear for the child yet to be born.

Akbar was born on November 23, 1542,[50] though Abul Fazal tried to confuse his readers as to the exact date of his birth. One would expect that when Akbar became the Emperor in 1556, he would naturally bear some animus against the Rajput chiefs who had opposed his father's march in the desert, especially Rao Maldev who is credited with having played false to his father by some of the Persian historians. Akbar no doubt—or rather Bairam Khan in his name—made haste to attack Maldev's dominions soon after his accession and conquered Ajmer, Jeteran and Nagor[51] from him. But this was all in the day's work and part of the scheme of expansion on which Bairam Khan had set his heart. No narrative of these events suggests that Akbar attacked Maldev's territories on account of the incidents of 1542. Abul Fazal is discreetly silent and so are other Persian historians. Rajput chronicles as well do not try to explain Akbar's attack on Maldev's territories by any reference to earlier events. It is possible of course that Bairam Khan instigated these attacks on Maldev's, by reminding Akbar of his father's wanderings in the desert in 1542 in his territories. This may explain the enmity of Maldev towards Bairam Khan after his fall when Bairam Khan was trying to slip off to Gujrat, but had to change his route on hearing that Maldev intended disputing his passage through his territories to Gujrat.[52]

48. Jauhar, 41, 42.
49. Akbar Namah, I, 182; Jauhar, 41; Tarikh-i-Hindo Sindh, 283.
50. Jauhar, 43; Akbar Namah, I, 18.
51. Akbar Namah, II, 46, 66, 124 to 126; Nensi (Jodhpur) pp. 117, 123, 118.
52. Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Badayuni, II, 34; Maosir-l-Umra, II, 378.

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We cannot therefore resist the conclusion that Hamayun had to thank himself for the cold welcome that he received in Jodhpur; that Maldev simply wanted to frighten him away from his own territory when he had become a danger to the safety of his own state; and that the pursuit by the Rajput soldiers was feigned in order to convince Sher Shah that Maldev did not intend to harbour the royal fugitive. Akbar's attitude towards Maldev as well does not seem to bear out any suggestion that he bore him any ill-will for Hamayun's self-invited privations in the desert of Rajputana.

AUTHORITIES.

Maldev's rise to prominence can be studied in Nensi's chronicle of Jodhpur, Mundhyar chronicle, and Kaviraj's chronicle described by the present writer in the *Modern Review*, April, 1923, as the "Three Chronicles of Marwar'. These are in MSS and the writer has quoted from copies in private possession at Jodhpur. R. B. Pt. Gori Shankar H. Ojha has a very good copy of Kaviraj's chronicle.

On the Persian side the narrative is based on Jauhar's Memoirs. I have cited the Lal Chand Library transcript of the MS in the library of the Muslim University of Aligarh. As Stewart's translation does not mention Hamayun's going any further than one march from Phalodi, I consulted the MS in the Victoria Museum Library at Udaipur as well. The Aligarh and the Udaipur MSS agree in mentioning that Hamayun reached Kaul-i-Jogi.

Tarikh-i-Hindo Sindh of Ma'asum is another authority that describe's Hamayun's journey. It is still in MS. I have cited the MS in the Victoria Museum Library, Udaipur.

Akbar Namah (Calcutta), Hamayun Namah, (London), Tabaquat-i-Akbari (Lucknow), Muntikhib-ut-Tavarikh (Calcutta) tell the story from the Persian side and can be studied in the standard editions of the Persian Text as noted in brackets. Abbas is silent as to Sher Shah's movements in Jodhpur. I consulted the MS copy in Punjab Public Library, Lahore. Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan as well tells us nothing.

Dr. Tessitori's Report of the Progress of Historical and Bardic Survey of Rajputana (J. A. S. B., 1916, No. 3) contains a history of Phalodi based on a contemporary ballad.

Of secondary authorities Erskine and Leyden's History of India under Babur and Hamayun describes Hamayun's march into Jodhpur in detail. Qanungo's Sher Shah, his note in the 'Journal of Indian History' (Allahabad) as well have a brief outline of the journey to and from Phalodi. Mr. Rao, Superintendent, Archaelogical Department, Jodhpur, contributed an article in Hindi on Maldev to Madhuri. The present article attempts to revise and supplement these earlier accounts in the light of the MS printed material, Persian as well as Hindi. Tod's Annals also mention this fateful journey accusing Maldev of inhospitality and worse.

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Pieter Van Den Broeke at Surat (1620-29)

BY

MR. W. H. MORELAND, C.S.I., C.I.E.,

1626

February (January blank). On 2nd, Harman van Spult arrived from Batavia with three State ships, *Mauritius, Orange* and *Hollandia,* which had come through the Strait of Magellan; off Goa they had taken a Portuguese vessel laden with provisions from Muskat. Spult had visited the Zamorin at Calicut, and been well received. I wish he had invested in pepper all the cash consigned to me from Batavia; it would have given a large profit here, and still more in Mocha. Nearly all the pepper which the English buy here comes overland from Calicut.

On 3rd, went on board, and next day landed with Governor Spult. On 8th, heard that seven galleons and four small vessels were at anchor off the river. As the identity of the ships was uncertain, it was decided that Governor Spult and all the sailors who were on land should go aboard. Half way to Swally he met Sebolt Wonderar, senior factor on the *Bantam,* from whom he learnt that it was the Dutch and English fleet from Persia. Our ships brought 352 bales of silk, the English not more than 70 bales. 'Heard that Ruy Freire d'Andrada with 14 frigates, had burnt the English *Lion* off Gombroon ,[1] and after a short imprisonment had thrown the prisoners, 43 in all, overboard in cold blood, all except one English butler who had done him a good turn during his imprisonment—I mean, had had them all beheaded, because, at the capture of Ormuz, the English had not kept their word, but had handed over some Portuguese to the Persians, who had forthwith massacred them'. On 10th, we resolved that, if the English would help, our fleet should sail to Bombay to attack the enemy; we referred to the English but got no answer as yet. The 11th, 12th and 13th were spent in correspondence with the English, who finally offered to send the *Anne* and *Falcon.* Returned to Surat in the evening.

1 See *EF.* iii, Introduction, p. xv, and *passim.*

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On 14th, learned from the banyan merchants that all the Portuguese ships had left Bombay. Decided to provide our ships with their most urgent requirements. The *Mauritius*, which was very leaky, was beached. On 25th, our caravan of 685 camels arrived from Agra under senior factor Hendrick Adrianssen Vapour. On 28th, Governor Spult started with Cornelis at Ahmadābād, Cambay and Broach. Sent Vapour with him, because he was better acquainted with the customs of the country; I accompanied him as far as Broach.

March. On 5th, I returned to Surat, where I heard the Portuguese ships were again at Bombay. From 6th to 15th, busy in loading the ships for Europe and Batavia. In the evening, President Kerridge and senior factor Mr. Wylde came to visit me, and purposed that, since the Portuguese were again at Bombay and Dĭū, and it was too late in the season [to sail] and our ships must winter somewhere, they should be unloaded, and sent with the English ships to destroy the enemy; they urged that if this was not done, we must expect danger in the coming year. I answered that there was not time to write to Governor Spult. On 16th, I went on board with the letters for Batavia. Next day the English *James* and *Jonas* left the anchorage. On 18th, I returned to Surat. The English President sent me word that they had decided to wait till Governor Spult returned. In the afternoon our caravans from Ahmadābād, Cambay and Broach reached Rānder.[2] On 23rd, Governor Spult returned to Surat, along with a caravan of 45 camels from Agra, bringing saltpetre and carpets. On 24th, the Moslems insisted that our ships should convoy the King's ship beyond all danger from the Portuguese: in the afternoon we all went on board to settle the matter. On 29th, news came that on the 17th there had been such an earthquake at Pattan, 40 kos from Ahmadābād, that more than 250 houses were destroyed, and many more than 180 people killed.

April. [The printed text mentions that Spult authorised an extension of Van den Broeke's appointment for two years.] On 1st, the King's great ship, the *Ganjūr* sailed. Having taken friendly leave of all, Governor Spult went on board, and the same day the *Orange*, *Mauritius* and *Hollandia* moved out. On 4th, all our ships moved to the river-mouth, where the *Haayi*, the other Surat ship for Mocha, was anchored. In the evening the English followed us. On 8th, the *Haayi* sailed for Mocha. About midday I

2 Rānder, on the right bank of the Tapti, was used at this period as a depot for export-goods arriving by way of Broach, so as to avoid two crossings of the river.

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left the ships with two boats, and on 9th, after great difficulty and danger I landed at the river mouth, and returned to Surat. On 10th, the ships sailed as follows: *Bantam, Heusden,* and the prize *Jacynth* for Batavia; *Good Fortune, Golden Lion, Mauritius, Hollandia, Orange, Walcheren,* and the English *Bear* for Mocha. On 19th, I sent the caravan of cloves, nutmegs, mace, etc., to Agra under Francisco Pelsert and Hendrick Adrianssen Vapour. 'God grant that the goods may be sold profitably, and the proceeds return in good indigo and saltpetre'! The English also sent under our protection 30 camels with cloves which had come as private trade from Bantam and Batavia. On 28th Jan Moris, our barber, married the widow of the deceased Armenian, Koja Nami; she was a Persian woman with one child. 'I gave her six hundred guilders of my own as a dowry, because she was a Christian, and [so that] she and her little son should not become Moslem again.

May. On 3rd, news from Sultān Khurram that he had plundered the caravan of the Governor Khān Jahān, which was taking his women to Agra; he took more than 500,000 rupees, and let the caravan proceed. The same day I started for Ahmadābād, Cambay and Broach to inspect the factories and re-start business, having raised much money by borrowing. On 11th, a Portuguese frigate from Bassein was flying the Prince's [i.e., Dutch] flag at Cambay; I made the owner haul it down, and he came to me to apologise. On 19th, a Moslem vessel left Surat for Achin. On 25th, the first rain fell at Surat. On 28th, the vessel for Achin returned, having met foul weather off Damān. On 29th, Bābū Alī, the Governor, arrested us when we were about to leave Cambay wishing us first to give satisfaction for the Malabar vessel captured by the *Good Fortune* [vide November, 1625]. To avoid worse trouble, gave him 400 rupees in settlement.

June. On 2nd, arrived safely in Surat. In the evening Jam Qulī Beg, the new Governor, entered the town. On 3rd, 'at sunset a handsome banyan woman, about 13 or 14 years old, the wife of a wealthy money-changer, while in a narrow lane, was blindfolded with a cloth from behind by a Moslem servant, and then, with threats not to cry out or make a noise, was brought through another street into a dark room in a house, where she was disgracefully violated [3] for three days and nights, being blindfolded by

[3] The text has an expression which usually means 'severely criticised'; that in this passage it is used in another sense appears from the marginal note 'disgracefully violated'; and something of the sort is needed to explain the incident.

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day and in darkness by night. She fell sick, because she could not eat; and at last she was blindfolded again late in the evening, and brought back to the same place where she had been seized, without knowing anything of her captor. When she got home she complained bitterly, so that it came to the ears of the Sheriff [probably for Kotwāl], who at once had her arrested. He wanted to know who had done it, and where; she told him all that had happened; he did not believe her, and had the innocent woman severely flogged with great whips, though she had seen nothing and could not tell. Moreover, her husband and her father had to pay 1,500 rupees to get her out of prison. From this one can sufficiently see what violence and law the Moslem brutes employ towards strangers. The woman's father was our money-changer, named Castenji Parck'.

On 10th, heard that the Moslem ship *Saya* had been driven off Chaul in a storm, but most of the cargo saved. On 11th, heard that Hari [4] Bessi's frigate, coming from Basra, had been lost in a storm off the coast of Sind. On 18th, [heard that] two ships from Dīū for Mocha had been driven back to the Indian coast and one of them lost, as was a ship coming from Achin with elephants, sandalwood, Perak tin, pepper, and other spices. On 19th, news that the Portuguese fleet, after weathering a great storm on the course for Mocha, had reached Goa after losing one galleon: also, that a Dabhol ship for Mocha had been driven back; further, that two frigates had returned disabled. Moreover two Portuguese frigates from Chaul for Balsar had been driven back. In fact, this year one heard of nothing but disasters at sea. On 21st, the child of Sebastian Fiorino[5], the Italian, was baptised by our Dominie [Chaplain], David Symonssen, and named Camilla, in the house of Schander Beck [? Sikander Beg] the Armenian; I was godfather, and Angela, the wife of Jadagar, was godmother. On 24th, news arrived that Sultān Khurram, with 30,000 horse and 250 elephants, was coming to Surat, because of its reputation for wealth. 'Everyone began to flee; the leading men sent their wives to Damān, some of them to Balsar and Broach, and brought their most valuable goods and treasure into the fort'. The Dutch decided to remain in the factory, and when Khurram came near, to meet him with a small present.

4 Presumably the merchant Harl Vaisya, who appears *passim* in *EF.* iii, as 'Hurry Buzzy' and otherwise.

5 An independent merchant, who is mentioned occasionally in *EF.* i, iii.

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July. On 29th, I went to visit the Persian Ambassador, and found President Kerridge there, ready to go out with him to enjoy themselves. They pressed me to join them, and I agreed. [In the evening, Kerridge became quarrelsome, and there was something like a fight, but the account is almost unintelligible].

August. On 13th, Mĭr Jān, Sultān Parvĭz' new Governor, came to Surat from Burhānpur. On 18th, the Governor invited us to a meal, and gave me a fine horse; 'would have liked to decline it, but he forced me to take it'.

September. On 9th, my boy, Jacop Widt [? White] died. He was about 15 years old, born in Scotland. On 26th, a Moslem ship sank off the river. She was bound for Achin with horses for the King. On 28th, Āsaf Khān's ship sailed for Achin with large quantities of cotton goods. On 29th, heard that six Portuguese galleons and six frigates had come from Muskat, and were off Bombay.

October. On 6th, the *Ganjūr* arrived from Mocha. Brought us bad news that Governor Harman van Spult had died, and been buried at Mocha. Our ships had sailed thence on 20th August. On 8th, 'when I was sitting with the Governor, a baby was brought which had been dropped by an Arabian goat in the house of Khoja Jalāluddĭn, the Shāhbandar. Out of decorum it was not shown to us; but it was shown to our servants, and it was exactly like a woman's baby and was white. It lived for only one hour; it was supposed that one of his boys had been with the goat, therefore it was kept quiet'. On 9th, heard that the Portuguese fleet was off Damān. On 13th, the Dutch and English fleets arrived off the river. Went on board, and found they were our ships from Mocha. The *Good Fortune* had been lost, guns and all, through foul weather. The other ships were six from England, with Captain Bly [really, Brown] in command; near the Comoros they had met the *Palsgrave* and *Dolphin.* On 16th, we decided that the fleet should put to sea again, to protect our ships expected from Holland and Batavia against the Portuguese. On 18th, after giving instructions to the ships, I returned to Surat with President Kerridge.

November. On 2nd, when I was at Rander, heard that our ships were again off the river, with Commander Ketssiens and the *Z.Zee* [? *South Sea*] and *Wapen van Zeeland* from Batavia, and the English pinnace *Cristopher* from Bantam. On the *Wapen van Zeeland* was Constantyn Alleman and his wife, Maria Gomes, who

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had leave to go to Persia. '*Note* that these ships, with the others, had been in Bombay, which they had utterly destroyed[6], obtaining thereby great fame among the Moslems and fear among the Portuguese'. On 3rd, Commander Kitsseins landed with some factors. Pieter Schoutens of Zeeland, junior factor, died. On 11th, I landed, having put everything in order. A salute of seven guns was fired as I left the ship, and one of the shots fell in the house of the *muqaddam* of Swally, causing no small complaint; the affair was settled with a small present before it was reported to the Governor. On 20th, I again landed, and ordered them not to salute, but they did so, and hit a Koli boy in Swally village, taking his leg off. Again there was no little trouble; 'if it had been a Moslem instead of a Hindu, it would have cost the Hon'ble Company thousands'.

December. On 13th, news came suddenly that Sultān Khurram was coming to Surat, and had already reached Anklesar. On 14th, the rumour persisted, and most of the leading inhabitants ran away, putting their valuables in the fort; some of the great men pressed me to bring three or four well-armed boats up the river, so as to rescue people in case of need, and I consented. Early on 15th, four Dutch and four English boats arrived off the fort. In the afternoon heard that the Prince had passed. Next day sent the boats back: at the river mouth they had a fight with some Malabars, whom they drove off. 'They would certainly have captured one or two if the English had helped, but they went on ahead, as the English custom is'. On 25th, the *Golden Lion, Walcheren,* and *Orange,* under command of Jan Curstens, sailed for Holland; the English *Cristopher,* for Batavia; the *South Sea, Wapen van Zeeland, Mauritius, Hollandia,* and the English *Bear,* under Kitsiens for Persia.

1627

January. On 7th, heard that 'the Moslem brutes of Broach had had Jacop van Oudenvliet moved[7] for the second time since his death'. On 16th, the English got 11 powderkegs, out of the 200 brought by our ships, passed through the customhouse as cloves, weighing net 28¾ *pakka* maunds[8] (of 60 Holland pounds); no fall

6 See *EF.* viii, Introduction, p. xx, and *passim.*
7 Presumably there were difficulties about the location of the grave.
8 This is the Jahāngīrī maund of about 66 lb.

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in the price of cloves resulted. On 19th, Jacop Alberssen van der Graff, junior factor, arrived from Agra by way of Burhānpur with a caravan of 243 camels; they had been just two months on the way. On 25th, started to inspect the factories at Broach, Cambay and Ahmadābād.

February. On 16th, Doctor Romanus arrived from Agra by way of Ahmadābād with 240 bales of saltpetre on carts, after experiencing much difficulty and danger owing to the war. On 21st, I sent junior factor van der Graff, along with junior factor Solomon [illegible], with 160 camels carrying cloves, mace and nutmeg, to senior factor Hendrick Adrianssen Vapour at Agra by way of Burhānpur. 'The same day died a beautiful Arab horse of mine worth 1,200 guilders, which had sometimes unseated me'.

March. On 18th, assistant Issack Scholliers was married to Mariken, daughter of Jadagar the Armenian. 'I gave 600 guilders as a dowry, because I regarded her as my daughter'. On 19th, our ships arrived from Persia with six English ships. Ours brought 602 bales of silk, and a few Persian merchants as passengers; the English brought many. On 21st, my junior factor Paulus Stigel of Nuremberg was married to the daughter of the late Khoja Raffial, the Armenian. 'I gave 400 rupees or 500 guilders because I had regarded her also as my daughter'. On 25th, I went to inspect the *Wapen van Zeeland,* and found her too leaky to sail for Batavia: decided to break her up. Decided also to send the *Hollandia* with the other for Batavia, being unfit to go home. On 30th, Alĭ Akbar's ship sailed for Mocha.

April. On 10th, after I had sent my letters and books on board, the English ships sailed without once speaking to us. On 11th, our ships also sailed. On 27th, a ship belonging to Āsaf Khān arrived from Achin, with much tin and benzoin, some nutmegs and 200 maunds of cloves (the latter very old).

May. On 12th, 51 carts containing 284 bales of indigo arrived from senior factor Francisco Pelsert's caravan; his camels had been forcibly seized by the wife of Prince Parvĭz. On 20th, Francisco Pelsert arrived, very ill, from Agra. On 30th, I started for Broach with cash, as the factory was out of funds; I took a strong party because the roads were very unsafe.

June. On 10th, the cloves which had come from Achin were sold for 157 mahmūdĭs the maund of 30 Holland pounds. On 11th, got letters from Ahmadābād saying President Kerridge had brought the price of indigo from 13 up to 15 rupees, the reason being that Domenick, Constantyn Alleman's brother, had bought a small lot for him, and this was supposed to be for our Company.

July. On 12th, the first rain fell.

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September. (August blank). On 22nd, the Governor of Olpad invited me to 'mommannien' [*mihmānĭ*], or a pleasure party. He gave me a horse. On 23rd, a Moslem vessel arrived from Mocha; Martin Geliners of Brabant, a diamond-cutter by trade, told us the whole of Arabia was in turmoil—Turks against Arabs.

October. On 1st, two Moslem ships left for Achin. On 4th, my trumpeter Hendrick Hendrickxssen died, and was buried outside the Broach gate. On 11th, six English ships arrived from Batavia. They had been to Madagascar and the Comoro Islands to meet their ships from England, but, getting no news, came on here.

November. On 2nd, Mĭr Mūsa, the rogue of a Governor of Cambay, with the chief men of the town, came to visit our house; that meant a present according to the custom of the country. On 4th, when I was at Rānder to take leave of Mĭr Mūsa, who was going to Ahmadābād, heard that eight Dutch ships from Batavia were in the roadstead. The Governor gave me a horse, a gold chain, 18 gold mohurs, and a cloth-of-gold cloak worked with velvet. On 6th, I went on board the ships, which had come to the anchorage. They were—*Mauritius,* (with William Janssen of the Council of India on board), *Dordrecht, North Holland, Landts Mauritius, Zeepardt* (*Sea-horse*), *Bommel* and *Wesp,* with the sloop *Nierwien.* 'They brought a handsome cargo and (thank God!) cash'. The factor Dirck van der See came on this fleet as Commissary to inspect the factories under orders from Holland. On 13th, senior factor Wollebrant Gelynssen brought the caravans from Ahmadābād and Broach to Rānder, where our other goods were collected. On 17th, the outgoing Governor of Broach sent me a present of nine *bāftas* and nine *allegias*[9], asking me to remain his friend and not to forget him. The same day the English sold cloves for 120 mahmūdĭs the maund of 30½ Holland pounds, 'being 100 mahmūdĭs less than I sold for in the year '22'. On 20th, Cornelis van [?] Bonjowse, secretary to Commander Willem Janssen, died of a self-inflicted wound, and was buried on land. On 26th, a caravan of saltpetre from Agra reached Rānder. On 28th, after great difficulty with presents, etc., our goods at Rānder were passed and sealed, and at once loaded on carts for Swally. Jam Qulĭ Beg, the Governor of Surat, ordered us in the King's name not to despatch the goods until he had placed the King's seal on them, but he allowed them to go forward on a promise that they would not be shipped until they had been sealed.

9 *Bāftā* was the trade-name for Gujarāt calico; *allegia* (with varied spelling) was a fancy stuff, usually woven of mixed silk and cotton.

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December. On 1st, our goods were allowed to be shipped after much trouble and many fair promises, costing more than 300 reals. On 2nd, Commander Willem Janssen went on board, because he could no longer stand the importunities of the Moslems regarding freight-goods, which would have delayed the ships for 10 or 15 days, almost to the end of the season. On 4th, 'heard that the Great Mogul [Jahāngĭr] was dead; there was much commotion among the people in consequence. The Governor sent six soldiers and a keg of powder to our factory in case of an attack by the Rājputs, who were already beginning to plunder; I sent the soldiers back, with a message that he should allow some of our seamen to come, knowing as I did that in such circumstances the Moslems are not entirely trustworthy'. On 9th, 'Saiyid Nūrdĭn, Faujdār of Pattan, formerly Governor of the Surat fort, performed a Roman deed[10]. With four men of his own he went into the fort to the Governor Jam Qulĭ Beg, who was sitting alone in his room, [and] after a short conversation took hold of him by the body, and compelled him to hand over the fort for Sultān Khurram, the new king; which he did willingly, being overpowered'. On 10th, five ships arrived from England under Captain Hall—the *Mary, Hart, Star, Hopewell* and *Refuge.* They brought an ambassador to the King of Persia—'milord' [Sir Dodmore] Cotton[11], with Sir Robert Sherley and his wife. The Persian ambassador [Naqd Alĭ Beg] died a day before the ships arrived, and was buried at Swally. On 11th, the last of our goods were sealed, and Commissary van der See and everybody else belonging to the ships went on board. On 14th, I went on board to despatch the ships. 'Just as I did so, news came that some of Sultān Khurram's people were in Surat, and wanted 100,000 rupees from our factory immediately. Hearing this, I proceeded immediately to Surat, and thence to the Prince himself. I presented him with a fine Persian horse, two pieces of scarlet cloth, a valuable jewel to wear in his turban, and some other trifles. This pleased him very greatly, because I was the very first to bring him a present. I had him asked if it was with his approval that his people wanted 100,000 rupees from us. He said No, but he must have 5,000 rupees, and not more, on account of his tolls; and that I must stay with him till next day. I would gladly have excused myself, because the *Dordrecht* was ready to leave for home, but nevertheless I had to stay till next day. Then he gave me a

10 A Dutch phrase, signifying an exploit worthy of a Roman.
11 See *EF.* iii, Introduction, p. xxii, and *passim.*

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horse and a new *farmān*. Finally having taken my leave of his Majesty, and of his General, Muqarrab [printed text, Mahābat] Khān, who also gave me a horse, I went on board again on the morning of the 16th'. The *Dordrecht* was already under sail: Francisco Pelsert was senior factor on board, and Adriaen Jacopssen was master. On 19th, our ships left for Persia under command of Willem Janssen.

On 23rd, I sent the senior factors, Adam Classen to Ahmadābād, and Wollebrant Gelynssen to Broach, with 70,000 rupees in cash, because there would have been so much loss in exchange. Because of the Rājputs I sent 12 Dutchmen well-armed as escort. On 24th, the Surat fort was delivered to Sultān Khurram, who was proclaimed King. On the same day he made his entry into Ahmadābād, where he arrested Safī Khān, and robbed him of all his property, which was great. On 27th, I went on board the English ships to ask President Kerridge about the return[12] of our men who were on board. He gave me a peevish answer, with which I had to return; but first I went to Captain Johnson's ship, where I understood there were eight or ten men. I found nobody; they said four had jumped overboard when they saw us coming. Eventually two men and a boy came, and I offered to forgive them everything if they would return to us. They said frankly they did not want to serve on our ships any more, and complained bitterly of the master of the *North Holland;* so I had to return to Surat without getting anyone. On 28th, the four English ships left for Persia with their Ambassador. On the same day, heard that five French soldiers had deserted to the Portuguese from our ships which had sailed to Daman.

1628

January. On 1st, President Kerridge sent me a letter offering to let our deserters return, and I sent a civil reply. On 2nd, I sent factors Coetermans and Orlande to see if the deserters would return to our service, but it was useless, 'because they had been hidden and incited, and bought over by the English,' who were short of men. On 4th, our men returned without having effected anything. On 20th, the English *Palsgrave, Dolphin* and *Discovery* sailed for England.

12 Desertion was one of the causes of friction between Dutch and English at this time. Owing to the high mortality, trained seamen were scarce in the East, and there was evidently some 'poaching' by both sides. The diary, of course, gives only the Dutch aspect of the matter; see *EF.* iii. 214.

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February. On 2nd, the remaining English ships sailed, one for Dabhol, the other for Batavia, with Sebastian Fiorino, the Venetian, on board.

March. On 2nd, three English ships returned from Dabhol.[13] They had intended to trade there, but the inhabitants would not trust them any more, because they had been deceived twice; they wanted to get pepper in exchange for coral. The Surat merchants rejoiced greatly at the failure. In the evening the Persian Ambassador arrived from Golconda; he wished to go to Persia on our ships. On 7th, our ships arrived from Ormuz, bringing Ishāq Beg, who was formerly Governor of Surat. I went to bring him on land with great respect; on 9th, he was welcomed with much honour in Surat. On 11th, Commissary Van der See started to inspect the factories at Broach, Cambay and Ahmadābād. On 12th, the *North Holland* was beached to see if she could be repaired, but she broke her back as soon as she touched ground. On 21st, four English ships sailed for an unknown destination; and the great *Say* sailed for Mocha. On 26th, I sent the *Bommel* and *Wesp* to the river-mouth to take in cargo for Mocha more conveniently. On 30th, the Commissary returned from his inspection.

April. On 1st, the *Bommel* and *Wesp,* under command of Job Cristianssen Grip, sailed for Mocha, to return at the proper season by way of Ormuz, and bring the silk which might be ready, and then go home with the cargo available in Surat. In the evening the *Exchange* also sailed for Mocha. On 4th, Anthonny, son of the late master, Panckras, died, and was buried outside the Broach gate. On 6th, the King's ship returned from Mocha, with much gold and silver, said to be worth 1,200,000 guilders. On 7th, at the request of the Governor, I sent the *Landts Mauritius* to the river-mouth to protect some Moslem ships against the Portuguese and Malabars. Jan van Leuwarden, a Frieslander, one of my bodyguard, died in the evening. On 8th, went on board to despatch the ships, so that they might be ready for the first favourable wind. Jan, youngest son of master Panckras, died. On 19th, a Gujarāt ship returned from Achin, bringing tin, cloves, nutmegs, mace, sandalwood, etc.

On 22nd, went on board to discuss the situation. The *Great Mauritius,* drawing 23 feet, could not come out with the prevailing wind without great danger; the season was passing, and the Council had decided that the *Sea horse* and *Landts Mauritius* should

13 See *EF.* iii, Introduction, p. xxvi, and *passim.*

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sail for Batavia, leaving the *Great Mauritius* to remain here fully laden for the rainy season. Considering this to be highly inadvisable, I urged that, as it was very calm, the ship should be warped out, as had been done several times in the case of large English ships. This was accomplished successfully with the help of a light breeze; on 24th, Easter Day, went ashore highly satisfied, and by the evening the ships were out of sight. On 25th, the English *William* sailed, with Mr. Kerridge on board, leaving Mr. Richard Wylde in his place; cargo, over 800 bales Persian silk, good indigo from Agra, fine cotton goods, Malabar pepper and saltpetre. They had allured 20 or 21 men from our ships with fair promises. On 7th [? 27th], a ship arrived from Achin. 'Andries Janssen, butler, married one of my slaves named Anne, who had previously been baptised as a Christian; gave her 200 reals of eight as a dowry.'

May. On 1st, all the great men and merchants of Surat requested the Governor to rob and plunder our factory here, and everywhere, because one of our ships from the Coromandel Coast had taken one of their ships off Ceylon, allowing another, which had a pass from me, to go free. A pinnace, which had no pass, escaped, and reached here safely. The Governor, being my friend, replied that he could not allow our house to be pillaged until the facts were established. On 5th, a Brabant man named Martin [*vide* September, 1627], who had foolishly run away from us, although he had been well treated, returned from Damān. When he arrived there he was questioned by the Governor and Captain, and told them he was a free man and a diamond-cutter, and that he had come to India overland through Arabia to earn his living, and had no connection with Commander Van den Broeke. On this he was allowed to eat and sleep with the soldiers. Next morning he walked with one of the Governor's servants to a riverside inn kept by a Portuguese mulatto, where he slept. During the night he got up without anyone knowing, swam across the river, and to everybody's surprise came back to us sorely discomfited.

On 6th, a small vessel arrived from Catsini at the entrance of the Red Sea, belonging to the King of that place, who sent me a letter and a piece[14] of *amviys* [?] in order to secure friendly treatment and assistance for his people. On 9th, a banyan carpenter, who was working for Symon the Frenchman in my garden, was given by him two or three cups of strong spirits, and

14 I do not recognise the word *amviys*, and suspect an error for amber.

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next day before dawn he was dead. On 11th, our caravan arrived from Agra, having halted fully four months at Burhānpur. Assistant Johannes Romanus, who came with it, 'brought a female slave named Saffia, whom he had bought for me there. She was a white Georgian woman, very handsome, but cost more than 1,000 guilders merely in the shirt' [*i.e.,* 'as she stood'].

On 19th, the first rain fell, to the great surprise of the inhabitants. On 23rd, senior factor Anthonis Coetermans of Dordrecht passed away, aged about 27 years, intestate. On 29th the Governors Nāhir Khān and Khāfī Khān sent a letter from Ahmadābād, in which, as being my friends, they asked me to restore the ship[15] undamaged, in order to avoid discredit with the King. On 30th Mirza Muhammad, the Shāhbandar, came with others to arrive at a settlement, but this could not be arranged for want of information from Masulipatam.

June. On 20th, 'the Shāhbandar, with the Diwan of the customhouse, brought me a present of two *pamrīs* from the Governor, which was most surprising'.

July. On 26th, the customs authorities wanted to establish a new practice, or usage, with us and the English, viz, a *dastūri,* or compliment, of one per cent on all our imports and exports, to which we absolutely refused to consent'.

August. On 27th, heard that a vessel had reached Goga from Mocha.

September. On 6th August [*sic*] a vessel arrived from Hodeida in the Red Sea, and brought news that the *Bommel* and *Wesp* had left Mocha 18 days before them, but that the English *Blessing* was still there. The voyage took 22 days.

October. On 8th, our four ships, *Utrecht, Brouwers-haven, Sea-house,* and *Negapatam* (pinnace) arrived from Batavia, bringing Commander Jan van Hasel to succeed me, as my engagement had expired; he was accompanied by his wife and son. On 10th, went on board in order to bring on land with due ceremony the senior factor Jan Smidt, who had now been sent as Ambassador to Persia. Two English ships, *Jonas* and *Expedition,* arrived from England under Mr. Swanley. On 11th, Commander Hall arrived with six ships and two prizes from Madagascar and the Comoro Islands: one of the prizes had to be returned to the

15 Doubtless this is the ship mentioned under 1st May.

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Cambay people. I landed with the ambassador, whose small retinue caused much surprise. On 14th, three English ships arrived from Batavia, and one from Mocha along with the *Bommel* and *Wesp*. In the evening Commander Gryp landed from Persia; he brought no silk from Gombroon. On 21st, an English constable's mate was run through and killed by one of our sailors. The English kept him and one or two others in custody on their ships, and demanded justice from us; I answered that they should deliver their prisoners to me to be suitably dealt with, and they were promptly sent on board. On 22nd, a pinnace arrived from Batavia with 12 chests of Rix dollars and Holland crowns, worth altogether more than 200,000 guilders, which came exceedingly handy, for the factory was out of cash. The factor Clynoy landed in the evening. On 23rd I went on board with Commander van Hasel and the rest of the Council to deal with the sailor who had killed the Englishman.

November. On 3rd we returned on board to deal with this offender. On 6th, when we were about to proceed with the execution, the English President came on board with all the captains, and pleaded for the offender, whose life we granted to them. The same day I was formally appointed as Commander of the Fleet; in the evening returned to Surat. On 21st, the English *Mary* left for Batavia, to go home from Bantam. Our caravans from Ahmadābād, Cambay and Broach reached Rānder, for the goods to be sealed and then shipped.

December. On 2nd, I made over charge of my post as Director to Commander Van Hasel. On 5th, I despatched the pinnace *Seeborch* to Batavia with a handsome cargo of cotton goods. On 19th, Musa Beg, the Persian Ambassador, arrived from the Coromandel Coast, to travel to Persia on our ships. On 21st, the Portuguese *armada*, of 14 frigates, burnt an English frigate at the mouth of the river, where she had been sheathed; about 35 English were killed or burnt, including nearly all the carpenters of the fleet. They also captured four *sambuks* with goods for Persia belonging to the English. On 22nd, I left Surat, and went on board; and on 23rd, prepared to sail.

1629

January. On 3rd, our ships left the anchorage; on 5th, said good-bye to everybody; on 6th, sailed for Persia. [Details of the voyage omitted].

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March. On 21st, the fleet, returning from Persia, was off Surat, and next day anchored at Swally. On 23rd went to Surat, and on 27th returned on board to administer justice. On 29th, various sentences were passed.

April. On 5th, the King's ship, which had been captured by the Dutch [*vide* May, 1628], arrived off Surat. On 16th in company with Commander van Hasel, I visited the Governor and all the principal Moslems of Surat to take friendly leave, and recommend my successor to them. Then returned on board, 'not without much mourning and lamentation among all the peasants and the common people of the town, so that for me it was an affecting occasion, the nation being so exceedingly fond of me.' On 18th, Frans Franssen was put overboard for having murdered Dirck Janssen, and various other sentences were carried out. On 19th, inspected all the ships. On 25th, accompanied Commander van Hasel and the factors beyond Swally, where we took leave of each other; returned on board, and sailed at once. We left behind the pinnace *Negapatam,* which was found to be unfit for the voyage, and was sold for 1,000 mahmūdīs to Wollebrant Gelynssen. Our cargo was invoiced at Guilders 1,194,473.

[The *Utrecht,* with Van den Broeke on board, reached Batavia on 19th June, and he remained there until December. On 15th, he was appointed Commander of the fleet for Holland, to sail on the *Utrecht;* the fleet sailed on 18th. A few details of the voyage are given, but the MS ends with the date 1st January, 1630. The printed text carries the diary on to his arrival in Holland in the following June].

[At the end of the MS is a family-record, the first part of which was copied in 1605 from a book kept by van den Broeke's father, while the rest was written by van den Broeke himself. The family lived at various places; the father was married in Antwerp in the year 1580, and was still there when Pieter was born on 25th February, 1585. Next year he was at Alkmaar; later he was living in Hamburg, and in 1598 he was in Amsterdam. He died in Hamburg, in 1613. The latter portion of the record will interest some students of social history].

On 1st May, 1628, my son Pieter was born in Surat of one of my slaves named Maria (previously Gādom Garri), a Rājput or Hindu. On 25th, the mother and child, with two other slaves of mine, were baptised by an English minister. The boy's godfather

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was Commander Job Cristianssen Gryp, the godmother was Madellena, daughter of Skander Beg the Armenian. The mother was named Maria, the other two slaves were named Sofia and Anne.

On 5th October, one of my guards, Abraham Jacobssen of Delft, who came to the country as a soldier, married Maria, mother of my son Pieter. I gave 600 guilders in cash, and sufficient maintenance for him and the boy.

On 10th October, I heard that my daughter in Mocha had died five months before, at the age of ten years and a few days. The mother, who was a free Turkish woman, sent me the news by an Englishman and a Dutchman, with a handkerchief, and asked me kindly to come back. Her name is [an illegible alteration, perhaps Mariam] Issa ibn Solyman.

On 20th February 1629, while I was on the voyage to Persia, my other slave Sofia, whom I had freed, was delivered of a son. On 1st April, the boy was baptised by our Dominie Rogier Hendrickssen, and named Johan; Commander Gryp and senior factor Adam Classen Verhove were godfathers; the godmother was the wife of Commander van Hasel, who succeeded me as Director in Surat.

In Batavia, on 23rd September, my Seffia, formerly my slave, was married to a junior factor, Symon Remotter of Amsterdam, with a costly outfit of jewelry, clothes, entertainments, and cash for both his debts and her support. She is a Georgian, and a white Christian woman; from her childhood; when the Turks conquered Georgia, she was brought up by Moslems, and by good luck was bought for me from a Governor in Burhānpur for 1,200 guilders as she stood, and brought to me in Surat by the assistant Johannis Romanus.

[End of the MS.]

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The Beginning of Mir Qasim's Disputes with the English.

By

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The disputes between Mir Qasim and the company's servants, which ultimately culminated in the downfall of the former, assumed a serious character after the arrival of Mr. Ellis as Chief of the factory at Patna in November, 1761. The Nawab was then busy chastising the refractory zemindars of Bihar. His complaints against Ellis deserve close examination, because they were not only numerous, but sufficiently grave. It has been the fashion to condemn Ellis for his defiant attitude towards the Nawab; but the real explanation of the latter's prejudice against the former has generally been overlooked. Ellis was no doubt hot-headed, and impatient, but the Nawab was equally selfish, and vindictive, and deliberately aimed at removing the former from Patna by all possible means.

The Nawab could on no account have tolerated the presence of Ellis at Patna, and he needed only some plausible excuses for openly denouncing him. It must be remembered that the Nawab had procured the recall of Carnac and Coote in this very manner, and his previous success led him to adopt the same plan in regard to Ellis also. Little did he realise that on this occasion, his friend and patron, Mr. Vansittart, had no more the majority on his side in the Council, and so was powerless to punish Ellis in any way. The Nawab believed that he would be able to get Ellis removed—only if he persisted in complaining against him on some ground, or the other. The reasons why he bore a grudge against Ellis may thus be indicated:—

(i) It was the settled policy of the Nawab to stop all possible interference of the English officers in his government, and he consistently strove to render himself free from their dictation. So far he had been encouraged by Mr. Vansittart in the realisation of this object, and he now viewed with disgust the

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attitude of Ellis who certainly did not acquiesce in the policy of allowing the Nawab to free himself absolutely from English control, and who seems to have been determined to oppose the policy of non-intervention;

(ii) The Nawab knew full well that Ellis had been an avowed opponent of the late revolution, and he, therefore, regarded him in no other light than as a personal enemy. He would thus be the last person to tolerate the latter's presence at Patna, especially because he intended to shift his permanent headquarters from Bengal to Bihar.

(iii) Ellis became further hateful to the Nawab when it was reported to him that a party of English officers including the former were plotting his overthrow, and trying to get the late revolution annulled by the Directors. Mr. Hastings wrote to the Governor on May 26, 1762, "He (i.e. the Nawab) has been told that Messrs. Amyatt, Ellis, and Carnac have in their letters to their friends in England used every argument to procure an order from the Company to annul the measures taken in favour of him; and represented his character in the most hateful terms; that Mr. Fullarton was also charged to assist in person their project of deposing him; and that they have sworn together to his ruin; that they have discovered a flaw in his title to the *Subahship* from our treaty, etc., etc." A letter from the Directors received at this time was so vaguely worded that it was construed by Mr. Vansittart's opponents to be a disapprobation of the revolution. This too was duly reported to the Nawab who apprehended that Ellis would become a centre of attraction for all those who might be disaffected towards himself. The Nawab felt that he could not be safe so long as Ellis continued to stay at Patna; and,

(iv) The Nawab, it is clear, had determined to stop the private inland trade of the Company's servants, which he deemed to be a political danger to his government. The fact that Ellis furiously opposed the Nawab's officials in their attempt to impede this inland trade aroused the bitter indignation of the Nawab. Indeed, his quarrels with Ellis brought into sudden prominence the whole question of the inland trade, and the right of the Company's servants to exemption from the payment of duty.

It is evident from the above account that the Nawab regarded Ellis as a dangerous opponent, and only needed certain plausible arguments to make out a case against him. These arguments were soon supplied by some hasty, or tactless measures of Ellis. The Nawab did not fail to exploit them to the fullest extent, and Ellis insisted on vindicating what he regarded as his legitimate

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rights. Thus, a serious misunderstanding grew, and this could never have ceased, unless one, or the other completely yielded. Neither could possibly have yielded, and, therefore, a reconciliation between the two was really impossible. As the Nawab's ultimate downfall was hastened by his quarrels with Ellis, these require some elucidation.

At the very outset Ellis was annoyed at the refusal of Rajballabh, the Naib of Patna, to receive a visit from him without orders from the Nawab,[1] although he himself had given the Naib a courteous reception when the latter came to see him.[2] This naturally excited the suspicion that Rajballabh must have been prohibited from being intimate with the new Chief whose appointment the Nawab had not welcomed.[3] It was only after the Governor had formally protested against the discourteous attitude of the Naib that the Nawab permitted the latter to wait on Ellis.[4]

The earliest act of Ellis, which aroused criticism, was the order to arrest an officer of the government named Munseram, on a complaint of a *'gumashtah'* of the factory.[5] The charge against Munseram was that he had stopped some opium belonging to Mr. Hay inspite of there being a regular *'dastak'* with it. This Ellis naturally regarded as a deliberate attack on English trade, and could never have forgiven it on any account. High-handed as his action might appear, it was certainly not a new thing for the Company's servants to punish the Nawab's people[6] when they obstructed English trade, and this practice had even been permitted in the time of Mir Jafar.[7] But Mir Qasim wanted to stop all this. Ellis, however, could not be condemned for an act which had neither been uncommon, nor illegal so far. It would, however, have been more considerate on his part, if he had informed the Nawab of this beforehand,—but his order was not executed by Capt. Carstairs who simply requested the Nawab[8] to reprimand the insolent *'harkarah'*.

1. Trans. P. L. I. 1761. No. 434, p. 220.
2. Trans. P. L. I. 1761. No. 435, p. 220.
3. Vansittart's Narrative, I p. 297, and Als. P. L. R. 1759-65, p. 10.
4. Ibid.
5. Vansittart's Narrative, I, p. 297.
6. Scrafton's observations, p. 34.
7. Vide Mir Jafar's Sanad of 1757.
8. Letter from Capt. Carstairs to the Nawab, dated the 31st of Jan. 1762.

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The Nawab's anger[9] knew no bounds when Ellis not only refused to consider his charges against Mr. Gray, chief of the factory at Malda, but accused Mir Sher Ali, the Naib at Purnea, and the local zemindars of gross insolence and misbehaviour.[10] It was certainly a fact that the Company's business had been too frequently impeded[11] by the Naib and his men, and numerous formal complaints[12] had been made to the Nawab but to no purpose. Mr. Hastings himself had complained[13] bitterly against a local zemindar. What Mr. Gray did was to arrest the latter's '*peshkar*' after he had vainly[14] asked for redress from the Naib. The Nawab's annoyance was due to the fact that he considered such actions of the Company's servants to be an unwarranted interference in his internal administration.

Then came the affair of Khwajah Antoine, which further intensified the Nawab's dislike to Ellis. Antoine was an officer of the government employed as a collector at Punchmahla in the district of Monghyr.[15] A '*gumashtah*' of the Company was taking some goods from the '*parganah*' of Mulky with a '*dastak*' from Ellis;[16] but Antoine told him that the Company's '*dastak*' was insufficient, and gave him another '*dastak*' under the seal of Syda Ram, Naib of Khwajah Gregory who held the lease of the 'ghats' in that part of the country.[17] Besides, the Armenian officer was also guilty of interference in the Company's salt-petre monopoly.[18] The facts of the case are these. Khwajah Gregory required five maunds of salt-petre, and he directed Antoine to secure it for him from the Company's '*nunias*'. Antoine sent for one of the latter, and compelled him to bring the said amount of salt-petre. This was secretly conveyed by him to Khwajah Gregory. One of the company's local *gumashtahs* protested against this, but

9. Vansittart's Narrative, I, p. 302.
10. Letter from the Nawab to Mr. Ellis, dated Jan. 22, 1762, and the reply from Mr. Ellis, dated Feb. 4, 1762, and Trans. P. L. I. 1762. Nos. 20, and 21. pp. 13-14.
11. Trans. P. L. I. 1761, No. 431, p. 218.
12. Trans. P. L. I. 1761, No. 432, p. 218.
13. Trans. P. L. I. 1762, No. 21, p. 13.
14. Ibid. The Governor himself wrote to Mir Sher Ali on the subject, and requested him to punish the Zemindar, but the Naib paid no heed to it.
15. Vansittart's Narrative, I, p. 302.
16. Letter from Mr. Ellis to the Governor and Council, dated Jan. 26, 1762.
17. Beng. Pub. Cons. 8th Feb. 1762.
18. Beng. Pub. Cons. 11th Feb. 1762, and Siyar, p. 715 (Lucknow Text).

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Antoine insisted that he had every right to do so.[19] This was reported to Ellis who immediately put Antoine under arrest, and sent him to Calcutta for exemplary punishment.[20] At Calcutta, Antoine was examined by the Council, and he confessed that he did give the *dastak* of his master to enable the gumashtah to get the goods easily passed at the *ghats* belonging to him, and as regards the salt-petre, he admitted that a *'nunia'* of the *'Sarkar'* had asked him to purchase ten rupees worth of salt-petre which he secured from a 'nunia' of the Company.[21] The Nawab, however, resented the arrest of his subordinate, and strongly complained to Ellis saying,[22] "It ill became you to seize an officer of my Government". The point at issue was that Antoine had not only indirectly questioned the title of the Company's *dastak*, but had also definitely infringed its monopoly of salt-petre under the instructions of a high officer of the Government. Ellis was, therefore, on principle right when he demanded a signal punishment for this offence lest it should form a bad example to others. He was also justified in bringing this matter to the notice of the authorities at Calcutta. He also duly informed the Nawab of his action in this matter.[23] Ellis can be blamed only for his tactless haste in sending the Armenian to Calcutta in irons[24] like an ordinary criminal without waiting for the Nawab's opinion[25] in regard to the latter's offence. But, in fairness to Ellis, it must be added that he had applied to the Government on previous occasions in similar cases, but had not received any redress, so he sent the Armenian to Calcutta on this occasion.[26]

Antoine was detained at Calcutta for one day only, and sent back to the Nawab for proper punishment, because the Council was convinced that he had "taken upon himself an authority

19. Trans. P. L. I. 1762, No. 30 p. 20.
20. Letter from the chief and Council at Patna to the Governor, Jan. 28th 1762.
21. Beng. Pub. Cons. 11th Feb. 1762.
22. Letter from the Nawab to Ellis, (4th or 5th) Feb. 1762.
23. Letter from Ellis to the Nawab, dated Feb. 4, 1762.
24. Vansittart's Narrative, I, p. 303.
25. The Nawab received a highly coloured account of the affair from Rajballabh who wrote, "A small quantity of salt-petre which he (i.e. Antoine) was *accused of having plundered from the factory . . . .*" (Vide letter from the Nawab—Beng. Pub. Cons. 22nd Feb. 1762). The Nawab wrote, " . . . . *for a trifling cause,* that gentleman (Ellis) has disgraced and carried away Coja Antoon. . . . ." The Council, however, did not agree with the Nawab that it was a trifling cause!
26. Beng. Pub. Cons. 21st June 1762.

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which he had no right to.[27] The Nawab had to dismiss him from his service.[28]

The next important dispute between the Nawab's officers, and Ellis was in connexion with a small gate[29] of the city of Patna, which was nearest to the factory. The Nawab ordered his Naib at Patna to shut up this gate,[30] this the people at the factory were suddenly deprived of a short cut into the city. The real motive of the Nawab seems to have been to prevent the factory people from having an easy access to the city, but Ellis was perfectly justified in complaining against this action, as it needlessly inconvenienced the folk at the factory by compelling them to go about six hundred yards round to the west gate of the city. Ellis rightly contended that there was no necessity at all for closing this gate at least in the day time.[31]

It was, however the monghyr fort incident which aroused the fiercest condemnation of Ellis by the Nawab, and therefore it deserves a close examination. Desertions among the Company's troops were at this time getting frequent at Patna, and Ellis complained of it to the Council at Calcutta early in February, 1762.[32] In fact, he was extremely uneasy for this, when a report was made to him that European deserters had taken shelter in the monghyr fort.[33] He at once decided to take strong measure for the immediate arrest of these deserters, and requested Rajballabh to write to Shujan Singh, *'the qalahdar,'* to deliver up the deserters. This Rajballabh promised to do—whereupon Ellis sent a sergeant with a Company of sepoys to escort them back. When the party reached the fort, Shujan Singh not only refused to let the sergeant enter the fort, but threatened to fire upon them. On being informed of this, Ellis directed the sepoys to wait peacefully till the Nawab's orders reached the *'qalahdar,'* and asked the Governor to request the Nawab to send a *'parwanah'* to Shujan Singh pemitting a search of the fort by the sergeant.

27. Beng. Pub. Cons. Feb. 11th 1762, Als. P. L. I. 1759-65, p. 23, Vansittart's Narrative, I, p. 304.
28. Als. P. L. R. 1759-65, p. 13.
29. Trans. P. L. I. 1762, No. 43, p. 28.
30. Beng. Pub. Cons. Feb. 22nd 1762.
31. Beng. Pub. Cons. 22nd March 1762. (Vide also letter from Ellis, 14th March 1762).
32. Beng. Pub. Cons. 11th Feb. 1762. (Vide also letter from Ellis, 2nd Feb. 1762).
33. Beng. Pub. Cons. 4th March, 1762. (Vide also letter from Ellis, 23rd Feb. 1762).

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The Governor did request[34] the Nawab to do so but in vain. The Nawab wilfully distorted the whole affair just to condemn[35] the action of Ellis in the bitterest of terms.

The complaints of the Nawab against Ellis in this connexion show to what extent he could deliberately misrepresent the incident. They may thus be summarised[36]:—

(*i*) *"Two or three Companies of sepoys"* were sent by Ellis to monghyr.

(*ii*) They *"marched against"* the fort, and *"surrounded"* it;

(*iii*) The *'qalahdar' "Sat within in fear of his life and honour";*

(*iv*) "I am ignorant," wrote the Nawab, "what provocation has induced the gentleman to send sepoys *'to attack the fort, ...* and *thus commit hostilities"*;

(*v*) The sepoys went *'in a treacherous and designing manner . . . . .*"; and

(*vi*) Rajballabh totally denied [37] having sent any instructions to the *'qalahdar'* on behalf of Ellis, and the Nawab wrote, "who is Rajballabh that Mr. Ellis should write to him?"

That the above accusations were all groundless and malicious can be easily shown[38]:—

(*i*) Ellis sent no more than one Company of sepoys;

(*ii*) They did not surround the fort, and when the *'qalahdar'* would not allow the sergeant to enter the fort, they posted themselves at four, or five miles distance, where they were ordered to remain, not by Ellis alone, but by the Council at Calcutta;[39]

34. Trans. P. L. I. 1762, No. 42. p. 28.

35. Als. P. L. R. 1759-65. p. 13.

36. Beng. Pub. Cons. 22nd Feb. 1762. (Vide. Letter from the Nawab to the Governor, letter from Rajballabh to the Nawab, letter from Shujan Singh to Syda Ram).

37. Letter from Rajballabh to the Nawab; 26th March 1762: "I know not in truth anything of this affair, neither did any person ever demand, or I write such a letter.

38. Beng. Pub. Cons. 22nd Feb. 1762. (Letter from Ellis to the Governor, 13th Feb. 1762).

Beng. Pub. Cons. 22nd March, 1762. (Letter from Ellis to the Governor, 14th March, 1762).

39. Vansittart's Narrative, II, pp. 12-13.

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(*iii*) Far from being anxious for his life and honour, the gallant '*qalahdar*' was rude to the sergeant and threatened to fire unless he kept his men off the reach of the guns. To prove his earnestness and loyalty, he even sent for four thousand bullets, and some lead,[40] and even stopped the supply of provisions to make it impossible for the sepoys to stay longer;

(*iv*) The Nawab's description of the sending of a Company of sepoys to bring the deserters back as an attack on the fort is obviously an astounding perversion of truth, indicative of his bitter rancour and prejudice;

(*v*) The charge that the troops aimed at treacherously surprising the fort is equally fantastic, and is only another instance of the Nawab's way of describing things; and finally,

(*vi*) Ellis did inform Rajballabh of the affair of the deserters, and did secure his promise to write to Monghyr. It is unthinkable that Ellis could have believed that the '*qalahdar*' would allow the search of his fort without instructions from the higher authorities. Ellis was perfectly justified in considering that Rajballabh, being the Naib at Patna, did possess the authority to give the necessary instructions to the '*qalahdar*' at Monghyr. There is no reason to suppose that Ellis told a falsehood when he insisted that he had asked Rajballabh to send a letter to Monghyr.[41] It is clear that[42] either Ghulam Muhammad, the intermediary, or Rajballabh had spoken a falsehood.

The Governor wrote to the Nawab drawing his attention to the material difference between his version of the incident, and that given by Ellis,[43] and requested him to permit a search of the fort by the sergeant.[44] The Nawab was further told that an

40. Letter from Shujan Singh to Diwan Syda Ram. (Vansittart's Narrative, I, p. 333).
41. Beng. Pub. Cons. 22nd March, 1762.
42. Even Mr. Vansittart thought that the intermediary might have "invented that answer of Rajballabh." (Narrative, I. p. 208).
43. Trans. P. L. I. 1762, No. 39. p. 26.
44. Trans P. L. I. 1762, No. 42, p. 28.

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undue prolongation of such a trivial affair was extremely undesirable.[45] The Governor ultimately proposed to send two sergeants, and several *'tilangas'* to search the fort.[46] But, this the Nawab would not allow! He objected to the proposed search, as he thought it would humiliate him before the public.[47] Finally, it was decided to send Mr. Hastings and Lt. Ironside to visit the fort, and report on the affair;[48] simply because the Nawab would never allow Ellis to search the fort.[49] He, however, did not object[50] to the deputation of the former gentlemen.[51]

The Nawab's complaints against Ellis began to be so numerous and bitter that Mr. Vansittart considered it necessary[52] to depute Mr. Hastings to bring about a reconciliation between them, and allay the Nawab's suspicions of the Company's intentions to depose him. In short, Mr. Hastings was instructed[53] to examine the causes of the misunderstanding between the Nawab and Ellis, and soothe the former's irritated feelings by reconciling matters. He was further directed by the dissenting majority in the Council to demand the sum of 20 lakhs of rupees for which the Nawab had given a bond to the Select Committee on September 27, 1760.[54].

45. Trans. P. L. I. 1762, No. 46, p. 30.
46. Trans. P. L. I. 1762, No. 48, p. 31.
47. Als. P. L. R. 1759-65, p. 13. Vansittart's Narrative, II, p. 7.
48. Trans. P. L. I. 1762, No. 67, p. 41.
49. Als. P. L. R. 1759-65, p. 13.
50. Ibid.
51. Beng. Pub. Cons. 25th March, 1762.
52. Vansittart's Narrative, II, p. 21.
53. Beng. Pub. Cons. 25th March, 1762.
54. Ibid. Mr. Amyatt was responsible for this resolution. In fact large sums had already been paid, and Mr. Amyatt knew this. The Resolution was therefore a fling at Mr. Vansittart. The main arguments of Mr. Amyatt and his supporters were sufficiently plausible:—
    (i) The money should be credited to the account of the Company lest it should be thought that the revolution had been brought about for private profit; (Mr. Amyatt.)
    (ii) The bond had not been formally returned by an order of the Council; (Mr. Hay.)
    (iii). "If the Nawab refuses, which I think he will and ought, we are justified at once; and if he grants it, this is so much gained to the Company." (Major Carnac.)

Mr. Vansittart's opposition was neither convincing, nor straightforward. He lacked the courage to declare that payments had been made to some members of the Select Committee (Vide his Narrative, II pp. 29-35). It may be noted that he himself had not accepted anything so far, as he received his share during his visit to Monghyr.

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Mr. Hastings left Calcutta on April 9, 1762, and on his way to Sasseram which[55] the Nawab had made his head-quarters at this time, he visited the Monghyr fort on April 27 along with Lt. Ironside to make an enquiry regarding the deserters, but did not find any trace of them inspite of a careful search.[56] Mr. Hastings reached Sasseram on May 9,[57] and was cordially received by the Nawab.[58] The letter strongly repudiated any desire on his part to break with the English, although he maintained that he had much to complain against the servants of the Company, and roundly charged Ellis with attempting to bring about a rupture between him and the Company.[59] It is clear that the Nawab was extremely flattered by the visit[60] of Mr. Hastings, and he may have felt that the latter would, if properly humoured, support his cause at Calcutta, and side with him in his disputes with Ellis and others. The Nawab was fully successful in persuading his guest to concur with him in his opinion of Ellis, and Mr. Hastings wrote to the Governor strongly condemning the intractable attitude of the chief.[61]

The real point at issue was not the petty quarrels of the Nawab with Ellis, but the regulation of the private inland trade of the Company's servants, and the putting of it on a satisfactory basis. Mr. Hastings had been directed by the Governor to settle the question with the Nawab, if possible.[62] The principal among the Nawab's recent complaints in regard to this matter was as follows:—

(*i*) The chiefs of the factories, the Nawab alleged, made use of their sepoys on the slightest pretexts, and this he wanted should be forbidden;[63]

55. Siyar, p. 709 (Lucknow Text).

56. Letter from Mr. Hastings to the Governor—April 28, 1762. (Vide Gleig's Memoir, I, p. 111). Als. P. L. R. 1759-65, p. 14. Vansittart's Narrative, I, p. 314. Letter from Lt. Ironside to the Governor. April 27, 1762.

57. Letter from Mr. Hastings to Coote, May 14, 1762. (Vide Gleig's Memoir, I, p. 114).

58. Muzaffar Namah (Alld. Univ. ms.) p. 329. "Shamsuddaulah sent Mr. Hastings who was a great diplomat to Sasseram for pacifying Ali Jah."

59. Letter from Mr. Hastings to the Governor, May 13, 1762. (Narrative, II, p. 59).

60. Muzaffar Namah, p. 329.

61. Letter from Mr. Hastings to the Governor, May 26, 1762. (Narrative, II, p. 63).

62. Letter from the Governor to Mr. Hastings, May 2, 1762.

63. Beng. Pub. Cons. 21st June, 1762.

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(*ii*) The Company's '*gumashtahs*' were reported to be constantly impeding the public business;[64] and

(*iii*) Merchants without *dastaks* carried goods on their boats hoisting English colours to evade the payment of duties.[65]

Mr. Vansittart had proposed certain regulations for putting an end to the alleged abuse of the English flag, and these Mr. Hastings now explained to the Nawab.[66] The proposed regulations may thus be summed up:—

(*i*) The '*daroghahs*' of the '*chaukis*' should strictly insist on being shown a *dastak* for every English boat;

(*ii*) A boat with English colours, but without a *dastak*, should be stopped, and notice should be given to the nearest factory, if the goods be English property;

(*iii*) Faujdars should punish the '*gumashtahs*' who commit acts of aggression, or interfere in the affairs of the Government;

(*iv*) The Nawab's officers should not obstruct the Company's business, or oppress the people employed in it;

(*v*) No office should be bestowed on the Company's '*gumashtahs*' in the Nawab's Government.[67]

The evasion of duties by some merchants, of which the Nawab complained in manifestly exaggerated terms was really due not so much to the connivance of the Company's servants as to the following reasons which have generally been overlooked:—

(*i*) The *daroghahs* of the *chaukis* were mostly inefficient, and rarely possessed the capacity to distinguish a genuine *dastak* from a counterfeit one;

(*ii*) They generally did not stop a boat with English colours, hence the abuse of the English flag must have been frequent. Their own carelessness and negligence were certainly an incentive to fraud; and,

(*iii*) Corruption among them was also to some extent responsible for the evasion of duties;[68]

64. Als. P. L. R. 1759-65, p. 13. Vansittart's Narrative, II, p. 87.

65. Trans. P. L. I. 1761. Nos. 332 and 342. Vansittart's Narrative, II, p. 85.

66. Letter from Mr. Hastings to the Governor, May 18, 1762. (Vide Gleig's Memoir, I, p. 117-120) and, Narrative, II, p. 90.

67. The Council also resolved that a Company's servant should not hold office, or rent districts under the Nawab's government. (Vide Beng. Pub. Cons. 7th June, 1762).

68. Beng. Pub. Cons. 28th June, 1762.

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As regards the alleged interference of the *gumashtahs* in the affairs of the government, the Governor himself had taken a strong attitude, and had asked the Nawab to report to him all cases of misconduct on their part that he might properly punish them.[69] He further issued orders for the punishment of such among the '*gumashtahs*' as impeded the business of the '*Sarkar*.'[70] But, what usually is lost sight of is the fact that the Nawab's people did on numerous occasions obstruct them[71] in their work, and by their own high-handedness caused a good deal of unpleasantness.[72] New *chaukis* began to be established where there were none before, and English boats were sometimes needlessly stopped.[73] The *faujdars* were really encouraged by the Nawab's open disagreement with the English officials. An instance of their insolent behaviour may be cited. A European merchant was alleged to have stolen some salt, put in irons, and flogged like an ordinary thief under the orders of a *faujdar*.[74] It is curious that while Elli's action against Antoine has been generally emphasized, such treatment meted out to an Englishman has not attracted any notice. It is inconceivable that a European could have been punished in that manner, had it not been for the fact that the Nawab's jealousy of the English merchants was well-known to his subordinates.

The Nawab's objection to the practice of sending sepoys to protect English trade is easy to understand. He regarded it as an insult to his authority, and so vehemently disapproved of the use of military force by the chiefs of the factories. The Council, however, rightly argued[75] that if the use of sepoys was absolutely

69. Trans. P. L. I. 1762. No. 65. p. 39.
70. Trans. P. L. I. 1762. No. 85. p. 48.
71. Trans. P. L. I. 1762. No. 141, p. 75.
72. Trans. P. L. I. 1761, No. 429, p. 217.
73. Trans. P. L. I. 1761. No. 432, p. 218.
74. Trans. P. L. I. 1762. No. 97, p. 53.
75. Beng. Pub. Cons. 21st June, 1762. "As regards forbidding generally and absolutely the Chiefs or the subordinates from making use of their Sepoys on any occasion, we think it would be too dangerous a point to give up, for it might affect the freedom and security of the Company's trade, and occasion the *dastak* to be little respected. If the government chaukidars knew that no measures could be taken on the goods being stopped even when with a *dastak*, unless orders arrived from Calcutta, they would not scruple to make off with part of the goods. Hence, when goods with dastaks were stopped the chief and council of the nearest settlement must send sepoys for their release."

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forbidden, the Company's trade might be affected, and that there would exist no check on the rapacity of the *chaukidars*.

An instance[76] may be cited from the Bengal Public Consultations of June 14, 1762. A number of boats carrying salt which belonged to Ellis were recently stopped at Monghyr, and the '*bahrdars*' imprisoned, although there was a *dastak*. While they were under detention, two of the boats were sunk accidentally, and consequently Ellis was obliged to send sepoys on this occasion, and write to Rajballabh a letter of protest, part of which may be reproduced:—"Before the news was brought me that Shujan Singh, Naib of Gurgin Khan in Monghyr had stopped a fleet of mine, and imprisoned the Bhirdar; yet I waited till now considering who it could be that has power to take such a measure. At present, it is fully proved that that man is capable of anything, for to-day I have received news that he has stopped another fleet also which was coming from Calcutta, and imprisoned its Bhirdar, and that by reason of detaining it two boats full of goods were sunk in the ghauts of Monghyr. You yourself will do me justice, and take notice what was his reason for stopping my property, or if that can not be done by you, write to other gentlemen who may have power over him, otherwise I swear that whoever has, or shall behave improperly to me, I myself will punish him according to his deserts." The Nawab made the usual complaint against Ellis in this matter too, but the Council did not disapprove of the latter's action.[77]

The regulations proposed by Mr. Hastings on behalf of the Governor, while they could never be acceptable to the Council for cogent reasons, failed to satisfy the Nawab also. The latter obviously wanted something more tangible. He was extremely eager for a written agreement from the Council itself, which would specify in clear terms the exact privileges of the Company, and the extent of his own authority.[78] The Nawab wanted not only to be sure of his own ground, but sought to compel the Council to bargain with him in regard to private inland trade. This object of the Nawab has generally been ignored. It is undoubtedly a typical instance of his astute diplomacy. But, Mr. Hastings had no authority to negotiate with him on behalf of the Council, and

76. Beng. Pub. Cons. 14th June, 1762.
77. Beng. Pub. Cons. 21st June, 1762.
78. Letter from Mr. Hastings to the Governor, May 18, 1762. (Vide Gleig's Memoir, I, p. 120). Vansittart's Narrative, II, p. 95.

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so his talks with the Nawab in this connexion produced no results. A satisfactory settlement of the question was thus postponed.

It was brought to the notice[79] of the Council at this time that under the Nawab's orders, his mother-in-law, the *'Begam'* of Mir Jafar, and Mir Daud who was to have married the daughter of Miran had been placed under confinement. This the Council rightly described as a highly "disagreeable proceeding." Mr. Hastings was directed to inquire into the matter, and advocate the cause of the *'Begam'*. As a matter of fact, this affair is one more glaring illustration of the Nawab's inhuman cruelty. It was on mere suspicion that he thus ill-treated a venerable lady, the wife of his predecessor. Mr. Hastings reported to the Governor the reasons given by the Nawab for keeping the Begam, and Mir Daud under a close surveillance.[80] The lady had been alleged to have murdered one of her women by administering poison, hence the Nawab issued prompt orders for keeping strict watch over her movements, "to prevent the like accident in future". It is strange that he should have hastened to subject the lady to such humiliation without caring to make a proper investigation. As for Mir Daud, Mr. Hastings wrote,[81] "It having been represented to him (i.e., the Nawab) that he (i,e., Mir Daud) has constant access to the Nabob's zenana, who to preserve the honour of his family has ordered Meer Daood to remove to Dacca, or quit the province, meaning only to deprive him of those opportunities." This interesting explanation is not convincing, especially because the Nawab did not allow the young man to leave the province, and kept him confined at Patna,[82] after the latter's futile attempt to escape with the help of Mr. Batson,[83] Chief of the factory at Cossimbazar. The latter had, on his own authority, granted protection[84] both to the *Begam*, and to Mir Daud, but his interference in the Nawab's personal affairs was censured by the Council.[85] The real explanation of the Nawab's vindictive measures against Mir Daud seems to be his characteristic suspicion of the latter who, on account of his close connexion with the family of Mir Jafar, might prove to be a potential danger to his Government.

79. Beng. Pub. Cons. 24th May, 1762. (Vide letter from Mr. Batson—dated May 21, 1762). Trans. P. L. I. 1762. No. 92. p. 51.
80. Beng. Pub. Cons. 22nd June, 1762.
81. Ibid, (an extract from Mr. Hastings's letter is given above).
82. Muzaffar-Namah (Alld. Univ. Ms. p. 326).
83. Trans. P. L. I. 1762. No. 105. p. 57.
84. Beng. Pub. Cons. 5th July, 1762.
85. Beng. Pub. Cons. 8th July, 1762.

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The mission of Mr. Hastings to the Nawab produced no satisfactory results, and ended practically in nothing.[86] A reconciliation between the Nawab, and Ellis could not be effected, and the Nawab's complaints against the trade of the Company's servants became all the more vehement, and loud.

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86. The Nawab also formally refused to pay the sum of Rs. 20 lakhs that Mr. Hastings had been directed to demand from him on behalf of the Council on the ground that he had fulfilled all the terms of the treaty subsisting between himself and the Company. (Vide Beng. Pub. Cons. 14th June, 1762). The Nawab wrote to the Council, "That you, gentlemen, should unreasonably demand twenty lakhs of rupees of me surprises me greatly . . . Now most of the gentlemen, to whom I made the offer, have left the country; and as to the one or two who still remain here, I do not think that they will demand it of me." The air of innocence that the Nawab assumes is truly amusing! How could he betray the friends of Mr. Vansittart, to whom he had already paid the promised donations? (Vide Sumner's evidence, First Report, 1772, pp. 163-4 for proof of the fact that these payments had been made in 1761).

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An English letter of Janardan Shivram, the Peshwa's Vakil at Madras, to Macartney, the Governor of Madras

BY

Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, M.A.,

Satara.

The political connection of the Marathas with the Madras Presidency began since the time of Shahaji, the father of Shivaji, when he was entrusted with the administration of the Carnatic under the Vijapur Government in about 1636. His family subsequently exercised a very powerful influence over the destinies of Southern India. Shahaji's second son Vyankoji founded a kingdom at Tanjore which continued to exist till 1855 A.D. The doings of the great Shivaji and of his son Rajaram in the Madras Presidency are too well known. The rich soil of the Carnatic was a permanent attraction to the invading Marathas and their connection with the country became closer and closer by the successful raids under Raghuji and Fatehsingh Bhonsle and subsequently under the tactful and heroic Peshwas. At last in the 18th century the Maratha power extended right up to the southernmost part of the Peninsula and it was felt so much practically in every principality of the South, including the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Nabab of the Carnatic, the English and the French, that we find a number of names of Maratha ambassadors posted at their courts and sometimes dabbling with success in their political affairs.[1]

The name of Janardan Shivram is one of the most prominent of them. He was a Maratha Vakil with the British at Madras. Twenty-six of his Marathi letters were published by the late R. B. Parasnis in the now defunct Marathi Journal called "Itihasa Sangraha" in 1916-7. There are eight more unpublished letters

1 R. B D. B. Parasnis—A note on the Maratha Records releting to the History of the South. *Proceedings of Meetings of Indian Hist. Commission.* Vol. VI, p. 59.

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of his, preserved in the Historical Museum at Satara. All these letters written in the Marathi language and in the Modi script are addressed by him to his father or uncle, one Bapu and to Nana Phadnavis and Haripant Tatya Phadke. They are dated between 6th November 1780 and 30th March 1791 and are written chiefly from Kālahasti and Chinnapatan i.e., Madras. These letters are very valuable and contain useful detailed and sometimes hitherto unknown information on the political affairs of Hyder and Tipu, the Nizam, the Nabab of Arcot, the Naiks of Venkatgiri and other Zamindars and of the French and the British in the Madras Presidency.

Nothing is known of the family to which Janardan belonged. His father was Shivram and his grandfather was Krishnajī.[2] He had a younger brother named Nagoba[3] and an uncle named Madhavrao.[4] It is thus clear that he belonged to a Maharashtra Brahman family.

The present letter unlike his other letters is wholly written in English except for his signature at the end which is in Modi characters. Herein he calls himself a Vakil from the Peshwas. There is at the end also his seal embossed on lac and bearing the Devanagari characters *Śri Mahālakshmī Sahāya*. At the beginning of the Marathi letters, however, he uses often the word *Śri Guru*.

The English letter is a petition from Janardan Shivram to Lord Macartney who was the English Governor at Madras from 22nd June 1781 to 8th June 1785.

When Hyderally sent an army of 4,000 horse under Meerally Raza-Cawn against the territory of Colastry (i.e., Kālahasti) and Vecantagery and was on the point of devastating it; Vencatapah Naig, the Chief, requested Janardan Shivram to use his influence and ward off the encroachments of the enemy and offered in return the grant of one village to him and of another to Vinnajee Pandit, the Vakil of Hyder himself. Janardan Shivram wrote accordingly to Hyderally about the entreaties of Vencatapah Naig, and of his readiness of obedience and of his being a well-wisher of the Marathas and requested him not to molest his territories. Hyder ceased his hostilities towards the Naig and Janardan Shivram received the reward for his work. He continued in the

2 His English letter published below.

3. Cf. A Marathi note (*yādi*) in the Satara museum of a Persian letter to the Governor of Madras that Nago Shivram would act for his brother Janardhan Shivram during his absence at Poona. No. 10 of Parasnis.

4 Cf. *ibid* No. 3.

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enjoyment of the village for some time; but when he went to Poona for some business the Naig forfeited his village. Hence Janardan Shivram requested the Governor of Madras, to whom the Naig was subordinate, to intercede and to see that his village was given back to him.

This application bears no date but as is shown below, it must have been sent to the Governor on 25th or 26th February 1785.

There are two annexures to this letter one giving the translation of the grant given by the Naig Venkatapah of Kolastry, of the village of Poolumpadoo in his Jahagir called Coonaravizia on 15th January 1781, and the other recording that a similar grant of two more villages called Chocut Tangel and Manamully was made by the same Naig to him on the 5th January 1781. The gift of the village referred to in the present letter seems to be of Poolumpadoo granted to him on the 15th January 1781. Nothing is known of the two villages mentioned in the other annexure.

When no reply from Lord Macartney was received to this letter, a reminder was sent by Janardan Shivram on 7th Jamadiulaval or 18th March 1785. The reminder is in Marathi and in Modi characters, and bears in ink his seal *Śrĭ Mahālakshmĭ Sahāya* as in the first letter is accompanied by an English translation probably made by himself as its broken English denotes. Therein he states thus:—

It is now about twenty-two[5] days since I had the honour to Present a Petition to your Lordship with Enclosures of the Translations of Grants, but you have not been pleased yet to put me in possession of the Villages. . . . I am a Vakeel and whose Duty is to render Service to those that are desirous and receive from them favors in return; and, tho the Vakeels could not get favourable Opportunity immediately, they will wait for twelve years to accomplish their Aims. . . . I have rendered material Service to the Zemindar of Colastry when he was finally of Opinion that Carnatic and Madras will be hardly saved from the late Hyder. . . . I am fixt to the Office of Vakeel here on behalf of the Mahrattas, and not same as others that remain here to-day liable to be removed the next day.[6]

5 This reminder is dated 18th March 1785 and the original representation is said to have been made 22 days previous to this. The former therefore must have been dated 25th or 26th of Feb. 1785.

6 He had reason to say so; as from the letters found of him he was grant was made it was confiscated.

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I have therefore rejected the Offer of Money and accepted the village from Colastry Zemindar thinking myself that I shall always have country Provisions while I remain at Madras.[7] If I was the same Opinion as the Zemindar of Colastry, since he said that Madras would prove defenceless, I would have accepted the Money offer and gone away to my Country. . . . I have therefore taken the Liberty to re-petition to your Lordship hoping that your Lordship will do justice by ordering possession of the villages and put me in possession of them and reduce the Zemindar of Colastry to the immediate payment of the arrears of five years Revenue.[8]

What the result of this application was is not known.

TO

THE RIGHT HON'BLE GEORGE LORD MACARTNEY K.B.,

PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOR OF FORT ST. GEORGE., ETC. ETC. ETC.

THE HUMBLE REPRESENTATION OF JANARDANA ROW, VAKEEL

TO THE MAHRATTAS.

SHEWETH

Previous to the entrance of the late Hyderallys Troops in the Carnatic I have remained at Madras and soon after the late Hyder proceeded in Hostilities his motives were to annoy the Countries of Colastry and Vencatagery and to that purpose he issued peremptory Orders to Meeraly Raza Cawn then commanwant of 4,000 horse at Cumbum to proceed immediately and Distroy Colastry and Vencatagery and then to come and join him near Arcot in obedience thereto Meerally Raza Cawn proceeded and came to Sutaramporam in the District of Colastry, plundered the Village and set fire to the Houses—Domirla Vincatapah Naig of Colastry solicited a Vakeel and sent him to me at Madras with Kilats, Nazer

7 Janardan Shivram had a keen desire to own a Jahagir. Besides the villages which he got from the Naig of Colastry he wished to have a big village granted to him by the Peshwas as is seen from his repeated requests to Mana Phadnis. By the possession of a jahagir he professed, the prestige of a vakil is much enhanced. (See No. 3 of Parasnis.)

8 The original grant was made in Jan. 1781 and in this letter dated March 1785 five years' revenue is claimed. It seems therefore that soon after the working as Vakil at Madras at least from 1780 to 1791.

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and Letter to take (to) Hyder offering his obedience and Service requesting I would do him the favor to introduce his presents to Hyder by means of his Vakeel Vinnagee Pundith and thereby to prevail on him to free his country from hostilities and to preserve the same with Peace and Tranquillity and to this Effect he had wrote me then four or five Letters mentioning the necessity under which he then severly laboured and seemed to be ruined by the 4,000 horse then encamped near Chittavale. Besides the other Detachment both of which were ordered to distroy Colastry and Vincatagery. In consequence of which I had written a Letter to Hyder mentioning the entreaties of Damerla Vincatapah Naig as well as his readiness of obedience and point (ed) out to him at the same time and that he is (was) sincere well-wisher of the Mahrattas and assured him that his Duty in consequence will (would) be to the Promotion of his Interest as far as lays in his Power. Hyder in his Letter acknowledged the receipt of mine together with the Letter and Presents of Damirla Vencatapah Naig—mentioning his acceptance of the services therein proposed and added with his having directed the Commandants of the Detachments to forbid their Hostilities towards Colastry since the Zemindar has offered his services and sent to me a Letter; likewise to the same effect to Damirla Vencatapah Naig—I had likewise received a Letter from his Vakeel Vinagee urging the above in the strongest terms to persuade Damirla Vencatapah Naig to place much confidence on his Masters Letter and to join him as soon as possible. On the receipt of which Letter Damirla Vencatapah Naig sent to me his Vakeel to invite me to his court which I accepted and accompanied him to Colastry from whence I have proceeded to the Hyder's camp with Damirla Vencatapah and introduced him to him and rendered him every service in my Power as an acknowledgement of which service he expressed many grateful terms and said at the same time that any Riches he could offer as far as 10,000 Pag would not be considered an equitable and therefore offered two villages as free Gift one to me and the other to Vinnagee Pundit and gave me a Grant at the same time with his Public seal to enable me to enjoy it by me and heirs perpetually. I have in virtue of the Grant took charge of the same and continued in the Enjoyment. In the meantime I was obliged to go to Poonah in obedience to my superiors' orders. Soon after which the said Damirla Vencatapah Naig having taken the same village back I have now returned from Poonah and remained six days at Colastry and reobtained the said village and came to Madras soon after which, Conary Row Vakeel here prevailed on his master Damirla Vencatapah Naig to retake the said village back which was

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accordingly done. I am sorry that the Reflection and mortification which naturally proceed from the behaviour of this nature induces me to make few a Remarks on his conduct which in all respects appear ungentill—but the Duty which the People in general owe to their own Prudence and Indusary renders me to confine myself to the referring the original Plan of the matter with hopes of Justice.

I take the Liberty to submit the aforgoing to your Lordships Judgment and wait for relief—in the Premises.

Janardana Row Shivram Vakil
Nisbat Shrimant Rajashri Pant Pradhān.
(Seal in Devnagari characters, embossed in lac)
Śrĭ Mahalakshmĭ Sahāya.

Translation of a Grant from Damirla Vencatapah Naig of Colastry to Janardana Row, Grandson of Kistnajee Pundeth and son of Sivaram pundath Dated 15 January, 1781.

I, Damarla Vencatapah Naig of Colastry, Grandson of late Accapah Naig and son of Timmapah Naig do hereby grant unto you Janardana Row this writing in Testimony of my having given you a village called Poolumpadoo in my Jaghire called Comara Vizia out of Charity and Hospitality and have hereby given you the Same as Donation. You and your heirs therefore are to enjoy the Produce of it perpitually as long as Son and Moon Endureth—

Another Grant of the Same form for Chocut Tangel and Manamully villages, Dated 5th January 1781 from Damarla Vencatapah Naig to Janardana Row.

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Obituary.

PROFESSOR JULIUS JOLLY OF WURZBURG.

Professor Julius Jolly, of Wurzburg, who was one of the members of the consulting Board of Editors of the "Journal of Indian History," passed away, to the regret of all that knew him, on the 25th of April 1932 in his 83rd year. He was born of a family, which can count to its credit statesmen and scholars, on December 28, 1849, in Haidelberg. His father was a physicist, Professor Phillip van Jolly. Julius Jolly received his education in Munich, Berlin and Leipzig, and settled down in Wurzburg as a young man of 23. He was first elected lecturer and then became professor in 1886. Before he became Professor, he undertook a voyage of education to India, and took the opportunity to deliver a course of lectures at the Calcutta University, which was published as the Tagore Law Lectures, one of his early works that gave him his standing in the world of letters. He was officially Professor of Sanskrit and languages connected therewith at the University. But he specialised in the study of jurisprudence and history of legal procedure in Ancient India, holding the lead in these subjects for more than half a century. He also studied Indian medicine and became an international authority in these somewhat recondite subjects. He kept up his interest in the study of Indian law and his influence was so great that as late as 1928, a translation of his work on Law and Custom was published in English by a Bengalee scholar, Radhakrishna Ghosh. He published also several works on medicine, and won his position as a standing authority on the subject. He was the recipient of honours from various Universities and learned bodies in Germany and outside. He was elected honorary Doctor of Philosophy by the Oxford University. He was made an honorary Member of the Royal Academy of Science, Munich, of the Royal Society of Science, Göttingen and the Royal Asiatic Society, London. His own University honoured him by making him President of the University, "Rector Magnificus," in 1909-10.

Notwithstanding these distinctions, Jolly was a scholar of great modesty, and was hardly anxious for coming into the limelight even as a scholar. For his ability and length of active life, his publications were not quite so many as many other scholars could claim for themselves. Nevertheless his was a life rich in

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work and scholarly achievements. He was connected with the "Journal of Indian History" ever since the second or third year of its foundation. He wrote the reviews of the first few volumes of Phenzer's "Kathasarith Sagara" in English for the journal, and gave valuable advice on matters connected with it. His passing away is a loss irreparable to the world of scholarship.

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Editorial.

It is getting to be acknowledged nowadays that a University in India hardly serves its purpose adequately unless some provision is made for the *alumnai* of the University and the teachers engaged in the carrying on of the work of the University giving a part of their attention to advancing knowledge by prosecuting research work. It is accepted that as far as may be research work ought not to be completely divorced from the work at any rate of higher teaching, and the more the two are brought together into some systematic correlation the more efficient the actual education is found to be both from the point of view of the students and the teachers as well as those who may be detailed exclusively for the prosecution of the work of research. The actual work that is turned out in this field depends to a very great extent upon the facilities that the Universities are able to provide and the equipment that they themselves possess.

A special stimulus was given to this department of University work with the Coronation of His Imperial Majesty when a special grant of a large sum was made for distribution among the Universities with a view to promoting this kind of work by transforming the merely examining bodies of the Universities as they then existed into teaching institutions. Calcutta began to lead the way under the eminent Vice-Chancellor, Sir Asutosh Mukerjee. Madras followed suit to purpose. Allahabad and the other Universities followed soon after, each of these having its own particular line of development when once the start was given. Bombay remained behind to some extent, as it were. It was but natural for a centre like Bombay, with its commercial preoccupations; but Bombay had not remained stationary. It was making efforts to come into line, although she indicated an early partiality for economics and the sciences. The holding of the Historical Congress in Bombay, the first of its kind, last year and the words that His Excellency addressed to the Congress have had the effect of stimulating the Bombay University into more activity even in that neglected field of historical studies. While the Bombay Historical Society and the History Section of the St. Xavier's College have been doing good work for some time, it is but fit that the Bombay University should come to the front collecting together the work of its colleges and those engaged in the higher teaching work of the University.

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We are glad to welcome therefore the publication of the first Journal of the Bombay University in July last. Not to be outdone by other Universities, this new journal is to be published six times a year, and each one of the issues is devoted to a limited number of subjects taken in groups. The numbers for July and January are to be for History, Economics and Sociology, the numbers for November and May would similarly be devoted to the study of Arts and Law. The September number would deal with the Physical Sciences including Mathematics, and the March number would similarly be devoted to the Natural Sciences including Medicine. This arrangement holds out promise of great development for the future. The number under notice contains about a dozen articles on varied subjects. Among the subjects dealt with come in two studies at least on Hindu sculpture, four articles are devoted to subjects of modern Indian History, subjects like the Parasurama Myth and Agricultural Holdings in India coming in as well as the usual miscellaneous matter. Altogether we must say that the journal makes a very good beginning and has promise of a good future for it.

While on it, we might take occasion to mention the advent of another University into this field, the Muslim University of Aligarh. The first number of the "Muslim University Journal" was issued in July last year, and we have not received any further number. This journal devotes itself more or less to the more popular arts subjects, such as History, Literature and Law. Some articles are of considerable interest to students of History. Among them may be mentioned the Historical Geography of the Punjab, a very important study by itself, and the History of the reign of Jalal-ud-din. Professor Muhammad Habib is the Editor, and he is assisted by a committee. We wish the journal a long and a prosperous future.

The English in India—A Problem of Politics.

Under this caption Sir John Marriott has presented us more or less with a study of how the English came to be in India and their position in the country at present. Without pretending to be a history of the British period as the subject is generally dealt with in ordinary books of history, the author studies the subject from the point of view of a politician historically. While he presents a fairly succinct general account of how the English came to be what they are in India, and giving us a more or less satisfactory account of the problems confronting politicians now, the work does not go much farther. The part covered in the book

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is the part that is generally taken to be well-known, and as a matter of fact the author himself acknowledges that the work of his own pupil, P. E. Roberts, leaves comparatively little to be desired by way of a satisfactory history. While this book emphasises the constructive work of the British administration perhaps more than a work like that of Roberts could do, it does not take us much beyond in the matter of elucidating the political problems of British administration to-day. The problem agitating India at present is how far the principle of self-determination is to be applied to India and how best the terms held out by the British authorities in this behalf are to be actually met. While it certainly would be foolish to attempt any satisfactory solution of problems arising out of this without an adequate appreciation of the history of the position, what is really more important to the solution of the problem is a correct appreciation of the aptitude as well as the attitude of the people occupying the country, the political-minded as well as the non-political-minded. An important branch of study therefore which would contribute very much to a satisfactory solution of this problem is how exactly all the changes in the British administration have reacted upon the people, what they have been brought up to be, and how exactly the ambitions thus stimulated by this kind of tutelage may well be satisfied without detriment to the future of India, and with benefit to the Indians at large first, and of Britain next. The elucidation of that position is very imperfect. We might almost say it has not been attempted. While we welcome the book therefore as providing a succinct account of the development of the British power in India from small beginnings to its present condition with a slightly altered emphasis on the constitutional side of it, we regret we cannot say that the study advances us any nearer to a satisfactory solution from the Indian or any other point of view. Nonetheless, as a study by a person of the eminence of Sir J. A. R. Marriott, it does make a contribution to the literature bearing on the side of British Indian History.

[We much regret to have to hold over the review of report on Mohenjo-Daro from this issue. Many causes conspired to bring about this delay, and it is hoped to bring out a full review in the next number.]

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Reviews

AKBAR

By

Laurence Binyon,

Peter Davies Limited.

This is a small book of about 160 pages of crown octavo, which tells the story of the life of Akbar, the great Mughal Emperor of India. It passes in review the main incidents of the life of Akbar giving references to sources, but presents them as incidents in the features of the character of a great individual rather than as incidents of history. These main events are stated plainly with reference to the authorities the most reliable for each, weighing impartially in the balance of historical criticism the various authorities without prejudice. At the same time it does not obtrude the discussion of these authorities so as to make the biography unnecessarily learned. Any short life of Akbar is bound to refer to the work of the late V. A. Smith, who relied a little too uncritically on certain authorities and convicted others of undue partiality, if not prevarication. The remarks of Mr. Binyon in regard to the siege and capture of Asirgarh, one of the most debated of the incidents of Akbar's life are worth quoting as exhibiting his own attitude towards the various sources. "The events are recorded by Abul Fazl, who was in command of the siege, and by the French author Du Jarric, who founded his narrative on Jesuit accounts. Jerome Xavier was present at the siege, so it is natural to think that his notes were used. Yet the two accounts are impossible to reconcile. Vincent Smith takes Du Jarric's story as literally true; but Mr. Payne, the English editor of Du Jarric, shows that Vincent Smith's accusations of falsehood on the part of Abul Fazl and other native historians are largely unfounded". The question is then examined in detail in consequence:—"Asirgarh had been taken, but the method of its capture could not redound to Akbar's glory". That gives us an idea of the character of criticism by this author, which evinces from the very beginning considerable sympathy for the subject, and as a consequence a far greater insight and understanding of the character of Akbar than other writers. A serious student of Mughal art, he could get into

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the subject and understand the mental attitude of the emperor far better than other writers on the subject. It is an excellent little book and is quite a worthy life of the great emperor.

NATIONHOOD FOR INDIA

By

Lord Meston, K.C.S.I.

Oxford University Press.

The book deals with the present problems agitating the minds of thinking people both in India and in England primarily, not without attracting world-wide attention. The problem is stupendous, and the character of the problem is represented in the work as "conflict of civilisation complicated by the racial question of colour". This very difficult problem Lord Meston attacks with characteristic earnestness. In his own words he sets out clearly the chief factors in the conflict, and the measures taken for controlling them. Lord Meston's findings are that the chief driving force behind this conflict is the spirit of Hinduism eager for its preservation, nay, even for the restoration to its old position. While admitting sincere efforts among a section for social reform and an approach to European conditions of life as a necessary preliminary to the introduction of the principles of democracy in India, he notes perhaps with far too much of an insistence the existence of a sinister influence of a more reactionary character, which would set itself against this move. He finds this in the alarm of Hindu civilisation at the impact of Western civilisation and the wonted disinclination of the former to absorb the features of Western civilisation.

The subject was dealt with in six lectures to an American audience by Lord Meston. The first of these is devoted to tracing the origin and growth of Hinduism, and the two following lectures consider Hinduism as a national force, and the features in Hinduism at all making for nationhood. The following two are devoted to nationalism and progress, and nationalism in politics. The last of these lectures is devoted to a national future for India.

Of course in presenting the history of Hinduism, the author shows clearly that he has failed to grasp the inner significance of the building forces of Hinduism as a whole. He is dispassionate

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so far as to find something good to say of the caste system, but his insistence upon what he considers the incompatability of Hinduism with any principles of democracy fails to take note of certain essential features of the problem. The first problem is that it concerns one-fifth of the human race as he notes, and we have no illuminating Western precedent for the application of democratic principles on this large scale. Failing to have a precedent, one would naturally expect him to attack the problem how best to apply the principles of democracy to the conditions obtaining in India, which in fact is really the problem. The whole tendency of Lord Meston's thesis is to reshape India and assimilate it to the conditions of the democratic West, that section of the West that is really democratic in principle or practice, and then try to impose upon the country the Western principles of democracy. It is hardly necessary to point out that democracy had had neither West nor East, and it was certainly not quite so unknown in India, as Lord Meston in the following statement would have us believe. "In India outside the larger Indian states, no experience in administration has been acquired by Indian leaders during the last two hundred years, and no experience in democratic institutions for the last 2,000 years or more." If the Indians were debarred from acquiring administrative experience during the last two centuries, they could not exactly be held responsible for it. That they had no notion of democratic institutions for the last 2,000 years is a statement which would certainly bear critical examination. He finds conditions in India falling far short of "our ordinary conception of nationalism" and heaps up the responsibility for this upon the unfortunate head of Hinduism, which will not readily allow itself to be shaped to the dictates of the alien West.

Speaking of the minority problem, he projects to the forefront the communalism of the Muhammadan variety, and says "It was not the mere ordinary disabilities of the voting minority that they feared, but also the risks to the religious and cultural life of their community". If that was so in the case of the Muslim, why not the same sympathy be exhibited to a similar attitude to Hinduism. Following, it is stated, that "it was not secular antogonism that we witness" in the clash of the communities now wherever they occur, Lord Meston says, "but it was the old traditional Hinduism at bay". The question will naturally arise why not. If it is justifiable in the one case, it is very probably justifiable in the other, and the first essential of the application of democratic principles, be it Western democratic principle to the Eastern problem, ought to be not to touch the Eastern peoples in the raw of their religious and cultural susceptibilities, but to proceed frankly on

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the secular basis of the application of the principles of democracy, leaving aside to begin with the religious and cultural sides outside the folds of the ordinary administration, so that a gradual evolution of the principle of nationalism might come into its own in process of time. Is it at all democratic to surrender to communalism in whatever form and for whosoever's benefit? "Was it tolerable", Lord Meston asks, assuming that Hinduism was to emerge from this as a great national power, "that so fair a prospect should be marred by the insistence of the Moslems on racial reserve, in which Brahmanism would have no place and an alien and hated rule of life would be perpetuated?". India knew of the Moslem long before the Moslem invasions, and the Moslems and Christians and Jews and Parsis found a home under Hindu rule, such as would hardly have been possible in the Christian West, and perhaps even the Islamic East. Lord Meston closes the work with the dictum "the orthodox Hinduism has still to prove to the world its ability and its will to design a true nationhood for India". Nationalism, and nationhood if you like, is fast getting to be a discarded principle in the West for many reasons and perhaps the sooner we divest ourselves in attacking the Indian problem of the notion of nationalism perhaps the nearer would we be to a solution of the problem, difficult in character and perhaps unprecedented in its magnitude

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IDEALS OF HINDUISM

By

Rai Bahadur Pandit Kashi Nath, M.A., M.B.E.,

Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.

This is a work included in a series undertaken by the enterprising publishers, Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay in their "Wisdom of the East" Series. Presumably the series is intended to present the various aspects of Indian culture from the Indian point of view as perhaps a necessary complement to the series issued not long ago as the Wisdom of the East Series in England by Messrs. John Murray, London. We take it that perhaps this is the first volume of the series, and rightly enough it makes an attempt to present to the modern reader the ideals of Hinduism. The idea is an excellent one, and is worth carrying out

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very carefully in the interest of Hindu society as a whole, which is just now passing through one of the most critical phases in its life history, owing to the impact of the aggressively industrial civilisation of the West. Many wise thinkers seem to contemplate, with various feelings, this struggle of civilisations, and naturally different views are possible upon the question generally. But to the Hindus, and even to those others whose fortunes are bound up with those of India, the question is of the utmost importance, and it would be a very desirable thing indeed that all that constitutes Indian culture really is summed up and presented in a series of accurate and carefully written theses for the use of the modern reader, who has neither the time nor the patience, nor for that matter in regard to the great bulk of them the preparation required for the understanding of the complicated literature bearing on the subject. The series therefore is quite welcome and timely, and any honest effort in that direction should be welcomed with gratitude. It need hardly be said that for the mainly educational purpose that the series must subserve, the purpose of taking the masses and the classes together possibly with the exception of a very small minority, what is presented ought to be conscientiously accurate and constructive in its character. The greatest danger of distruction of Hindu religion and culture lies not in the alien missionary now, Eastern or Western, but in the impatient social reformer, who proceeds on the basis of an imitation of the West as an ideal in the absence of understanding, we mean a correct understanding of our own cultural and religious ideals. This little book before us is intended to serve such a responsible and useful purpose, and if it is found that we are a little too critical, it is due to the fact of the extreme importance of the work that lies before us.

The learned Pandit begins by drawing a picture of the disintegration that is taking place before our eyes of Hindu society and the hold that a mere hedonistic ideal of life is gaining among the coming generation. In consequence everything is seen with an eye to the utility and immediate profit, not really benefit, and thus there is a vague fumbling for a something which exists in the West, as is believed, without any regard whatsoever to that which subsists with us here. The danger is there undoubtedly. He takes up next the interesting subject of the growth of Hinduism, a subject which is not very easy to deal with, and requires to be handled with the greatest amount of care. The danger here is that any effort in this direction, if it falls short of being the most conscientiously well supported and accurate, is likely to have a

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deleterious influence not only in defeating the ends before us, but in providing those with less discriminating judgment with material for the work distruction. To most people, Hinduism seems the most terribly conservative, so unchanging, but a careful student of the subject can discover that great changes have come over Hinduism, as we call it in modern times, and what we call Hinduism now-a-days is something very different from what historians used to call Brahmanism of the the earlier times. While therefore the learned Pandit in the course of this book does his best to present Hinduism in the early stages and the changes that came into it with some care, he lets himself get into lapses of an important character, by statements, which are rather wide of the mark. We fear very much that the ritualistic religion of the Brahman was not the individualistic Brahmanism of the Upanishadic variety which may perhaps be correctly so described. Where the dawning of the right knowledge is the be all and the end all, the search after it and success in it is a matter of individual effort and individual success. But as much cannot be said of that section which is called the religion of works, where the great sacrifices, certainly conducted by the Brahmans, were not in the interest of the individual Brahman conducting it, or even of the Brahmans as a class, or of the noble Kshtriya or the wealthy Vaisya in whose behalf it was conducted; but it was for the benefit of the society as a whole, in which these shared the benefit along with the rest in a measure regulated by the services actually rendered both in point of quality and in regard to the effort involved. The attacks of Buddhism and Jainism, the former of which particularly laid itself out to saving people, if we may so call it, laid emphasis on a side where emphasis was wanting. The germs of a popular religion were there already, and people were not wanting who preferred to follow an ideal other than the Brahmanical ritualistic ideal. But in an age when the solidarity of society was of the essence of human life, that which ministered to social efficiency naturally received the highest importance. But when owing to the attack of that which laid all the emphasis on the popular side, naturally that element in Hinduism which had a more popular character received strength and made advance in consequence, not the modification of the peculiarly Vaidic, into what may only to a modified extent be described as the un-Vaidic Hinduism of later times. But the Hindu organisers, or the Brahmanical organisers of Hinduism, had the wisdom to keep their footing sound on the older tradition when building on a pattern different from the original in the later growth. It is well known that the teaching of the Buddha was found to be too individualistic, and Buddhism itself had to undergo

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a modification even almost in the generation of the Buddha himself in the direction of a saving religion, a religion whose ideal was not merely the saving of the individual votary, but the saving of the less fortunate ones, who were not able to save themselves. The development therefore was parallel in the Brahmanism and the Buddhism of that long period. The book before us tries to trace this development, gets into some detail in regard to certain facts or certain aspects, but forgets or passes over certain other aspects of the question. In the course of the whole discussion, the usual mead, not of praise, but of blame is heaped upon the devoted head of the Brahman who is charged with the responsibility by design for all that may have developed into evil in this growing social organisation. It is entirely, forgotten that even some European savants have recognised it frankly that while the Brahman may have had a caste, he never built for himself a church or even a theocracy. The Brahman's position in society was much more individualistic than organised, so that if the Brahman achieved an ascendency, it was to a great extent by sheer merit of individual effort. It was not open to him to lay the law as is often mistaken. He could only expound the law, and it was somebody else that administered it, and if modifications were introduced in religion and religious organisation of Hindu society, it was in response to influences and with an eye to the needs of the times. That parts of the organisation survived their utility and had become outworn survivals cannot be ascribed to his fault. For organisations that served an extremely useful purpose could become survivals; this book is not without bias which is indulged in but too readily by Hindu social reformers of a kind.

As expounding the ideals of Hinduism, the brochure before us falls short in that it does not make a clear and succinct exposition of what the essentials of Hinduism happen to be at present, what it offers as the ideal to strive after. That is absolutely essential before any criticism of its utility for the present times is indulged in. It would also have conduced to clearness to have kept out all historical criticism even out of that. It is not so done. In the tracing of the history, one meets with all kinds of remarks, several of them not well supported or sound, which only distracts the mind, and gives no clear impression of what is recommended in the book and what is regarded as evil. The critiques in two chapters of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, and the views expressed therein, several of them, are of a very controversial character, and seem to be unduly dominated by a certain kind of hostility to Brahmanism. It is not likely that many people would agree that the Ramayana was written to contest the claims of the

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Brahman, nor would many of the details given in that chapter and in that of the Mahabharata would be accepted readily by those that are engaged in a serious study of these at the present moment. We can hardly go into the details here. While the book does give clear indication of the author's great reading, we cannot say that it presents the ideal clearly for the purpose intended.

THE SPHOTASIDDHI OF ĀCĀRYA MAṆḌANA MIŚRA WITH THE GOPĀLIKĀ OF *R*ṢIPUTRA PARAMEŚVARA

By

Vedavisarada S. K. Ramanatha Sastri.

(*No. 6 of the Madras University Samskrit Series.*)

This work is a welcome addition to the numerous philosophical works which have been recently brought to light by South Indian scholars. As the title signifies, the work contains a "Demonstration of the Doctrine of Sphoṭa" which, in its later technical sense, is only an interesting curiosity; but in its original and deeper sense is one of the boldest speculations of the idealistic Hindu mind. The "Sphoṭa-Vāda" in its technical sense means the doctrine that a word पद is more than the sounds वर्ण composing it, which '*bursts forth*' as a result of all the sounds coming back to memory *simultaneously* after the last sound is heard; and in this sense the doctrine dates probably from three or four centuries before the Christian era. But in its essence it goes back to a much earlier age—to the Vedic period, when *Vāc* was deified as an eternal force moving among gods and constituting their vitality, and when the term "*Brahman*" which primarily signifies only 'vastness' or 'growth' (from बृह्=वृध compare also "प्रवाक सृष्वं तुनुहे बृहन्तम्") was employed in the sense of word or prayer believed to be the principle of growth which pervades the Universe. Like the Upaniṣadic word "Udgītha" which meant "the singing forth" of the Divine Musician, the word "Sphoṭa" literally 'breaking out' or 'bursting forth', like that of a seed into a sprout, was only another metaphor for denoting the emergence of Creation from the transcendental Reality. On the basis of the unity of language and thought शब्द came to be regarded as that noumenal Reality ब्रह्म which underlies not only the phenomenal sounds but also the world of '*arthas*' which as words they

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denote. Upavarṣa, the great commentator of Mīmāmsā and Vedāntic Sūtras, whose work is irretrievably lost except what remains in the shape of a few sentences quoted here and there, rejects the 'sphoṭavāda' in its technical sense, that is, as a doctrine which regards a पद (word) as something more than its constituent वर्ण (sounds.) And following him Śaṁkara does the same. (Br. Sū I. iii.) But paradoxically enough Śaṁkarāchārya while criticising the 'Sphoṭavāda' in its technical form, supports 'शब्दनित्यतावाद' which in reality is nothing but the original sphoṭavāda minus its metaphor. That sphoṭavāda was not altogether unknown in the Vedānta schools is clear from Vāchaspati's description of it as the doctrine of "āchāryadeśiya". In the technical sense, however, the doctrine was elaborately criticised by Kumārila in his Ślokavārtika, and it is this criticism which has been principally answered in '*Sphoṭasiddhi*'.

This at once raises the question—how could Maṇḍana Miśra, a reputed pupil of Kumārila, have criticised his master in such intemporate language as दुर्विदग्ध' (ill-educated)? The commentator seems to have felt the force of this difficulty and consequently he takes the word to apply to all those schoolmen who reject the doctrine of Sphoṭa, and not to Kumārila in particular. यावन्तोऽन्ये तीर्थिकास्तैः सर्वैरवक्षिप्ते····सर्वेहि तीर्थिकाः कात्स्न्र्येनास्मत्सद्धान्त भजानन्तः स्वसिद्धान्तानुरागवन्तोऽस्यावक्षेपं कुर्वते। अतोऽस्मित्विषेयन ते निपुणाः किंतु निपुणं मन्या एवेति भावः।"
Moreover, in view of the large number of references to the chapter on Sphoṭavāda in the Ślokavārtika which have been here selected for criticism, the commentator proposes an alternative that the term दुर्विदग्ध may be taken as a characterisation of the pupils of Kumārila "शिष्याहि भट्टपादाद्युक्तयुक्तिव्यामोहितान्तः करणावर्णानामेव वाचकत्वमभिमन्यमाना वैयाकरण सिद्धान्तमेवावजानते।"
and not of Kumārila himself. This is more an evasion than a solution of the difficulty, but it no doubt shows that the commentator believes the tradition which makes Maṇḍana a pupil of Kumārila. The only other solution of the difficulty is either to reject the tradition, if that be possible, or to postulate that there were two persons bearing the same name of whom one was a pupil of Kumārila and the other was not.

Till recently it was generally believed on the authority of "Śaṁkara-Digvijaya" by Mādhava that Maṇḍana-Miśra alias Viśvarupa, a Mīmāmsaka and pupil of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa was converted by Śaṁkarāchārya to his Vedantic creed, and was admitted to *sannyāsāśrama* under the name of Sureśvarācharya. (That Viśvarūpa was the name of the later Surēśvarāchārya may seem to be borne out by the fact that a passage of the famous Vārtika

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has been quoted in the Vivarṇa-Pramēya-Saṁgraha of Vidyāraṇya as an utterance of Viśvarūpāchārya. But the argument loses much of its force in view of the author of the Śaṁkara-Digvijaya and the Vivaraṇa-Pramēya-Saṁgraha being one and the same.) The identity of Muṇḍana-Miśra and Sureśvarāchārya, however, was questioned by Prof. Hiriyanna as early as 1923-24 in the J. R. A. S. on the strength of certain doctrinal differences in the works attributed to them, and of the express statements of later writers which imply a distinction between Surēśvara and Maṇḍana. This accords with a tradition which Professor Hiriyanna says he found at Sṛngeri embodied in a poem called 'Guruvaṁśa Kāvya' which described Śaṁkara as meeting Maṇḍana-Miśra first and then Surēśvara. Even Vidyāraṇya who is Madhava is supposed to be the author of the Śaṁkara-Digvijaya, is cited by the learned professor as a witness against the identity of Maṇḍana and Surēśvara on the authority of another work of the same author called "Vārtikasāra" which is an abstract of Surēśvara's "Vārtika." After recapitulating all the arguments advanced by Professor Hiriyanna —which are of varying degrees of cogency—in support of his view that Surēśvara and Maṇḍana were different persons, and apparently agreeing with him, Dr. Das Gupta writes in his recent book, (Vol. II of his "History of Indian Philosophy"): "It may, therefore, be concluded that Maṇḍana, the author of the "Brahmasiddhi," was not the same person as Surēśvara, unless we suppose than Maṇḍana was not only a Mīmāṁsā writer, but also Vedānta writer of great repute, and that his conversion by Śaṁkara meant only that he changed some of his Vedānta views and accepted those of Śaṁkara, and it was at this stage that he was called Surēśvara." This supposition is not warranted by the tradition of the 'Śaṁkara-Digvijaya.' That the Mīmāṁsā writer was also a Vedānta writer is, however, an assumption which is not impossible. For, we know that long before the time of Śaṁkara, Upavarṣa had written commentaries both on the Mīmāṁsā and the Vedānta Sûtras, and probably it was an established tradition before Śaṁkarāchārya broke it that Mīmāṁsā and Vedānta should be regarded as one continuous whole made up of two parts. Compare Rāmānujacārya's citation from Bodhāyana's Vṛtti— **संहितमेत च्छारीरकं जैमिनीयेन षोडशलक्षणेनेतिशास्त्रैकत्वसिद्धिः**" but the real difficulty of the situation arises from such passages as that in the "Saṁkṣepa Śārîraka" where the author who is a pupil of Surēśvarācārya says that the view that Brahma and not Jīva is the *āśraya* of *ajñā* results from a careful consideration of Śaṁkara's teaching, 'discarding the opinion of Maṇḍana which travels towards a different direction' **परिहृत्य मण्डनवचस्त द्व्यन्यथा**

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प्रस्थितम्" "The different direction may well be दृष्टिसृष्टिवाद which has been attributed to Maṇḍana in Vivaraṇa-pramēya-saṁgraha (ब्रह्मसिद्धिकारास्त्वेवमाहुः जीवा एवस्वाविद्ययाप्रत्येकं प्रपञ्चाकारेण ब्रह्मणि विभ्रम्यन्तिब्रह्म तु माया विशिष्टंविम्बरूपं वा न जगत्कारणम् । यत्त्वया दृष्टं तन्मयादृष्टमितिसंवादस्तु बहुपुरुषाव गतद्वितीय चन्द्रवत् सादृश्यादुपपद्यते)

This leads to another question: Who is the author of the "Naiṣkarmya-siddhi"? Is not the view here attributed to the author of the "Brahma-siddhi" in accord with, or perhaps a development of, that of the author of the "Naiṣkarmya-siddhi" who says: "पारिशेष्यादात्मन एवास्त्व ज्ञानं तस्याज्ञोऽस्मीत्यनुभवदर्शनात् । तन्वात्मनोऽपि ज्ञानस्वरूपत्वादनन्य त्वाच्च ज्ञान प्रकृति त्वादिभ्यश्च हेतुभ्यो तैवाज्ञानं घटते। घटत एव।"

If so, does it point to the theory of a common author of "Naiṣkarmya-siddhi" and "Brahma-siddhi" whether he be Surēśvara or Maṇḍana, or that of two parallel thinkers, Surēśvara and Maṇḍana? While admitting the force of Prof. Hiriyanna's argument based on the passage of the Saṁkṣēpa Śārîraka quoted above, one cannot regard the argument as conclusive, for it is possible to understand the word परिहृत्य there in the sense of 'abandoning' rather than 'discarding'—so that the passage will mean that the statement made by Maṇḍana (the same as the later Surēṣvarācārya) was abandoned owing to its 'going in another direction.'

The problem of the identity of Surēṣvara and Maṇḍana requires further investigation, for which the publication of the "Brahma-siddhi" which Mahāmahopādhyāya Kuppusvāmi Śāstri has undertaken, is a sinê quâ non. Prof. Hiriyanna has no doubt made out a strong case for their difference, and the editor of the "Sphoṭa-siddhi" agrees with him; but the last word on the subject can come only after *all* the works attributed to Maṇḍana and Surēśvara have been published. It is worth noting in connection with this controversy that "Śaṁkarachārya-charitam" of Govindanātha (recently published by my friend Divan Bahadur Narmadashankar D. Mehta from a manuscript in the Whish collection which is now in the India Office) speaks of only "Viśvarūpa" and not 'Maṇḍana' as the pupil of Kumārila who was vanquished and converted by Śaṁkarāchārya and who after entering *sanyāsāśrama* under the name of Surēśvara wrote the "Naiṣkarmya-siddhi and the two Vartikas" "नैषकम्यसिद्धिनामानं वेदान्तः प्रतिपादकम्। अकरोद्ग्रन्थमेकं च वार्तिकद्वितयं च सः"

In noticing the publication of the "Sphoṭa-siddhi" of Ācārya Maṇḍana Misra we reviewed the larger question of the identity of Surēśvara and Maṇḍana. But before we conclude, we should

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not omit to mention that the work under review has been furnished with an excellent Introduction by the editor, Pandit Rāmanātha Śāstri, which gives his view regarding the authorship of the work and a detailed account of the family of the commentator. The latter is very interesting.

A. B. DHRUVA.

THE SHRINE OF SOMANATH.*

Of all the Hindu shrines of western India, easily the most famous and best known is the Temple of Somanatha on the southern coast of Kathiawad. In history, the Temple is noted for the famous expedition led against it by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, the *Bhūt-Shikan* (=idol-destroyer). Again and again has the place been levelled down to the ground by the hand of the barbarian invader, but "only to rise again from its ashes, like the phœnix, as soon as the enemy had turned his back." The place, variously known as Somanath-Pattan, Prabhas-Pattan, Siva-Pattan or Sorathi-Somanatha, is a very old one, full of the traces of its bygone splendour. The region round the place contains the site where Lord Krishna eventually met his death at the hands of a careless hunter, Madhavpur where the god married Rukmini, Dwaraka, Valabhi and other well-known places. Every spot in the vicinity is hallowed ground; and in the neighbourhood are Buddhist cave temples and the shrines of Girnar and Satrunjaya, cherished by the Jainas.

Somanatha was brought into great prominence by Mula Raja of the Solanki line of Anhillavada-Pattan, about the close of the tenth century. The town and temple were sacked in 1025 A.D. by Sultan Mahmud; and in the pictureque words of Colonel Tod, "its lofty spire rising far above the blue horizon of its ocean background, the tawny banner of Shiva fluttering from its summit, the porticos and pyramid-like dome, the courts and columned aisles that surrounded them, and the numerous subordinate shrines which as satellites, heightened the splendour of this chosen dwelling of the Lord of the Moon—all (was) now levelled with the earth, or built into the walls of mosques, ruined in their turn, or into the humble dwellings of mortals." From Mr. Cousens we learn that not a vestige remains of that temple which was destroyed by the Sultan. The ruins of the temple that now exist,

* Somanatha and other Mediæval Temples in Kathiawad (Archæological Survey of India, Vol. XLV New Imperial Series) by H. Cousens, M.R.A.S., Calcutta, Government of India Central Publication Branch 1931.

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form the remnants of the structure built by King Kumarapala Solanki, about 1169 A.D., which itself contains portions of the still older one, built by Bhimadeva soon after the Sultan's invasion. Kinlock Forbes, writing more than half a century ago, remarked that the description of the present temple did not tally with that of the temple as it was in Mahmud's time, according to Ferista's account, and that it was improbable that the building desecrated by Mahmud would have been returned to the Hindus.

In 1279 a Muhammadan army descended again on the ill-fated shrine and destroyed it. Though it was rescued from decay, Muhammadan power was again established at that place in 1358; and Sultan Muzafar Khan, the founder of the independent kingdom of Gujarat, made a descent on the Somanatha shrine and destroyed it in 1395. These repeated acts of desecration have left us only the ruins of the temple, of which little now remains except portions of the walls, which had been rebuilt and patched with rubble to convert the structure into a mosque. All surface carving in the interior has been obliterated; and the pillars alone appear to stand upon the sites, and sometimes on the bases, of the original ones. The general architecture shows it to be of the eleventh century, according to Mr. Cousens who remarks that the history of the temple has never been satisfactorily traced through its successive stages, "nor is it likely to be, unless something very exceptional, in the way of inscriptions, turns up." It appears from tradition that it was in a great measure due to the appeals of a certain saint, Mangaluri Shah, who was living in the vicinity that Sultan Mahmud set out on his famous expedition. Mitha Khan, the lieutenant left by Mahmud, completed the destruction of the original temple. The story of Mahmud having carried away with him the sandalwood doors of Somanatha (paraded by the theatrical Governor General Lord Ellenborough, through the cities of India as a trophy from Afghanistan, to soothe the susceptibilities of the injured Hindus) is "a pure myth without a particle of foundation in fact;" and the great door brought from Ghazna in 1842, is not of Hindu workmanship at all. The whole incident will live in Indian History as "an instance of a clumsy forgery and a huge practical joke."

Mr. Cousens has given exhaustive accounts of the other temples and structures of mediæval Kathiawad, with an abundance of illustrations and plans, heightened in their value by the sumptuousness of the volume, so characteristic of the Indian Archæological Series.

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LIFE OF SUBHEDAR MALHAR RAO HOLKAR, FOUNDER OF THE INDORE STATE (1693-1766 A.D.)

By

Muntazim Bahadur, M. W. Burway, B.A.,
Assisted By
R. G. Burway, B.A., LL.B.

1930, *Holkar State Printing Press, Indore* —*pp.* 5, *v,* 255 *and* xiv.

This volume has a foreword from Mr. C. A. Kincaid who provides the reader with a good summary of the life and achievements of Malhar Rao Holkar who rose "from penniless dependence to independent greatness" and founded the ruling house of Indore. Mr. Burway, whose zeal for writing and rendering accessible pages and phases of Maratha history, has but increased with decades, gave us a few years back, a life of the late Maharaja Thukoji Rao Holkar II (1842-1886) who was the real restorer of prosperity to the Holkar's State in the 19th century and stood the British in good stead during the dark days of the Mutiny. He has also written a Life of Devi Ahilyabai Holkar who sustained, for a period of 30 years, the greatness of the heritage of Malhar Rao Holkar, and whose memory is still piously preserved by the people of Maharashtra; and he followed this up with another biography, that of Mahadji Sindia, the great soldier and statesman, who hardly appears as a Maratha at all in the accounts written of him by H. G. Keene, G. D. Oswell and Sir James Campbell, and appears, in Mr. Burway's pages, with all his limitations as well as his greatness as a Mahratha.

To these he has now added a copious account of Malhar Rao Holkar about whom he contends that proper justice has not been rendered by other writers including recent historians like Mr. G. S. Sardesai. The book is documented fully, but marked with an overstress which may be excused, on the significance of the achievements of Malhar Rao and with frequent digressions on the activities of the Peishwas and the development of Mahratha power in other places. Malhar Rao whose original surname was Virkar, was given that of Holkar from his native village of Hol in the Poona District. He learnt his first military lessons under Sardar Kadam Bande and entered the service of the Peishwas in 1717, in the course of Balaji Vishwanath's expedition to Delhi at the request of the Sayyad Brothers. The standard of the Bande family

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is still borne before the chiefs of the House of Holkar, in grateful memory of the lift given to Malhar Rao by the Kadam Bandes. Baji Rao I had the fullest confidence in Malhar Rao and gave him, after his campaign in Malwa, the right of levy for himself *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* in Central India. In 1732 he obtained Indore, then a small town, by the Peishwa's orders for his *khas-gi* which is described in its peculiar character in a separate chapter. This *khas-gi* grant which was a special *inam,* being deemed the estate of the consort of the ruler and was later renewed by Madhava Rao I, Peishwa, in favour of Rani Ahilya Bai.

Malhar Rao shared in all the campaigns of the Peishwa and his participation is illustrated by Mr. Burway from letters of Chimnaji Appa and Baji Rao to Brahmendra Swami. Loyally did Malhar Rao keep on clinging to Balaji Baji Rao, when unpatriotic Maratha *sardars* like Janoji Nimbalkar and Ramchandra Rao. Jadhav who were in the service of the Nizam tried to detach him from the Peishwa's side. Mr. Burway explains why Malhar Rao could not be of much use in the Panipat campaign and did not show any initiative. He does not agree with Mr. Sardesai in holding that, if the Marathas had ceded the Punjab to Ahmad Shah the disaster of Panipat might have been avoided, and contends that there was no reason for the Marathas to anticipate an unfavourable result. According to Mr. Sardesai in his *Selections from the Peishwa's Daftar: Letters and Despatches relating to the Battle of Panipat* 1747-1761; p. iv Gangoba Chandrachud and his master Malhar Rao Holkar were the only persons who gave the alarm of the coming danger to Sadashiv Bhau, who merely sneered at them as cowards. Mr. Burway states that the Mahrattas left no stone unturned for retrieving the disaster and Raghoba even thought of a second expedition in pursuit of Ahmad Shah Abdali, who sent, later, in 1763, an envoy to Poona courting the Peishwa's favour, "as is evident from the Peishwa's Diaries edited by Rao Bahadur Wad;" while a letter dated 17-6-1761 sent to the Peishwa (and extracted by Mr. Sardesai) notes the arrival at Delhi, of Yakub Ali Khan, Abdali's envoy, to effect a reconciliation with the Marathas.

The subsequent career of Malhar Rao, particularly his protection of Mahadji Sindia against the wrath of Raghoba, is traced in detail and in a manner that brings out the nobler traits in his character. He is also shown to have appreciated Devi Ahilya Bai's qualities and entrusted to her several important affairs even during his life-time. The book would be very much better if the typographical and other small errors *had* been *eliminated.*

C. S. S.

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LIFE AND TIMES OF SHIVAJI II (CHATRAPATI SHAHU) 1680-1749 A.D.

By

Muntazim Bahadur, M. W. Burway,

Assisted By

R. G. Burway,

1932—*published by Mr. M. W. Burway, Indore.*

In this, the latest book from the prolific pen of Mr. Burway, the Life of Shahu has been added to the series of Maratha biographies that he has written already Lieutenant-Colonel L. E. Lang, Resident at Kolhapur, which state was formed on the division of the house of the great Shivaji into two branches in 1712, *viz.*, the Kolhapur line of Sambhaji, the son of Rajaram, and the Satara line of Shahu, son of Sambhaji and grandson of the founder of Maratha greatness. Shahu Chatrapati had a long reign of 41 years which witnessed far-reaching changes in the history of India and also of Maharashtra. His long sojourn in the Mughal court and subsequent release to ascend the throne of Maharashtra after promising solemn allegiance to the Mughal power are deemed by Mr. Burway and others to have been the main impediment in the realisation of the Peishwas' aim of building up a *Hindu Pad-Padshahi;* and the extension of the Maratha empire was a work which the Chatrapati was prevailed upon to consent to, only after a great amount of persuasion on the part of Baji Rao I. The most difficult problem that confronted Shahu after his coronation was how to deal with Tara Bai and how to square his own interests with hers. The crafty Nizamu'l-Mulk supported the Kolhapur branch for a number of years; and it was only in 1730 that Sambhaji concluded a treaty limiting the Kolhapur territory to the tract between the rivers Varna and Krishna. A great part of the present work is taken up with the achievements of the Peishwas. In chapter IX, Mr. Burway holds that the Peishwas could not be charged with the usurpation of Shahu's authority and that the deeds delivered to Balaji Baji Rao by Shahu were genuine beyond any shadow of doubt and voluntarily given after much consideration. Of course he shows that Shahu was a real live-force in the state and was the unifying symbol of its distended, and perhaps also disjointed rule. His authority was personal rather than official as Professor H. N. Sinha says. *The Selections from the Peishwa's Daftar, No. 17 (Shahu and Baji Rao, Administrative)* tell us how the sovereign and the minister acted and reacted upon each other and how the latter was occasionally reprimanded for measures which did not satisfy the former; but in times of crisis

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it was to the Peishwa that Shahu looked to steer the vessel of state safely out of troubled waters. To use a picturesque metaphor: "The King was now the sinking sun; and the Peishwa was the rising moon orbed in his light." After Shahu, the inevitable happened; and the sovereign sank into total insignificance.

Mr. Burway has done a good service to Maratha history by making Shahu the subject of his biography, as he has been usually overshadowed by the prominence given to his ministers by his critics like Grant-Duff, Kincaid, etc. He has given us a picture of Maratha social life in the time of Shahu and shown that the civil administration of the country was far more humane than that of the surrounding regions.

C. S. S.

BUDDHIST SCULPTURES FROM A STUPA NEAR GOLI VILLAGE, GUNTUR DISTRICT.

(Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, New Series, General Section, Vol. I, Part I.), by T. N. Ramachandran, M.A., Archæological Assistant, Madras Museum.—Madras Government Press, 1929.—pp. 44, and 12 plates—Price Rs. 2-12-0.

The Goli Stupa, adjoining the village of Goli, Guntur District, is on the line between Amaravati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. Some of the marbles of the Stupa, which were of small dimensions, are still on the site, including a big and beautifully-sculptured seven-hooded Naga, while the others have been transported to the Madras Museum. Dr. G. Jovean-Dubreuil of Pondicherry was in fact responsible for the discovery and partial excavation of the Stupa. Mr. T. N. Ramachandran describes in this book the sculptures that are now in the Madras Museum, and gives a short note on the sculptured slabs that are still on the site, having been built into a small fane in honour of the seven-hooded Naga in the big slab. Some of the Jātaka stories and episodes in the life of the Buddha are sculptured on the friezes, including the Chaddanta Jātaka, the Vessantara Jātaka, the temptation of the Buddha, and the Śaśa Jātaka, all of which are also shown in the Amaravati sculptures. The Amaravati school of sculpture of the later period had its sway over the art of the neighbouring places like Goli, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Rāmireḍḍipalli. Though no definite indication of the date of the Goli Stupa has been discovered, its sculptures resemble most the slabs of sculpture at Amaravati of the fourth period. The author examines critically the resemblance, particularly as regards the subjects treated; and "the Śaśa

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Jātaka and the temptation of the Buddha by Māra especially, and to a lesser extent, the Vessantara Jātaka and the subjugation of Naḷagiri point to a close relationship between the Goli Stupa and the fourth period at Amarāvati," while the paleography of the inscription found on a chaitya slab of Goli helps to corroborate the evidence of the sculptures. In two of the Goli sculptures, the Buddha is depicted as having a loose robe, hanging from the neck to the toes and completely covering the body and nearly the whole of his under clothing; this type usually characterises the Kushana style of sculpture, along with the posture of hands raised level with the shoulders. The suggestion was first made by Dr. Dubreuil and is accepted by Mr. Ramachandran that this type of Buddha came into general use in the fourth period of Amarāvati, and the figures of the Goli Stupa were probably carved about the same time. The latter stupa itself is very small and the style of the carving does not suggest that the sculptures were done at different periods. Thus the stupa was built about the same time when the Kushana influence on Buddhist sculpture was slowly descending to South India from the 2nd century A.D. and reached the Krishna region a little later. An appendix attempts to explain why there are no traces of Buddhist remains in Dravida-desa south of Amarāvati. A comparative table gives the subjects treated by the Buddhistic sculptors in Goli and at Amarāvati in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th periods.

C. S. S.

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APPENDIX I.

Two Uttaramallur Inscriptions of Parantaka I*

(Rules for election, etc., of rural assemblies, etc.)

By

Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D.,

M.R.A.S. F.R.Hist. S. F.A.S.B.

UTTARAMALLŪR INSCRIPTIONS ON ELECTION, ETC.,

These two inscriptions were brought to public notice in the Government Epigraphist's Annual Report for 1897-98[1] for the first time. The late Mr. V. Venkayya, Epigraphist to the Government of India published these inscriptions in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1904-1905[2]. Since then much more light has been shed upon the matter by the very large number of inscriptions since collected and published. The late Mr. Venkayya's edition and exposition of the inscriptions were all that could be expected at the time; but the inscriptions are of sufficient importance, and the information twice made public of sufficient value, to necessitate a new edition of the inscriptions. The inscriptions themselves have been re-read from the impressions kindly lent by the Archaeological Department for the purpose, and just a few modifications have been made in the reading. While acknowledging with the greatest pleasure my obligation to the previous edition of Mr. Venkayya, I have tried to put into it as much of information as has become available since, and made slight

[These inscriptions were prepared for publication in the Epigraphia Indica. The Government Epigraphist regrets that the modifications of the text are not sufficient to warrant publication of these for a second time by the Department. Advantage therefore is taken of the permission accorded by the Government of India, conveyed in their order No. A-637 dated 17th October 1930, to publish them in the Journal of Indian History in a revised form and with additional notes. The late Mr. Venkayya's article is published *verbatim* in pages 212-245 of my Sir William Meyer Lectures to the Madras University on the "Evolution of Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India", published by the University. Editor.]

1. Pages 18-21.
2. Pages 131-145.

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modifications in the previous edition wherever they seemed called for. They are all indicated in their respective places.

The first point calling for attention is the name of the village. As Mr. Venkayya has pointed out, it is a village 10½ miles north-west of Madhurāntakam, a station on the Madras-Villupuram section of the South Indian Railway, less than 20 miles beyond Chingleput. It is a comparatively large village, at least it must have been, and there are as many as seven temples in the village, all of them containing inscriptions. The most important of these temples however seems to have been the Vaikunṭhaperumāḷ temple, which contains a pretty large number of inscriptions, the number being as many as 71 according to the Epigraphist's report of 1898. A number of these have already been published in Volume III[3] of the South Indian Inscriptions in the usual form with translation, introduction, etc., and practically all the rest of them in the more recent volumes[4] of the South Indian Inscriptions, which publish only the texts. The whole inscriptional material therefore is before us in some form.

The name Uttaramallūr is a popular corruption. It is usual to tack on the affix *nallūr* to names of villages, where one wishes to be formal, the meaning of the term being "the good town". The last part of the word in Uttaramallūr apparently is what is intended to stand for *nallūr*. The coming in of the *m*, and the dropping out of the *n*, require explanation. It seems to be that the word had been formed from Uttaramēru and nallūr modified into *mallūr*. The inscriptions however uniformly refer to the town as Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimangalam. According to architectural works towns inhabited by Brahmans (*dvijas*, twice-born) ought to be called *mangalam*. The Tamil *nallūr* may be taken more or less to be the equivalent of it. *Chaturvēdimangalam* would then mean the auspicious village (*mangalam*) inhabited by "the exponents of the four Vedas" (*Chaturvēdi*). Chaturvēdimangalam therefore is a village inhabited primarily by Brahmans learned in the Vedas, the four Vedas. Usually these Brahman villages are established by some person or other of distinction, and in such cases—and these are a very large number—it takes the name or title of the individual whose foundation it is, and hence, as Mr. Venkayya has noted in the great majority of cases, it is a proper name that we see in the first part. Arguing on that analogy, Mr. Venkayya has taken Uttaramēru, the first part of

3. S. I. I. III. iii. 152, 153, 155, 157, 158, 167, 171, 177, 183, 193 and 195.
4. S. I. I. VI. Nos. 283-325 and 332-377.

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the word here to be the title of a person and gives as his reason that a similar name Prabhamēru is used for a Western Ganga king.[5] "Therefore," according to him, "Uttaramēru may be taken to be the surname of some ancient Pallava or Ganga-Pallava king who founded the village."

In the Bāna genealogy, it is not only the term Prabhamēru that occurs, but also a similar term Jayamēru. In compounds like that, the particle *Mēru* ought to be regarded as symbolical of excellence as Indra, Chandra, etc., in Sanskrit, so that *Prabhumēru* may be regarded as the most excellent among *Prabhus*, the great ones, and *Jayamēru*, great among the victorious ones and so on. A similar interpretation for Uttaramēru would be difficult. As Mr. Venkayya himself has pointed out, this place may have been called *Uttaramēru* possibly because of the previous existence of a *Dakshinamēru* in the region. Chidambaram, as is pointed out by him, has a sacerdotal name Dakshinamēru. Later, another shrine in the great Tanjore temple seems to have had that name. Mēru in the north is the abode of the Gods in Hindu tradition, and when a particularly holy place had been brought into existence in the south, it was called Dakshinamēru as if the Gods themselves had been brought into residence from the northern Mēru to the south. That is a notion of very common occurrence among the Hindus. For an analogy Dakshiṇkailāsa applies to a place like Kāḷahasti, and Dakshiṇakāśi not only to Tenkāśi in the Tinnevelly District but to other places as well; so Dakshiṇa Kēdāram for the now ruined Beḷagāmvē in Mysore. Dakshinamēru for Chidambaram on that basis would be quite valid. If another holy centre like Chidambaram itself had been brought into existence in the Tamil country with the great fame of Chidambaram before it, calling the place by the name Mēru itself would put it on a higher footing than an analogue of Mēru in the south. So Mēru itself would have served the purpose; but there being a Dakshiṇamēru of great fame, the founders of Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimangalam, and of all the temples in it, must have called it Uttaramēru by way of contrast to Chidambaram without there having been a man by name or with a title Uttaramēru. Uttaramēru would be a peculiar name for a person, and we should not make the presumption, unless we have at least an example to quote. But, with the satisfactory alternative explanation, it is hardly necessary to presume that. The name would therefore be the Chaturvēdimangalam or the Brahman settlement of Uttaramēru, the two standing in opposition. For other examples with-

5. Epi. Ind. III, p. 75.

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out a person's name for villages like these, names like Tiruvaranga-chaturvēdimangalam for a Brahman village known as Śengaḷūr in the Tinnevelly[6] District, and what is called Srīmāhēsvara-chaturvēdimangalam, again in the vicinity of Tinnevelly[7] known as Kaṇṇanur would serve. Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimangalam therefore is a Brahman village of holy Uttaramēru, which name for the village would be appropriate as the abode of many gods on account of the large number of temples that it actually contained.

The two inscriptions that follow are in the Vaikunṭhaperumāl temple in the locality. They are engraved close to one another in the west wall of the shrine. The following specifications given are from Mr. Venkayya's report. The second, or the larger of these, occupies a space 23 feet by 4¼. The first occupies 1′-10″ with a length of 9 1/3rd feet. The last three lines of these inscriptions extend to a length of 26 feet 8 inches. The writing is well executed, the average size of the letters being about an inch. The characters are mixed Tamil and Grantha of the period of Parāntaka. As Mr. Venkayya notes, two forms of *na* are used, one of them the lingual being the older; and the loops of the dental *n* are also fully developed. In these two inscriptions they are used notwithstanding, without the fixed modern distinction. The shorter and the earlier inscription, that is A, uses the former more generally than the latter. The symbol for the long *a* which takes the same form as *ra* in modern Tamil is here quite distinct, the vowel augment being a short vertical stroke, while the sign for *ra* occupies the whole height. Even this distinction is not strictly kept up in the second of these inscriptions as in the first. Another form of this augment is a semi-loop on the right side of the letter, and this form occurs in a large number of cases in the course of the inscription. The double *k*, *kk*, is sometimes written as a group. The lengthening of the *i* and the *u* are not marked in the case of letters like *m*, l, *d*, *l* and *r*.

In regard to orthography, Mr. Venkayya notes the following peculiarities:—

1. The dental *t* is used for the soft lingual *d* as in *cantra*, *deventra* (line ii of A and line 16 of B), and similar words as in Tamil inscriptions generally;

2. The hard *k* takes the place of the soft *g* in *mankala* (line 18 of B).

6. S. I. I. V. 448.
7. Ibid. 446.

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पुस्तक वितरित न की जाय
NOT TO BE ISSUED

In the transcript of the text of the inscriptions, I have corrected the *g* into *k* wherever in the original the *k* is found written. I have made this correction for two reasons;—(1) Tamil orthography to which these inscriptions are in the process of coming into very close approximation show this feature peculiar to Tamil, although in several places phonetically the *g* may be justifiable which is not correct Tamil orthography; (2) the soft *g* is used to transcribe correctly the Grantha *ga*, and the use of *g* for both is likely to cause confusion, so that in my transcript of the inscriptions, the *g* is to be understood to stand for the *ga* only, not the Tamil *ka*.

Again in a word like *śauśa* for *śauca* (lines 5 of A and 4 and 15 of B) and *śaridai* for *charitai* (line 16 of B), the one Tamil letter *śa* is generally used without the distinction that the Grantha alphabet makes. (There again the revised transcript follows the Tamil usage to be correct to the original text).

One other distinct feature is where a letter ends in *m*, which, under the rules of Tamil phonetics, would be transformed into a nasal corresponding to the following consonant; we often have a combination instead in these inscriptions, consisting of the *m* and the corresponding nasal letter. e.g.,

Vāriyaṁñjeygiṅṛa, (line 8 of B).
Pēriluṁndōṭṭa, (line 11 of B).
Ātma becomes *ānma*, (line 4 of B), and *vidyā* becomes *vijyā*, (line 11 of B), in both cases justifiably.

The language is Tamil prose. A few Sanskrit words are intermixed, and even a few Tamil words or parts of them are written in Grantha. Among peculiarities, *ār ān* long are sometimes used for *ar* and *an*. e.g.,

panniruvāraium, (line 7 of A).
panniruvārilum and *aruvār*, (line 10 of A).
māmān[8], (line 5 of B).

Other examples which may be errors are:
mēlpāṭṭār, (line 4 of A).
pārāntakadēvan, (line 1 of B).
mākkaḷaiyum, (line 5 of B).
paradrāviyam, (line 7 of B).
māhāsabhai, (lines 9-10 of B).

8. This form of the word is used in Āṇḍāḷ's Tiruppāvai 9-37 and Aruvār (line 14 of B).

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The Sanskrit word *ājña* occurs in the intermediary *añai* (lines 1 and 12 of A; line 16 of B), which is anterior to the full Tamil form *āṇai; viddha* (lines 10 and 12 of B) occurs for the Sanskrit *vṛddha*, approaching to the Prākrit form *vaḍḍha*. Forms with double *tt*, such as *illāttār* (lines 4 of A, and 4 of B), *allāttār*, and *ariyāttān* (lines 6 of A), *paḍāttār* (line 6 of B) occur for the modern Tamil *illāthā, allāthār, ariyāthān, paḍāthān*. This form seems to correspond to the forms in Malayāḷam. Forms like *iḍuvidā* (line 3 of B), *koḷvidu* (line 12 of B), and *koḷuvidu* (line 4 of B), and *āvidu* (lines 7 and 10 of A) are unliterary forms in Tamil, though popular.

The addition of *ya* after *i*, or *ai* at the end of a word is found in a large number of cases, e.g.,

kuḍumbilārēy (line 3 of A);
.vāḷiyēy (line 6 of A);
minbēy (line 7 of A);
manḍahattilēy and *naḍuvēy* (line 10 of B); and
kuḍavōylaiy (line 13 of B).

In this case, the appearance of the *y*, permissible under the rules of coalescence of Tamil words, are brought in where really there need be no coalescence. The insertion of this *y* in the middle of a word does not appear to be quite so common, though it does occur in the following examples, e.g.,

ōduviytt ariyvān (line 3 of B);
arīyvān (line 4 of B); and
anaiyvar (lines 8 and 9 of B).

In forms like *śēda* (line 2 of B), and *śēdu* (lines 8 and 16 of B), the *ya* is omitted, and the preceding vowel lengthened.

Ungrammatical doubling of consonants occur in the following cases:

akamm eḍuttu (line 3 of B).
āṟṟāll eḍuttu (line 10 of B).
anantaramm iḍun (line 13 of B).
śauśamm uḍaiyān (line 15 of B).
bhaṭṭann ākiya (line 17 of B).

The word *āṇaiāl* for *āṇaiyāl* (line 16 of B) breaks the ordinary rule for coalescence.[9]

9. Vide Madras Museum Plates of Jaṭiḷavarman. I. A. XXII, 68; cf. Śingamangalam Inscription, Ep. Ind. Vol. VI, 320.

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The following colloquial forms occur:—

āccidin for *ānadin* (line 15 of B).
pariccu (line 9 of A) for *parittu*.
ittiṇai (line 6 of B) for *ittuṇai*.
anju (line 11 of B) for *aiyndu*.

There is a wrong form used for *śuddar ānān* (line 7 of B). *Śuddar* is plural, *ānān* is singular. Either both must be plural, or both must be singular. In the word *samvatsaravāriyaraiyum* (line 12 of B), the accusative form is wrongly used for the nominative. The form *śeiyāhiṅṟār* (line 12 of B) for *śeyyāniṅṟār* is peculiar. Mr. Venkayya suspects the possibility of the engraver correcting the *ki* into *ni*. The word *paniraḍu* in line 1 of A for Tamil *panniranḍu* shows two peculiarities. The *n* is not doubled, and the nasal before the *ḍ* is omitted. The Kannaḍa form for the Tamil *ranḍu* is *eraḍu;* but even Kannaḍa doubles the *n* in the first part of the word for ten. *Iraḍu* may be a possible Tamil form. The above notes are mostly the late Mr. Venkayya's.

The king to whose reign the following two inscriptions refer themselves is known to historians as Parāntaka I, and referred to generally in inscriptions as Madiraikoṇḍa Parakēsarivarman Parāntaka. He came to the throne on a date between January 15 and July 25 of the year A. D. 907.[10] He was the son of Āditya I whom the inscriptions refer to as the one who died at Toṇḍaman Āṟṟūr.[11] He was ruler not only over the Chola country but even the Pallava country of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, which came to be known also as Jayamkoṇḍacholamaṇḍalam in an inscription of the third year of Parāntaka A.D. 909-10.[12] He is already given credit for having defeated the contemporary Pāṇḍya ruler Rājasimha, and captured his capital city Madura. This achievement gave him the title Maduraikoṇḍa, and this event must have taken place in the year A.D. 909-10. Rājasimha Pāṇḍya is referred to as the Pāṇḍya Rājasimha III, the donor of the grant in the larger Śinnamanūr plates recently published in the South Indian Inscriptions.[13] As a result of this invasion, Rājasimha seems to have sought the assistance of the contemporary Ceylon ruler Kaśśpa V, who came

10. No. 735 of 1905, No. 34 of 1900. Also Epi. Ind. Vol. VII, i and volume VIII, 261.
11. S. I. I. III. iii. No. 142 and Ep. Rep. 1907, p. 71, f.
12. A. R. E. 1906-07, part ii, para 32; also No. 29 of 1907.
13. Vol. III, part 4, S. I. I.

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to the throne in A.D. 906, according to Hultsch's revised chronology.[14] This Kaśśapa, according to the same authority, ruled till A.D. 916 or A.D. 917. The Mahāvaṁśa states that before the death of Kaśśapa the Pāṇḍya king sent many presents to him and begged his assistance against the Cholas who harassed his country. Kaśśapa is said to have complied with the request and sent an army across to his assistance. Rājasimha led both the armies against Parāntaka, but was defeated. He retired leaving the Singhalese to carry on the war alone. After suffering from disease and losing their general, the army returned. This must have happened about the year A.D. 916 or 917. Kaśśapa's successor ruled only for seven months and was succeeded by Dapula VI. Driven to desperation after suffering this defeat, Rājasimha went over to Ceylon to induce the Ceylon king to organise and fit out another invasion. Owing to great disturbance in Ceylon itself, the enterprise did not mature, and the Pāṇḍya had to betake himself to the Kēraḷa country, leaving his crown and other paraphernalia in Ceylon. Among these latter was "the necklace of Indra." These events must have taken place in A.D. 917-918. There seems however to have been a war with the Ceylonese, as a result of which Parāntaka assumed the title Sangrāma-Rāghava. In the interval between these two Pāṇḍyan wars, the Gangas had been reduced to subjection. The Bāṇa country was conquered and given over to the Ganga feudatory Prithvīpati II. The Mahārājavāḍi country in the Cuddapah District was taken over from the Vaiḍumba chief Sandaiyan. This is probably what is referred to in the Tirupārkaḍal inscription of A.D. 918,[15] which states that a battle had been fought at Vēḷūr. He is said to have married a Kēraḷa princess and by her had the son Arinjinga, the third of his sons as the Anbil plates[16] of his grandson mention it. The Kēraḷas seem to have been more or less tributary to Parāntaka ever since. During the first fifteen years of his reign, Parāntaka had brought practically the whole of the Tamil country under his control. His inscriptions are found in the Pāṇḍya country, in the Madura and Tinnevelly districts. His inscriptions[17] are found as far north as Kāḷahasti. On the west, his authority, at any rate his influence, extended to the sea, as he married a Kēraḷa princess.[18]

14. J. R. A. S. 1913, 525.
15. No. 693 of 1904.
16. Epi. Ind. Vol. XV, 44, f.
17. A. R. 1903-4, 25.
18. S. I. I. Vol. II, 379.

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The third invasion of the south was undertaken by Parāntaka later in the reign, and the earliest reference to this seems to be of the year A.D. 938.[19] Inscriptions of his 40th year refer to his invasion of Ceylon.[20] This is the war that is described in the Mahāvaṁśa, chapters XLII and XLIV. The Ceylon king at the time was Udaya, a worthless monarch according to this account, from whom Parāntaka demanded the crown-jewels that the Pāṇḍya had left Ceylon. Naturally Udaya refused. An expedition was sent. Udaya was defeated, and the jewels were carried back to the mainland; according to the chronicle, an expedition was sent against the Chola kingdom, and the regalia in question were recovered and taken back to Udaya's capital. This is just possible, as about this time after A.D. 941, the year of Udaya's accession, Parāntaka's territory was actually threatened by an invasion from the Rāshṭrakūṭa dominions under Krishna III. The period, A.D. 940 to 950, was occupied by these invasions, in resisting which both Parāntaka and his eldest son Rājāditya were actually engaged, the prince actually falling in battle at Takkolam near Arkonam. From the above, it is clear that Parāntaka's rule extended over all the Tamil country to the frontier of Nellore in the north, except during the last quarter of his reign when certain parts of his territory in the north in particular, seem to have passed into the occupation of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Otherwise the Chola kingdom had been rendered compact, and remained strong during the greater part of his reign.

We have stated already that these inscriptions pertain respectively to his 12th and 14th year, and would mean respectively the years A.D. 919-20 and A.D. 921-22. By the time that we come to the period of Parāntaka's rule, rural administration in the south seems to have attained to the condition of a systematic organisation which worked satisfactorily, exhibiting at the same time flaws here and there such as are incidental to the working of a complicated system. It ought not to be inferred from these circulars of Parāntaka that he organised this system, which, as we have actually shown elsewhere,[21] reaches back to many centuries anterior to the days of Parāntaka. Uttaramallūr was one of the bigger localities with a pretty complicated administration. It seems to have showed certain defects in the working, particularly a disinclination to act up strictly to the requirements of the rules and

19. No. 605 of 1904; Vide A. E. R. 1904-05, para 8.
20. Ep. Ind. Vol. VII, page 1.
21. See my Sir William Meyer Lectures, Madras University for 1929-30.

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understandings, which guided rural administration. It is this unhealthy tendency that seems to have called for the intervention of Parāntaka, though it is not made clear in the inscriptions themselves whether this intervention came of the king's own initiative, or as a result of application from the township concerned. It looks very much like having been brought about by a demand from the locality itself, the irregularity having been brought to the notice of the headquarters. The offences seem to have been particularly the neglect to render accounts and an attempt to get rid of the responsibility by evasion. The inference naturally would be that unworthy people having got into these offices had led to this disregard of the norms of rural life. When therefore the rules were attempted to be fixed, it was done with an eye to exclude the undesirables of the village from any part in the administration, and to introduce an orderly working in the system. That seems to be what is actually meant by the expression in the inscription, "in order that the wicked may be destroyed and the virtuous prosper."

The next point calling for attention is if the order issued in the first instance was sufficient to meet this, as it must have been so felt, why issue a second, hardly two years after? Mr. Venkayya has pointed out that the local ruler sent out in the first instance, was a Śūdra provincial officer, whose order did not remove the evils satisfactorily; and that the sending out of a Brahman officer from the headquarters mended matters. The object in both cases seems to have been exactly the same, to keep unworthy men from getting elected, and making it possible for the really worthy men to get in. The first record seems to have been drawn up undoubtedly with a view to attaining this, but perhaps with some little haste. The really noticeable differences between the two records are in this:—

1. In the first, the age fixed for those carrying on the administration had been fixed as between 30 and 65. In the second, it is altered to 35 and 70. The object of this could have been merely to bring in the really more mature people and keep out the younger ones for one thing;

2. The second adds to the franchise list, those that had not the property qualification alone, nor the minimum qualification in learning alone, and included in those possessed of a lower standard of landed property and a comparatively similar lower standard of learning together. Being a Brahman settlement, the difference that this would make would certainly be very considerable. There is perhaps a little more rigorous exclusion of the

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relations of those who had proved themselves unworthy of the trust, particularly in regard to public responsibility like that of administering a department of the rural concerns. The relations to be excluded are worked out in detail in the second document. Hence the difference is not actually a difference due to the character of the governor, but much rather the removal of defects in the drafting, such as may have shown themselves when the rules were put into practice. Beyond that we are not entitled to infer anything else from the records themselves.

One other point in regard to this. In both the inscriptions the royal commands were received by the officer. The officer not merely showed the order to the village assembly, but was present, as the word *Irundu* would show. Mr. Venkayya does not give full weight to another term that is used. The expression used is in both inscriptions, *Irundu Vāriyam āka,* which would mean that the governor in either case was not merely present, as would be indicated by the first word, but he was something more than merely present. He occupied the position of *Vāriyam.* This would be the position either of a President of the assembly, or of its convenor. Perhaps convenor would be nearer correct for the term *Vāriyam* than even president, and the local governor seems therefore to have acted as convener of the assembly. The matter was put before the assembly as a royal writ by the governor of the division, but it had to be accepted and approved of by the full assembly and issued as the orders of the Mahāsabhā.

There is one term *Panchavāravāriyam,* which occurs in these inscriptions in line 10 of A and line 14 of B. So far as the election procedure goes, it merely indicates that the *Panchavāram* Committee was a committee like the other committees, although it is referred to as distinct from the three committees, *Samvatsaravāriyam, Tōṭṭavāriyam* and *Ērivāriyam,* and is in these documents associated with the *Ponvāriyam* or gold committee. The only indication is that the standard measure is sometimes called the *Panchavāram* measure,[22] which may imply that the *Panchavāram* committee may be an administrative committee, whose function it was to look after and regulate matters of general administrative interest, such as market regulations, including measures, weights, etc. The actual significance of the words themselves had so far remained a puzzle. Not that the words are recondite. The term is compounded of three words, *Pancha, vāra* and *vāriyam.*

22. S. I. I. III, M. iii. Nos. 151 and 203.

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Of course, *Pancha* means five, and *vāriyam* means management consisting either of a representative committee, or an individual managing or conducting the duty of a body. But the actual difficulty has been in the word *vāram,* which had been somewhat misunderstood so far. From these inscriptions we learn the committee was an annual committee, but composed actually of six members, chosen by the combined processes of election and lot, as in the case of other committees. *Vāra* is a term, which seems to be Sanskritic in its origin, but is used frequently even in Tamil, classical Tamil, and means ordinarily time, the number of times that a thing is done or said. The most familiar use of the expression is in the expression *Ēkavāra Bhojanam,* which means one meal a day. That seems what is implied when the term is applied in dancing to the womanfolk that sing in accompaniment of the person that dances. This occurs in the Tamil expression *Vāram Pāḍudal,* and the class of people who do that are defined as *vāram pāḍum tōriya makaḷ*,[23] that is, dancing women who, grown too old for the art, engage themselves in singing to the accompaniment of one that dances, singing simultaneously. We find the term used in that sense in the Śilapadhikāram; *tōriya maḍandaiyar vāram pāḍa.* The term is used for the second of the four modes of singing and dancing, and seems to be one mode of dancing to the accompaniment of music.[24] Where therefore not merely music, but even the Veda had to be chanted by turns, the assembly which does so by turns seems to be called *Vāra-ghoṣṭi,* that is an assembly got up specially for the purpose of reciting the Veda in alternate chants. The compound word may mean the ghaṇa or body of people capable of chanting the Veda. That is clearly the sense in which the term is used in the Chāḷukya grants, to which Keilhorn made reference, and to which Mr. Venkayya refers in his preface to these inscriptions.[25] Keilhorn in editing these inscriptions cited instances from a northern grant in the Epigraphia Indica,[26] where the term occurs several times as *Vāra-Mukhya* or *Vāra-Mukha,* in both cases, meaning no more than those that were chief among a group or *ghaṇa.* The meaning *ghaṇa* for the word *vāram* has the authority of Vaijayanti Nighanṭu to support it, and the word *vāra* actually occurs among

23. Śilappadhikāram. III, ll 133-4 and commentary thereon; also other reference following See III. 67; 136-7 and p. 383.
24. Śilaṇpadhikāram III. 67 and comments thereon.
25. See 135, A.S.R. 1904-05 and Epi. Ind. Vol. V. 138. n. 7.
26. Śiyadoni Inscription: Epi. Ind. Vol. I. 173 ff.

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the synonyms of *ghaṇa*. The Vaijayanti is not of a date very far from the times to which these inscriptions refer. *Vāra-Mukhya* therefore and even *Vāra-Mukha* could be interpreted naturally as *ghaṇa-Mukhya*, or the more prominent people of a group, community or the locality. Therefore *Vāra-vāriyam* would mean just exactly the same as *Vāra-Mukhya* or *Vāra-Mukha*, those that can stand up and speak for a group. But the actual difficulty in adopting that meaning for *Pancha-vāra-vāriyam* consists in what are the five groups under reference. *Pancha-vāra-vāriyam* in the sense of five groups possibly had its origin in the Tamil five groups known as *aim-peruṁ-kuḷu*, constituting society, according to Divākaram. So it must have had reference to the five groups constituting an organised society, or more loosely, society as a whole. A small committee set up to do certain general work which has to be done by the whole body of people would perhaps just answer. The Committee of six therefore may be regarded as a general administrative committee elected for every year and composed of six members only to do the general duties of the group as a whole.[27]

The two inscriptions, the B being a little more elaborate and more logically arranged, fall clearly into a number of sections.

1. The qualifications for membership of these committees.

2. The features which disqualify from membership. Of these there are a number of sub-divisions given:

   (a). The defaulting committee members and their relations, even somewhat remote;

   (b). Incorrigible sinners and those related to them in the same degree as above;

   (c). Those fallen out, or thrown out, of caste till they perform their expiatory ceremonies and get purified;

   (d). Those who are mentally or morally unequal to the responsibilities; and

   (e). Certain persons with excusable blemishes disqualified in their own persons without the contamination implied in the case of others.

3. The method of selection of committee members.

4. The usual number of committees for the year, and what number constituted these committees.

27. For a fuller discussion reference may be made to a paper on the subject submitted by me to the XVIIIth International Congress of Orientalists published in the 'Indian Antiquary,' for May, 1932.

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5. Other committees, two such are mentioned and many more are possible, as in fact, as many as ten are actually mentioned in inscriptions.

6. Method of appointing accountants.

This shows clearly what was aimed at and how it was achieved successfully in the second of these two inscriptions, the first falling short obviously in certain particulars which may be regarded perhaps as minor particulars. But for that detail, they seem to have aimed at almost the same object.

The actual duties that these committees performed are nowhere laid down precisely in each case, nor the actual total number of committees that could be, or that need be, appointed. But we can get an idea, from the large number of inscriptions from Uttaramallūr itself published recently, and a fairly large number of other inscriptions since collected and published. An idea of these could be got from Lecture V of my Sir William Meyer Lectures[28] to the Madras University. As was stated, already, we have reference to as many as ten committees, and the committee administration seems to have been carried on generally satisfactorily, the intervention of the headquarters, or of the royal provincial officers, being called for only occasionally. Though these rules do not lay down qualifications, or even general eligibility of women, we have at least one known instance of a woman being a member of a judicial committee.[29] In the actual method of election, the ordinary procedure is clearly indicated to be first the choice of the eligibles deliberately made and put down in writing, the actual persons for the year being drawn by lot. Even in this drawing by lot, a distinction is made. Where special qualifications are required in respect of the duties of a particular committee, the election is not made by the simple drawing of the lot from among the eligibles; but it was only those possessed of the requisite special qualifications, such as the capacity to assay for the gold committee, had to be chosen. In a case like that of the Samvatsaravāriyam, those that had already served on a smaller committee would be eligible. These could not be obtained by the simple drawing of the lot. Therefore for appointments to these committees, the course laid down is that of public announcement in the assembly. This is indicated by the term *karai-kāṭṭi*, which

28. Page 129 ff.
āṭṭ-oru. The words *āṭṭ-oru* seem to be really *āṭṭai-mā* reading *āṭṭai-*

29. Ep. Rep. 1910. Sec. 35. p. 98.

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would mean by the process of public announcement or proclamation. The term *karai-kāṭṭi* in Tamil means laying down authoritatively that which is the correct course of action, as in the expression *aṟaṅ karai kāṭṭi* in the *Tolkāppiyam Pāyiram* (prologue). So therefore the name was to be read out in the assembly, and the assembly had to accept it by acclamation. This admits of the pointing out of the ineligibility of one chosen if one ineligible should be so drawn. This is provided for clearly in the second inscription in line 12. The actual process of election is not that of making a choice by lot, as the late Mr. Venkayya's last sentence of the instructions would seem to imply. The process is one of drawing up a list of eligibles, and then of choosing the actual persons by lot, modified to the extent of public announcement in regard to the special committees.

A—TEXT [30]

1. Svasti śrī (//*) (Madi)r(ai) kon(ḍa kō Ppa) rakēsarivammarkku yāṇḍu paṉiraṇḍu āvadu (//*) Uttiramēru ccatuppē (d) immangalattu[31] sabh(ai) yō (m) ivv-āṇḍu mudal e (n)gaḷ ūr [32]śrīmukappaḍi āñai.

2. yi(n)āl Tattanū (r-M) ūvē (nda) vēḷān irundu v[33] (ā)-riyam (ā)ka āṭṭ *aimā*kkalum samma[34] (va) tsara v(ā)riyamum dōṭṭa-vāriyamum (ēri)[35] vā(riya)mum iḍuvadarkku vyavas(thai) śey.

3. da pariśāvadu (1*) kuḍumbu mup (pad-āy) ammuppadu kuḍumbilum avvavakuḍu (m*)[36] bilā(rē)y kūḍi kā ni (la) ttukku mēl iṟai-nilam uḍaiyān[37] tan manaiyilē a.

30. From two impressions prepared in 1898.

31. Read *ocaturvēdi mangalattu*. V. I take *Chatuppēdi* as the actual reading.

32. The *akṣaras śrīmuka* are Grantha.

33. In the *akṣaras vā* and *mā* of this word, the length appears to have been subsequently inserted by the engraver; also the length *ā* of *āṭṭo* in *mākkaḷum*.. This reading may be held to duplicate Samvatsaravāriyam. *āṭṭai-mākkal*, however, could be held to mean those who have to be elected annually, including the committee for the year named.

34. Read *samvatsara*.

35. The remainder of the line is engraved over an erasure.

36. *avvava*, the last *va* seems to stand for *v* though the consonantal point is not marked, as is generally the case.

37. The *ai* of *ḍai* is unusual as it is made like the ai added to n, l and ḷ; also that of ḍai in line 5.

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4. *k*am eḍuttukoṇḍu irup (pānaiy) ar (u) pa (du pi) rā (ya*) ttukku[38] uḷ muppadu pirāyattukku mēlpāṭṭār[39] vēdattilum śāstrattilum kā (r) yyattilum nipuṇar ennappaṭṭ-i-

5. ruppārai a(r*) ttha-śauśamum āt (ma) ś (au)śamum uḍaiyār āy mūv (ā) ṭṭin i-pparam[40] vāriyañjey (di) l (ā)tt(ā) r (v) āriyan jeyd oḷinda (p)erumakk[41] uḷukku[42]

6. aṇiya[43] bandukkaḷ[44] allāttār[45] (ai) kkuḍav[46] ōlaikku ppēr tiṭṭi *śadēri*-vaḷiyēy tiraṭ (ṭi) pa (n) niraṇḍu śēriyilum śēriyāl oru-pē(r-*um*-*āy*) e*ḷ*udum-uru[48] (vu-a) riyāttān-oru.[49]

7. bāla(nai)kkoṇḍu kuḍav-ōlai(v)ānguvi(t) tu ppanniru-vārum sam[50] (vatsa) ra-vāriyam āvid ā*k*avum (1*) (1*) a (di) ṅ minbēy tōṭṭa-vāriyattukku mērpaḍi ku(ḍa)v(e).[51]

8. lai[52] vāngi ppanniruvārum tōṭṭa-vāriyam (ā)vad ā (*k*a) vum (1*) niṅṛa (ā) ru (kuḍa) v-ōlaiy (u) mēri-vāriya (m ā*).

9. vad ā*k*avum ap (*pō*) du[53] kuḍav (e) lai[54] pa (ri) ccu v (ā) riyam̃n[55] śeygin(ra*) mūṅru (t)irattu v(ā) riyamum munnūr-

38. The *pi* is corrected from *tu*.
39. Read *mēlpaṭṭar*.
40. Read *i-ppuram*.
41. The *kku* is written as a group.
42. Read °*makkaḷukku*.
43. The syllable *ni* is corrected from *na*.
44. Read bandhu°; the writer seems to have inserted the *anusvara* between *ba* and *ndu*.
45. The initial *a* of this word is peculiar and resembles the Tamil *akṣara śu*.
46. The *kku* is written as a group.
47. Read *tīṭṭi chchēri*°.. This seems the actual reading.
48. There seems to be a clear *ḷu* making the word *eḷudum* which gives better sense. The words supplied seem to have indications to justify *um* and *āy* instead of *am* and *āru*.
49. The letter *n* of *no* looks like *ñ*.
50. The *akṣaras rum* sa are engraved over an erasure; read Samvatsara V. In the absence of puḷḷi in many cases, the need for reading *sama* instead of *sam* is not clear.
51. The *e* of *vo* looks like *ai*; read *kuḍav-ōlai*.
52. This line is a short one, beginning in the original just below *ṁ* in *samavatsara* of the previous line.
53. Mr. Venkayya read °*vad-āgavu muppadu*; but the less distinct *pā* seems clearly to be *po*.
54. There is some unaccountable space between the *akṣaras da* and *ve*, which may be occupied by the indistinct *v*, though it is grammatically wrong; read *kuḍavōḷai*.
55. Cancel the palatal *n*.

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a (rubadu)[56] n (āḷu) m (ni) ram (ba*) (v) āriyam oḷin (*du*)[57] anan (ta) ra (m) idu (m vā) r (i) yangaḷ (i-vya) vasthai (y-ō) (*lai**)[58] ppaḍiyēy kuḍumbukku kkuḍav-ōlai[59] iṭṭu kkuḍav-olai[60] pa (ric) cu*k* (ko) nḍ (ē) y vā (ri) yam (i) ḍuvad ā*k*avum (1*) vāriyan jeydār (k*) ku bandhukkaḷum ś (ē) rigaḷilan*dasthalammadyastarkaḷu*[61]

10. m kuḍav-ōlaiyi (l) pēr eḷudi I (ḍa) ppaḍādār (ā) *k*avum (1*) panjavāra-vāri (ya) ttukkum pon-vāriyattukkum[62] muppadu kuḍu (m) b (i) lum mup (padu) kuḍa (v-ō) lai iṭṭu śēriyāl O (ru) ttarai kkuḍav-ōlai pari (t) tu panniruvārilum (a) ruvār (pa) nja (vāra*) vāriyam āvid[63] ā*k*avum (1*) aruvar p (on) variyam āvidā*k*av (m)[64] (1*) sam[65] vatsaravāri (ya*) m allātatana[66]

11. vāriya (n) gaḷ (o) rukkāl śēydā (rai pi) nnai a- (v) vāriyattukku kuḍav-ō (lai) iḍa-*pērttitākavum*[67] (1*) (i) ppari-śēyivv-ānḍu mudal ca (ntr) ā (ditta) vat e (ṅ) ṛum (ku) ḍav-ōlai (vāri) yamēy iḍuvadā*k*a[68] Dēvēntran ca (kra) vatti[69] (Śrī)[70] Vīranārāyaṇan Śrī-Parāntaka dēvar-āki (ya) Parakēsariva (*m*) mar śrīmu*k*am a (ru) luccēydu[71] va (rakk) āṭṭa.

12. Śrī añaiyināl Tattanūr-Mū- (vē) nda- (vē) ḷān-uḍan-irukka nam grāmatt (u du) ṣṭar[72] koṭṭuśiṣṭar varddhi (tti) ḍuvar-

56. Read munnūṛṛ-arubadu; the syllables *badu* are written over an erasure.

57. Read *oḷinda*. So Mr. Venkayya; but the indistinct letter is *du*.

58. There are no indications of letters *o* and *lai*.

59. The syllable *kku* is written as a group.

60. The syllable *kku* is written as a group.

61. Perhaps °*me avaru* is the intended reading according to V. The indistinct part seems to give the reading above which is quite in place.

62. The syllable *kku* is written as a group.

63. Read *āvad-āgavum*.

64. Read *āvad-āgavum*.

65. Read *samvat°*.

66. A cross is here entered in the original to show that the writing which at first sight appears to be in continuation of this line has to be read after line 11. The last word seems clearly to be *allattava* for *alladadana*. The letter d is t.

67. This reads clearly *pēr-ttitākavum*, which means that the tickets bearing these names have to be removed.

68. Read *iḍuvad-āka*.

69. The syllable *tti* is written as a group.

70. The symbol transcribed here by *śrī* is damaged and the existing traces look like *pri* or *vri* which gives no sense.

71. Read *aruḷicceydu*.

72. Read *keṭṭu*.

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āka (vyava) sthai śey (dō) m (Ut) taramē (ru*) cca[73] (turvv) ēdi-mangalat (tu) sabh (ai) yōm (ll*).

Hail, prosperity. In the year 12 of Parakēsari Varma, capturer (conqueror) of Madura (vulgo, Madirai), the procedure for appointing every year, as from this year onwards, the committee for the management of the year (*Samvatsaravāriyam*), the committee for gardens, the committee for the tank as laid down by us, the assembly of Uttaramēruchaturvēdimangalam, for their town in accordance with the royal order, Tattanūr Mūvēndavēḷān, having been present and acted as the president of the assembly (*vāriyamāha*), is as follows:—

There being thirty wards (in the town), the residents of each of these wards should assemble together, and set down on tickets for the pot (kuḍavōlai) the names of residents with the following qualifications:—

1. Those possessed of more than a quarter *vēli* of tax paying lands;
2. Every one, residing in a house of his own, built upon his own land;
3. Those that are under the age of 60 and over that of 30;
4. Those well-known for expertness in the sciences (*Śāstra*), and in the management of affairs (*kāryam*);
5. Those with wealth earned by honest means, and of pure souls;
6. Those who had not been on these committees during the preceding three years;
7. Those not near relations to the great ones who had held and relinquished office.

The names of these should be entered in the tickets for the pot (*Kuḍavōlai*). The tickets should be collected, ward by ward.[74] Tickets shall be taken out, one for each hamlet (*śēri*), by a boy who does not understand letter-formation,[75] by letting him take one ticket from the pot for each hamlet, the 12 so taken constituting "the committee for the year" (*Samvatsara-vāriyam*). After that (adin minbēy) tickets shall be taken from the pot in the

73. Read *caturvēdi.*°

74. Mr. Venkayya's reading is *Śādēri.* It seems to me to be *Śēri,* the doubled *śē* being broken and looking like *Śadē.* The correct reading on this basis will be *ch-chēri.*

75. The actual reading is *eḷudum-uru-ariyāttān* one that does not know the form in which writing is made, that is, one ignorant of writing.

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same manner for the committee on gardens. These twelve should constitute the committee for gardens. The six remaining tickets out of the thirty should constitute the tank committee. The three committees constituted thus, by drawing tickets from the pot, should hold office for full 360 days. The committees to be constituted thereafter shall be appointed in the same manner as these, by collecting tickets for the pot ward by ward and by drawing tickets from the pot as before. The names of people related to those who had been members of these committees, and of those that are arbitrators[76] for each hamlet should not be entered on tickets for the pot, and not drawn for any of these committees. For the Panchavāram (Panchavāravāriyam committee)[77] and the gold committee 30 tickets shall be written for the 30 wards and tickets drawn as before, one for each hamlet (*śēri*). Of these six shall constitute the Panchavāram committee, the remaining six the gold committee. The names of those who have been members of committees, other than the committee for the year, should not be named for the same[78] committee again. From this year, and, for as long as the moon and the sun last, for all time, committees should be appointed by pot tickets. This was the royal order vouchsafed by the lord of gods and shown to us, by the emperor the prosperous Vīra Nārāyana, the prosperous Parāntaka Dēva, who is Parakēsarivarman. In accordance with this auspicious order Tattanūr Mūvēndavēḷān being present, We, the assembly of Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimangalam, made this settlement in order that the wicked in our town might suffer destruction and the virtuous flourish.

B-TEXT.[79]

1. Svasti śrī (***) Maduraikoṇḍa kō Parakēsaivanma (r*) kku yāṇḍu padinālāvadu nāḷ padin-āru (ll*) Kāliyūr-kōṭṭattu tankuṟṟu[80] Uttaramēru-ccatu *pp*ēdimangalattu[81] sabhaiyōm ivvāṇḍu mudal (e) ngaḷukku Peru (m) ān-aḍigaḷ Emberumān-śrī

76. The phrase made out indistinctly, reads *Śērigaḷilē-andasthaḷa-madhyastarkaḷum*, meaning the arbitrators of the township resident in the *Śēri*s or hamlets.

77. *Panchavāra-vāriyam* means a committee of representatives of "five bodies," into which society is divided. Some such committee of a general character is what is meant.

78. Literally tickets bearing their names shall be removed.

79. From two inscriptions in 1898.

80. Read *kūṟṟu*.

81. The reading is *Catuppedimangalattu*. The *r* supplied is in that case unnecessary.

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Vīranārāyaṇan-śrī[82] Pārāntakadēvan (śrī) Parakēsarivanmaṟuḍaiya śrīmukham varakkāṭṭa śrīmukhappaḍi ā

2. jñjñaiyināl[83] Śōḷa-nāṭṭu-Ppurangarambaināṭṭu Śrīvanganagar-Kharanjai-Koṇḍayakramavitta-bhaṭṭan-ākiya Śōmāśiperumān irundu vāriyam-āka a ṭ (ṭ o)[84] rukk (ā) lum samavatsara[85] vāriyamu (m*) tōṭṭa vāriyamum ēri-vāriyamum iḍuvadarkku vyavasthai śēda pariśā (va) du (l*) kuḍumbu muppadā-muppadu kuḍumbilum avvav kuḍummilā[86]

3. rē kūḍi kkā nilattukku mēl iṟainilam uḍaiyān tan manaiyilē akamm eḍuttu-kkoṇḍ iruppānai eḷubadu pirāyattin kīḻ muppttaindu pirāyattin mērpaṭṭār mantrabrāhmaṇam vallān ōḍu-viytt ariyvānai kkuḍav-ōlai iḍuvid ākavum (l*) arai-kkānilamē uḍaiyān āyilu (m*) oru vēdam vallān āy nālu bhāṣyattilum oru-bhā

4. ṣyam vakkāṇitt ariyvān avanaiyuṅ kuḍav-ōlai eḷudi ppuka iḍuvad ākavum (1*) avarkaḷilum kā (r*) yyattil nipuṇar āy āśāram uḍaiyārānaraiyēy koḷuvid ākavun (1*) a (r*) tthaśauśamu (m*) ānma-śauśamum uḍaiyār āy mūv-āṭṭin i-ppuram vāriya (ñ) jeydilāttārai koḷvad ākavum (l*) eppērppaṭṭa vāriyankaḷum sē (y) du kaṇakku kkāṭṭadē irundāraiyum ivarkaḷukku cciṟṟ-avai-ppēr-avai ma

5. kkaḷaiyum ivarkaḷukku attai māmān makkaḷaiyūm[87] iva (r*) kaḷukku ttāyōḍu uḍappirandāḷaiyum[88] ivarkaḷ tama (p) panōḍ-uḍappirandānaiyum tannōḍ uḍappirandānaiyum ivarkaḷukku piḷḷai kuḍutta māmanaiyum ivarkaḷ brahmaṇiyōḍ[89] uḍappirandānaiyu[90] tannōḍ-uḍappirandāḷai vēṭṭānaiyu (m*) uḍappiran (dā) ḷ makkaḷaiyum tan makaḷai vēṭṭa maruganaiyum tan tamappanaiyum

6. tan makanaiyum āka i ccuṭṭa******1[91] bandhukkaḷaiyum kuḍav-ōlai eḷudi-ppu (ka) iḍa p (pa) ḍāttār ākavum (l*) agamyaga-manattilum mahāpādakangaḷ (i) l munb aḍain (ta)[93]

82. Read *Parāntaka°*.
83. *jñ* is doubled in the original.
84. The syllable *tō* is corrected from *mē*.
85. Read *Samvatsara*.. In the general abstention from the use of the *puḷḷi*, it may be read so directly.
86. Read *Kuḍumbi°*.
87. Read *makkaḷaiyum*.
88. Read *°pirandānaiyum*.
89. The syllable *ni* is corrected from *na*.
90. The syllable nai appears to be corrected from lai; read *°pirandānaiyum*.
91. The missing portion is probably *ppaṭṭa ittiṇai*, as in the later portion of this line.
92. This seems to read clearly *paḍāttār*, and not perāttar.
93. The syllable *nta* is a group in the original; read *aḍainda*.

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nāḷu mahā pāṯakattilumm eḷuttuppaṭṭāraiyum iva (*k*aḷu) kkum mun śuṭṭapaṭṭa ittiṇai bandhukkaḷaiyum kuḍav-ōlai eḷud (i) ppu*k*a (i) ḍa pperādā (r ā) *k*avum (1*) sa (ṁsar) gga (a)* (ta) rai[94] prāyaścittañ jēyyum-aḷa (vu) ṁ

7. kuḍav-ōlai iḍādad-ā*k*avum**** diyum sāhasiyar āy iruppāraiyum kuḍa (v-ō) lai eḷudi ppu*k*av iḍa pperādār ā*k*avum (1*) para*dhira*vyam[95] apaharittānaiyum kuḍav-ōlai eḷudi ppu*k*av iḍa ppe.ādār ā*k*avum (1*) e (ppē) rppaṭṭa kaiyyūṭṭu (n) *k*oṇḍān kṛ (ta) prāyaścittañ[96] śaiydu śuddhar ānānaiyu (m)[97] avvavar prāṇān (t) ikam

8. vāriyattukku kkuḍav-ōlaiy[98] eḷudi pu*k*a (v iḍa pperādad ā*k*avum)*** pādagamñ[99] śeydu[100] prāyaccit (ta) ñ jeydu śuddhar (ā) nāraiyum grāma-kaṇḍakar āy[101] prāyaśi (ttañ) śēdu[102] śu (d) dhar ānāraiyu (m*) agamyagamanam[103] (śē) du prāya (ści) ttamñ[104] śeydu[105] suddhar ānāriyum ā*k*az-iccuṭṭapaṭṭa an (ai) yvaraiyum prāṇā (nti) kam vār (i) yattukku kkuḍav-ōlai eḷud (i) ppu*k*aviḍa pperādad ā*k*a

9. vum (1*) āka i-ccuṭṭapaṭṭa ittanaiyvaraiyum[106] nīkki i-mmuppadu kuḍum (bilu) m kuḍav-ōlaikku ppēr tīṭṭi i-ppanni-raṇḍu śēriyilum ā*k*a i-kkuḍumbum vevvērēy vāy-ōlai pūṭṭi mup-padu[107] kuḍumbum ve*v* vērē kaṭṭi kkuḍam pu*k*a (iḍu) vad ā*k*avum (1*) kuḍavōlai parikkum (bō) du mahāsabhai[108] ttiruvaḍiyārai sabālavirurddham[109] niram (ba) kkūtti koṇḍu aṅṛ uḷḷūril irunta[110] nambimār oruvaraiyum oḷiyā

94. Read °*patitarai.*
95. Read °*dravyam*.. The actual reading is *dhira,* not *drā.*
96. The syllable *ncai* is a Grantha group in the original; read *jeydu.*
97. Read either *śuddhan ānānaiyum* or *suddhar-ānāraiyum.*
98. A second superfluous *lai* is engraved below the line beneath the *lai* of *ōlai.*
99. Cancel the palatal *n.*
100. The *a* of *pra* is entered below the line.
101. Read *prāyaścittañ.*
102. The syllable *ñchē* is a Grantha group in the original; read *jeydu.*
103. The letter *śe* is Grantha in the original.
104. Cancel *m.*
105. The syllable *ñchē* is a Grantha group in the original; read *jeydu.*
106. Above the two letters *tta* is an erased *lai*; see note 103 above.
107. The akṣara *du* is corrected from *m.*
108. This seems the actual reading, not *māhāsabhai.*
109. Read °*vrddham.*
110. The syllable *nta* is a group in the original; read *irunda.*

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10. me[111] māhāsabhaiyilē *uḷḷār*[112] *ē,orai* maṇḍa*k*attilēy iruttikkoṇḍu a-nnambimār naḍuvēy a-kkuḍattai nam (b) imā (*ki*)[113] viddhar[114] āy iruppārr[115] oru- (na) mbi mēl nōkki (e)[116] llā-jjanamun *kā*ṇum-āṛṛāll[117] eḍuttukkoṇḍu nirkka[118] pagalēy [119]antaram ariyādānn[120] orupālanaikkoṇḍu oru-kuḍumbu vān (giy) maṛṛ oru-kuḍattukkēy pu*k*av iṭṭu kkulaittu a-kkuḍatill[121] ōr-ōlai vāngi maddhyasthan kaiyilē

11. (ku) ḍuppad ā*k*avum (1*) a-kkuḍu (t*) tav(ṉ) lai madhyasthan vāngumbōdu anju viralum a*k*ala vaittu uḷḷan-*k*aiyilē ēṛṛu-kkoḷv (ā) n[122] ā*k*avum (1*) avv-ēṛṛu vā (n) ginav ōlai v (ā) śippān ā*k*avum (1*) [123] vāśitta avv-ōlai ank-uḷ[124] (ma) unḍagatt irunta[125] nambimār ellārum vāśippār-ā*k*avum (1*) vāśitta[126] a-ppēr tīṭṭuvad-ā*k*avum (1*) i-ppariśēm*m*uppadu[127] kuḍumbilu (m) orō-pēr k (o) ḷvad ā*k*avum (1*) i-kkoṇḍa (mu) ppadu pērilumm[128] tōṭṭa-vāriyamu (m) ēri-vāriyamum śēydāraiyum (vi) jyā-vṛdha (rai) yum[129]

12. vayō[130] (vi) ddhar*k*aḷaiyum [131]samavatsara-vāriyaraiyum koḷvad-ā*k*avum (1*) mikku niṅṛāru (p)[132] panniruvarai-ttōṭṭa-vāriyan *k*oḷvi (d ā) *k*avum (1*) niṅṛa aruvaraiumm[133] ēri-vāriyam-ā*k*a-kkoḷ-vad-ā*k*avum (1*) ivviranḍu (t) irattu vāriyamu

111. Read *Mahāsabhai.*°

112. The letter *m* seems to be a correction from *var.* V. The actual reading is *uḷḷārē* or *uḷḷārai.* The *m* is made up of *ā ḷā* and *re* or *rai,* the *a* being run into it.

113. Read *nambimāril. Ki* is erroneous writing.

114. Read *Vṛddhar-āy.*

115. Cancel the first *r.*

116. Cancel the first *j.*

117. Cancel the first *l.*

118. Cancel the first *k.*

119. The syllable *nta* is a group in the original.

120. Cancel the first *n.*

121. Cancel the first *l.*

122. The *ā* is not in the original, nor is it quite necessary.

123. The syllable *śi* is Grantha in the original.

124. The letter *ma* appears to be corrected from *ka.*

125. The syllable *nta* is a group in the original; read *irunda.*

126. The syllable *si* is Grantha in the original.

127. The letter *ś* of *śē* is Grantha in the original.

128. Cancel the letter *m; nto* is a group in the original.

129. The word *vṛddharaiyum* is perhaps an interpolation made subsequently by the engraver himself.

130. Read *vṛddha.*°

131. No need to read *sama* as no mark is used generally for *pulḷi.*

132. The engraver seems to have first written the letter *l* and then corrected it into *t;* read *niṅṛaruṭ-panniruvarai.*

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(m) karai kāṭṭi [134]koḷvad (ā) *k*avu (m) (1*) i-vāriyam śēy*k*i (ṅ) ṛa mūṅṛu (t) irattu vāriyapperumakkaḷum munnū (ṛṛ-a) ru (ba) dunāḷum nira (m) ba cceydu oḷivad (ā) *k*avum (1*) vāriyañ jeyya*k*inṛārai[135] aparādan

13. *k*aṇḍapōdu avanaiy oḷ (i) ttuvad-ā*k*avum (1*) iva*k*aḷ oḷi (nta)[136] anantaramm[137] iḍum vāriyan*k*aḷum pa (nniran) ḍu śēriyilum dhanma (kṛ) rttyan[138] *k*aḍaikkāṇum vāriyarē madhyastharam kkoṇḍu kur (i) kūṭṭ (i) kkuḍppār ā*k*a (vu) m (1*) i-vyavasthaiy-ōlaippaḍiyēy*** (k) ku kkuḍavōlaiy parittu-k (k) o (ṇḍē vāri) yam iḍuvad ā*k*a vum (1*) pancavāra-v (āriyat) t (tuk) kum pon-vā (ri) yattu

14. kku muppadu[139] kkuḍumbilum[140] kuḍav-ōlaikku pēr tīṭṭi muppadu vā (y-ō) lai kaṭṭum pu*k*a (iṭ) ṭu mup (pa) du kuḍav-ōl (ai) parittu muppadilum[141] (panni) raṇḍu[142] pēr (pa) rittukkoḷvad (ā) *k*avum (1*) paritta panniraṇḍilum a (ru) var p (o) nvāriyam aruvār panjavāra-vāriyamum āvanav-a[142(a)] (*k*avum) (**) piṛṛai āṇḍum i-vāriya (n) *k*aḷ kuḍav-ōlai parikkumbōdu ivvāriyan*k*aḷukku munnam śē

15. yda kuḍumb aṅṛikkē[143] niṅṛa kuḍumbilē karai parittu kk (o) ḷ (va) d-ā*k*avum (1*) kaḷudai ērināraiyum kūḍalē*k*ai śeydānaiyum kuḍav-ōlai (ē) ḷudi-ppu*k*a iḍa-pperādad ā*k*avu (m*) madhyastharum arttha-śauśamm[144] uḍaiyānē kaṇakk ēḷuduvān ākavum kaṇak (k) eḷudinān kaṇakku-pperunguri-pperu-makkaḷōdu kūḍa-kkaṇa (k) ku (k) kāṭṭi śuddhan āccidin-pinn-aṅṛi maṛṛukkaṇa

16. kku-ppu*k*a perādān-ā*k*avum (1*) tān eḷudina ka (ṇakku) ttānē kāṭṭuvān-ā*k*avum (1*) maṛṛu-kkaṇak (ka) r pukku o (ḍu) kkapperādā (r) ā*k*avum (1*) i-ppariśē ivv-āṇḍu mudal cantrādittavar[145] eṅ (ṛ) um kuḍav-ōlai-vāriyamē iḍuvad-ā*k*a Dēv (ē) n-

133. Cancel the second *m*.
134. The akṣara *va* of *koḷva* is entered below the line.
135. Read *jeyyāniṅṛārai*.
136. The syllable *nta* is a group in the original.
137. The nta of *ananta*° is a group in the original; cancel the first *m*.
138. Read °*kṛtyan*. The second *r* is hardly presumable.
139. The second *pa* is corrected from *ta*.
140. *Kuḍumbi*° is corrected from °*kumili*.
141. The letters *dilu* are engraved over an erasure.
142. The letter *ni* is engraved over an erasure.
142-(a). āvanavar or āvār is the correct form.
143. The first *k* of *aṅṛikkē* is entered below the line. V. It is doubtful that there are two *k*s in the original.
144. Cancel the first *m*.
145. Read *candradityavat*.

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tran[146] cakrava (r*) tti (pa) nḍitavatssalan[147] kunjaramallan śūraśūḷāmaṇi kalpakaśaridai[148] śrī-Parakē (sa) ri *p* (pa) nma (r kaḷ)[149] śrīmu (kha) m-aruḷuccēdu[150] varak (k) āṭṭa śri-ā (ñ) aiā

17. l Śoḷa-nāṭṭu-Ppurangarambaināṭṭu Śrīvanganagar-Kkaranjai K(o)nḍaya (Kra)[151] mavitta-bhaṭṭann[152] ākaiya Śomāśiperumān uḍan (i)[153] rundu i-pparisu śeyvikka nā(m) grāmattukku a (bhyu) tayam[154] āka duṣṭar keṭṭu viśiṣṭar va (r) ddhi-pad-āka vyavasth(ai) śeydōm Uttaramēru-ccaturvvēdimangalattu sabhaiyōm (1*) i-ppariśukuriyuḷ irundu p(e)rumakkaḷ paṇikka vyavasthai eḷudinē (n) madhyasthan

18. Kāḍaḍippot (ta) n Śivakkuri Irājamallamaṁkalapriyanēn[155] ll

(B)

Hail Prosperity. In the year 14 of king Parakēsarivarman the capturer of Madura, on the 16th day, We, the assembly of Uttaramēruchaturvēdimangalam, a division by itself, belonging to the larger division (*Kōṭṭam*) of Kāliyūr, made the following settlement for appointing the committee for the year, committee for gardens, and the committee for the tank as follows, in accordance with the royal order, and the royal commands conveyed therein, as shown to us from the Great One (*Perumān Aḍigaḷ*), or Lord, the prosperous Vīranārāyaṇa, the prosperous Parāntakadēva, the prosperous Śrī Parakēsarivarman; Somāśiperumān[156] who was Karanjai Konḍayya Kṛamavitta Bhaṭṭan of Śrīvanganagar in the division (*Nāḍu*) of Puramkarambai in the Chola country, being president[157] over the assembly. The number of wards in the town being[158] thirty, the residents of each ward should assemble to-

146. Read Dēvēndran.
147. Cancel the second *s*.
148. In the original *kalpakaśari*° is Grantha; read *caritai*.
149. The corresponding passage in line 1 has *vanmaruḍaiya*. There is a small *l* by the side of *k*.
150. Read *aruḷi*.°
151. The akṣara *kra* of *kṛamavitta* appears to be written over an erasure.
152. Cancel the first *n*.
153. The letter *i* is corrected from Grantha *ma*.
154. In the original, the letters *abhyu* are Grantha; read *abhyudaya*.°
155. An *akṣara* is erased before *ja* in the original.
156. Literally "the great one is *Somayāji*," one that performed *Soma* Sacrifice, *Somāśi* being Tamil *tadbhava* for *Somayāji*.
157. This is made clear by the term "*vāriyamāka*" here and the causative "*Śeyvikka*" caused to do in line 17.
158. *Muppadā, Muppadāka* being thirty.

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gether in their ward and set down on tickets the names of those with the following qualifications:—

1. Those possessed of a quarter vēli of tax paying land;
2. One resident in a house built on his own site;
3. One below the age of 70 and above 35;
4. One who knows the Mantra-Brahmana and is able to teach it;
5. Even one possessed of only 1/8th of land, if he should know one Veda and one of the four Bhāshyas, and is capable of expounding (*vakkāṇittal*) these to others;

A. Among these, those known to be expert in affairs and following in their conduct the sacred laws alone should be entered.

B. Those with wealth cleanly acquired, and those whose minds are pure, and who did not hold office during the three years previous, alone should be entered.

C. Those who, having held any of the above-mentioned offices, failed to render account of their own charge should not have their names entered for the pot ticket, and those related to them as follows:

a. Children of their mother's sisters, elder and younger;
b. Paternal aunts and maternal uncles;
c. Sisters of their mother and brothers of their father;
d. Own brothers;
e. Those that gave their daughters in marriage to these;
f. The brothers of their wives;
g. Those that had married their sisters;
h. Children of their sisters;
i. Sons-in-law that had married their daughters;
j. Fathers of these sons-in-law;
k. Their sons;

These shall not have their names entered for the pot ticket.

6. Those reputed to be guilty of incest,[159] and of the first four of the five great sins;[160]
7. Those related to them in the same degree of relationship as detailed above should also be excluded;

159. "*Agamyagamanam*" literally access where access is prohibited.

160. The five sins are in order: (1) killing a Brahman; (2) drinking intoxicating liquors; (3) theft; (4) adultery with the wife of a spiritual teacher; (5) association with any of these. Manu XI, 55; Also Tamil texts.

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8. Those guilty of association with the above two classes should not be entered for the pot ticket till they should have cleared themselves by prescribed expiation ceremonies;
9. Those that are reckless should also be excluded;
10. Those that are guilty of appropriating other people's property should also be excluded;
11. Those guilty of receiving bribes on any account should be excluded during their life, even though they should have cleared themselves by performing ceremonies of expiation;
12. Similarly those who have cleared themselves by ceremonies of expiation after having been guilty of the heinous sins, or having been village pests, or having been guilty of incest, and those related to them to the same degree detailed above, should also be excluded to the end of their lives.

Excluding all those detailed above, names from among those eligible in the 30 wards, should be entered on pot tickets. Thus tickets for the 12 hamlets should be collected and sorted ward by ward, each with a docket (with the name of the ward and the number of tickets) and put into the pot. When tickets had to be drawn, all the members of the Mahāsabha, including the young and old, should be brought together in full assembly; all the temple priests in town on that day should also be brought to attend without exception. These should be made to sit in the inner pavilion, and the pot containing the tickets should be lifted by one of them, a man of age, in such manner that everybody in the assembly might see. A young lad, who does not know what is in the pot, even by day, should be asked to draw the bundle of one ward. This should be put into another pot and well mixed up by shaking. He (the lad) should then draw one ticket from this, and place it in the hands of the arbitrator (*Madhyasthan*). When the arbitrator receives the ticket, he should receive it on the open palm of his hand with the fingers spread out. He should then read the ticket that he thus received. All the members present in the pavilion shall similarly read the name on the ticket. The name thus read should then be entered. In this manner, one name should be entered for each of the thirty wards. From out of the thirty tickets thus selected, those who have served on the committee for gardens and the committee for tanks, those who are ripe in learning, those who are of mature age, should be chosen for the committee

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for the year (*Samvatsaravāriyam*). Out of the remaining number, 12 should be chosen for the garden committee. The remaining six should be appointed for the management of the tank. The appointment to the two last committees shall be made by announcement of names (*Karai-kāṭṭi*).[161] The three groups of great ones appointed to these committees shall vacate office after having held it for full 360 days. When holders of offices are fined, they should be removed (then and there) from office. Even those to be appointed to the vacancies thus created, should be appointed by those in the 12 hamlets, who are responsible for the administration of justice,[162] by bringing together a meeting of the assembly[163] through arbitrators. Appointments to the managing committees should always be made in the manner prescribed in this document (*ōlai*), by drawing tickets. Similarly for the *Panchavāram* committee, and the gold committee, names shall be written for pot tickets in the 30 wards docketed in 30 divisions and drawn as described above for 30 names. Then 12 names should be drawn from out of the 30. Of these 12, 6 should be taken for the gold committee, and the other 6 for the *Panchavāram* committee. When, for the year following, members are to be chosen for these committees, those that had been already on these committees should be excluded by announcement (*Karaiparittu*).[164] Those that have suffered disgrace by riding on donkeys, those guilty of writing secret anonymous letters should be excluded. For the arbitrators, those of honest earnings alone should be appointed to write up accounts. Those that kept accounts should not be appointed again to the office unless these had rendered accounts to the members of the great assembly for the purpose to their satisfaction and declared clear of all liabilities. One that kept the accounts should render the accounts himself. Other accountants should not be brought up to complete the accounts. In this manner, committees of management should be appointed only by the pot ticket method

161. This term, *Karai-kāṭṭi* seems to imply formal authoritative announcement. Ordinarily it means declaring or laying down with authority, as in *aṟam-karai-nāvin* in the Tolkāppiyam.

162. This expression in the text "*dhanma-Kityam-gaḍai-kāṇum* vāriyar, the leaders who supervise the doing of justice. This ought to be regarded as the same as the *Dharmāsanattār* of other inscriptions, meaning the body whose function it was to administer justice.

163. The expression used is Kuri-Kūṭṭi calling a meeting. See S. I. I. III, 17. The term is used exactly as in line 17 of this record, a number of similar records using *Sabhai* instead of *Kuri*.

164. By public declaration.

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from this year forward, and for as long as the moon and the sun should last. Thus it was ordered by the Lord of the gods, the emperor, lover of learning, wrestler with elephants, the head-jewel of heroes, one that is liberal as the wish-giving-tree, Śrī Parakēsari Varman. The royal letter vouchsafed, having been received and shown to us, in accordance with the royal order, Sōmāśi Peruman, who is Karanjai Koṇḍayya-Kramavitta Bhaṭṭan of Śrī Vanganagar in Puramkarambai Nāḍu in the Chola country, having been with us, and got us to do it in this manner, we of the township (*Grāmam*) made this settlement in order that our township (*Grāmam*) may flourish by the destruction of the wicked ones, and with the growing prosperity of the others.[165] The great ones being assembled in meeting[166] in this manner made the order of settlement, which, I, the arbitrator Kāḍaḍipottan, Śivakkuri, Rājamalla Mangala Priyanēn, set down in writing.

N.B.—In the above the italicised *ḷ* stands for Tamil ழ or ள

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165. The term used here is "*Viśiṣṭar*," while A has the word "*Siṣṭor*" in its place. The latter would mean "those of good discipline," and the former "all others or the better ones" literally.

166. The expression used is "*Kuriyuḷ-irundu*" meaning "being present in the assembly."

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APPENDIX II.

A Chronological Bibliography of the writings of Professor S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, of the University of Madras.

(*Retired.*)

COMPILED BY

MR. T. G. ARAVAMUDAN, M.A., B.L.

AND

PROF. C. S. SRINIVASACHARIYAR, M.A., &c.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

[The following chronological list of my writings was prepared by Mr. T. G. Aravamudan, M.A., B.L., Advocate, Madras. He sent it on to me for publication in the Journal of Indian History as a supplement, so that there may be a record somewhere of the whole of my writings, with a request that it may be revised either by myself or by someone else, to make it complete as far as may be, and correct. Professor C. S. Srinivasacharyar of the Annamalai University undertook the revision, and the bibliography is published in the form submitted by the latter after revision. I looked through it and, as far as I could judge by memory, it is substantially correct. It omits, however, with perhaps one exception or two, whatever I may have written in daily papers and notes in journals etc., as a prominent instance of which I may mention the series of articles I wrote in the Hindu Weekly giving an account of my tour through parts of Northern India. The list contains 110 items not counting duplications. I am publishing it in the Journal of Indian History in the hope that it may prove to be a useful record for those that may be working in the subject.

Editor.]

1900 May. Mysore under the Wodeyers. (Thesis for the M.A. Degree) Madras Review. (1900.)

1901 April. The Chola Ascendency in South India. (1901.)

1902. January. The Chola Administration. (1902.)

1902. July. The Third Tamil Śangam. (MCCM. 20; 26-30.)

1902. September. Kamban and Jayaṁkoṇḍān. (MCCM. 20; 138-43.)

1903. December. India and Imperial Protection. (IR. 3; 760-2.)

1904. Rāmājuna, His Life and Times, Wednesday Review, Trichinopoly. (Republished in book form by Messrs. G. A. Natesan.)

1904 April. The Age of Namāḷvār. (MCCM. 558-62.)

1904 The Age of the Last Seven Patrons of Tamil Literature. (Madras Review.)

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1904 December.	The Making of Mysore. (S.I.A. Lecture.)
1905 November.	The Agnikula; The Fire-Race. (IA 34; 261.)
1906 May-September.	Historical Connection between South India & Ceylon. (S.T. 4; 346-54, 388-96, 476-83; 522-31.)
1906. June.	Self-Immolation which is not Sati. (IA 35; 129-31.)
1906. July.	Bṛhat Kathā. (JRAS 1906; 689-92.)
1906. August.	Tirumangai Āḻvār and His Date. (IA 35; 233-33.)
1907 November.	Lessons from Ancient India. (IR 8; 809-22.)
1908 May.	Yatirājavaibhavam of Āndhrapūrṇa. (IA 38; 129.)
1908 August.	Celebrities in Tamil Literature. (IA 38; 227-43.)
1909.	The Augustan Age of Tamil Literature. (T.A 5; 23-54.)
1909 August-December.	Ancient India in Tamil. (ST 6; 471-518 7; 42-92.)
1909 October.	History of South India. (QJMS 1; 3-9.)
1910.	The Chola Empire in South India. (JSIA 1; 30-117.)
1910 January.	India at the Dawn of the Christian Era. (JSIA 1; 30-117.)
1910 April.	Gold Mining in Ancient India (QJMS 1; 111-3.)
1910 October.	Fire-Walking Ceremony at the Dharmarāja Festival. (QJMS 2; 29-31.)
1911.	Ancient India, containing a selection of the more important of the above.
1911 April.	The History and Commerce of the Indian Ocean. (QJMS 2; 71-82.)
	A note on the Diamonds in South India. (QJMS 3; 129-40.)
1914 January-February.	The Mahāvaṁśa and South Indian History. (IR. 15; 15-20; 114-9. QJMS 4; 127-40.)
1914 October-December.	The Chank in Ancient India. (QJMS 4; 160-2.)
1914 June-December.	Landmarks in South Indian History. (JSIA 5-85-99.)
1915 February-March.	The Āḻvārs, and their Times. (QJMS 4; 169-72.)
1915 April.	The Dynasties of the Kali Age. (IR. 15-297-9.)
1915 October.	Social Legislation under Hindu Governments. (Reprinted as a book. IR 6; 47-7 and QJMS.)
1915.	A Little Known Chapter of Vijayanagar History. (Reprinted as a book.) (QJMS 6-61-109.)
1915 September.	Research in South Indian History. Educational Review. (Presidency College Union Society, Inaugural.)
1916.	The Age of the Śangam Literature, (Pachaiyappa's Historical and Tamil Societies. Inaugural (Pamphlet.)

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1916	Agniskandha and The Fourth Rock Edict of Asoka. (JRAS 1915; 521-7. IA 44-203).
1917.	The Yet-Remembered Ruler of a Long-Forgotten Empire; Krishnadēvarāya. Lecture to the Maharaja's College Union Society, Mysore. (Hindustan Review. 1917.)
1917 May-April.	The Antiquities of Mahābalipur. (IA 46; 49-57, 65-73.)
	(Revised and reprinted in Notes on the Seven Pagodas by Sir R.C. Temple and others; Issued as a separate reprint. IA 1929.)
1917.	G. Jouveau-Dubreuil's Dravidian Architecture. (English Edn.)
	Virūpāksha II of Vijayanagar Com-Ess. Presented to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar Memorial Volume. (255-64).
1918.	The Beginnings of South Indian History.
1919.	Sources of Vijayanagar History. (Edited).
	Asoka's Satyaputras and Satyavratakshētra. (JRAS 1919; 581-4.)
	A mediaeval Kēraḷa Ruler, Ravi Varman Kulaśēkhara. (Ernakulam College Magazine July 1919.)
1919 May.	The Hun-Problem in Indian History, (IA 48; 65-76. Christian College Union Society Inaugural.)
1920.	The Origin and the Early History of the Pallavas of Kānchī. (JIH 2-20-66.)
1920.	Contributions of South India to Indian Culture (Readership Lectures, Calcutta University.)
1920 October.	The Foundation of Vijayanagar. Part of a Course of Lectures to the Mysore University. (QJMS 11-13-32.)
1921.	South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders. Lectures to Madras and Mysore Universities. (Oxford University Press.)
1921 October.	Greater India; Expansion of India Beyond the Seas. (QJMS 12-10-44.)
1921-22.	(1) A Scholar King of Tanjore, Raghunātha Nāyaka.
	(2) Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya.
	(3) Educational Foundations in Mediaeval India. (Everyman's Review.)
	Hindu India from Original Sources. (Parts 1 and 2.)
	A Short History of Hindu India.
1922. January.	The Age of Perundēvanār. (ABI 3; 57-65.)
1922 April.	Tirumangai Āḻvār and Dantidurga. (QJMS 2; 261-7.)

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1922.	The Sātvatas, an important Folk-Movement. (Proceedings of the Indian Oriental Conference, Calcutta.)
	Glimpses of Mauryan Invasions in Classical Tamil Literature. (I.O.C., Calcutta 1922 and ST 319; 33.)
	The Early History of Vaishṇavism in South India. (Paper presented to First Indian Oriental Conference, 1919, published as a book, Oxford University Press.)
1923 April-July.	Mysore and the Decline of the Vijayanagar Empire. (QJMS 13-621-7, 742-54.)
	Tirumangai Āḻvār and Dantidurga. (QJMS 13-695-8).
1923. September.	Rājēndra, the Gangaikonḍa Chola, 1925 (Calcutta University Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume III, 2-541-88). (JIH 2; 317-69.)
1923 October.	The Kōśar of Tamil Literature and the Satyaputra of the Asoka Edicts. (JRAS 609; 13.)
1923 December.	Samudragupta. (Mysore University Magazine.)
1923 December.	Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture. (Publication by the Calcutta University).
	Introduction to R. Satyanathan's History of the
1923 December.	Nāyaks of Madura. (Madras University Historical Series.)
1923 December.	Forward to Mr. A. Madhavayya's English version of Maṇimēkhalai.
1924.	Madurai-Talavaralāṛu (An Account of the Temple of Madura.) (IHRCP 6-104-16.)
	The Vākāṭakas and their Place in the History of India. (ABI 5; 31-54.)
1925. February.	The Konkaṇ and the Konkaṇi Language. (IA 54; 37-8.)
	Penugonḍa. (Written specially for presentation to H. E. Lord Willingdon on the occasion of his visit to the place).
1925. April-May.	Introduction to Gopala Aiyar's Edn. of Perundēvanar's Bhārata-Veṇbā.
1926. January.	The Bakhair of Rāmarāja. (IHR C.P. 7-54-63.)
1926 December.	The Vākāṭakas in Gupta History. (QJMS. 15-153.)
	Forgotten Episodes in the History of Mediaeval India. (JIH 5; 313-30.)
1926 December.	Introduction to Rasanāyagam's Ancient Jaffna.
	Vyāgra, the Feudatory of Vākāṭaka Prithivisēna. (IA 55; 223-7).
1926-28.	Vikramāditya (Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume, 143-163, Patna University.)
	The Buddhism of Maṇimēkhalai. (Contribution to Dr. B.C. Law's Buddhistic Studies).

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1927 April.	The Gūrjara Empire in North India. (JIH 6; 1-14.)
	A Tamil Treatise on Buddhist Logic. Bk. xxix of Manimēkalai. Vasanta Silver Jubilee Volume in honour of Principal A. B. Dhruva.
1927 August.	Studies in Gupta History. (JIH 6; 1-14.)
1927 November.	Mailārpu (Mylapore). (IA 56; 197-8.)
	Panchamahāśabda. (J.Bo. Br. R.A.S.)
1928.	A School of South Indian Buddhism in Kānchī. IOC, 4th Session, 807-30.)
1928.	Introduction to R. Gopalan's The Pallavas of Kānchī.
1928.	Bappabhaṭṭi-Charita. (J. Bo. Br. R.A.S.)
1928.	Maṇimēkhalai in its Historical Setting.
1929.	An Incident in the relation of the Governor of Poonamallee with Fort St. George. (IHRCP 92-99.)
	Introduction to V. R. R. Dikshitar's Hindu Administrative Institutions.
1929 November-December.	Kaḷabhra Interregnum: what it means in Indian History.
	XVII International Congress, Oxford. (Under publication in J.A.S.B.)
1930 August.	Mahābhārata (Book Notice.) (IA.)
1930.	The Pandyan Kingdom by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. (Book Notice). (IA 188.)
1930.	Raja Dēśing of Gingee. (IHRC, Gwalior, and JIH, Vol. IX, part i.)
1930.	The Rise of the Mahratta Power in the South. (JIH, Vol. IX, p. 173.)
1930.	Gollapallee Diamond Mines. (IHRCP, Patna, and JIH Vol. IX, p. 361.)
	Notes on the Term "Dainati" in a Mackenzie MS. (JIH Vol. IX, ii, VII.)
1930 December.	Sir Streynsham Master's account of the Gollapalle Diamond Mines. (IHRCP, Vol. XIII, p. 43.)
1931 April.	In Memoriam (R.C. Temple.) (JIH Vol. X, part i pp 77-81.)
1931 July.	Pai-a-Saddha Mahannava (Prakrita Śabdha Mahārṇava (Book Notice; Vol. LX. 140.)
1931 August.	Abul Hasan Quṭub Shah and his Ministers, Mādanna and Akkanna. (JIH, page 43.)
1931.	The Evolution of Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India (Sir William Meyer Lectures to the Madras University).
1931.	Presidential Address to the First Historical Congress, Bombay.

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1931.	Introduction to two parts of the Best short stories of India Messrs. Taraporewala Sons, Bombay.
1932 May.	Panchavāravāriyam. XVIII International Congress of Orientals, Leiden, (IA Vol. LXI, p. 81).
1932 June.	The Mahābhārata (Book Notice. IA Vol. LXI, 119).
1932.	A Note on the term "King of Vellore" by Travellers in India. (J.I.H. XI. i. 114-21.)
1932.	Edition of Sewell's Historical Inscriptions of South India.
1932.	Pāncharātra in Tamil Literature (Contribution to Winternitz Memorial Volume).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

(1) A. B. I.=Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute.

(2) I. A.=Indian Antiquary, Bombay.

(3) I. R.=Indian Review, and India Review published in Mysore, now defunct.

(4) I. O. C.=Indian Oriental Conference.

(5) I. H. R. C. P.=Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings.

(6) J. R. A. S.=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

(7) J. S. I. A.=Journal of the South Indian Association.

(8) J. A. S. B.=Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

(9) J. Bo. Br. S.=Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

(10) M. C. C. M.=The Madras Christian College Magazine.

(11) S. I. A.=South Indian Association, Mylapore, Madras.

(12) S. T.=Śen Tamil, Journal of the Madura Śangam.

(13) T. A.=Tamilian Antiquary, Trichinopoly.

(14) Q. J. M. S.=Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.

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"The Round Table."

No. 87 June, 1932.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

The Round Table, concerned as it is primarily with the affairs of the British Commonwealth, naturally devotes the first article in its June number to the subject of the Ottawa Conference. After repeating, in the light of the recent speeches by statesmen in the Dominions, *The Round Table* views upon the general problem of imperial preference, which are elaborated more fully in the March number, the article discusses a number of special questions that will arise at Ottawa, notably emigration, permanent imperial organisations, and Empire currency and credit.

The author of the second article, entitled "Reflections on the Crisis," pauses to consider the too familiar political and economic impasse and the possible means of escape from it. How can prices be made to rise, and what is the function of governments in economic restoration? In the international sphere at least, at Geneva and Lausanne, they have an unmistakable task, and Great Britain a special opportunity of leadership.

After Ottawa, the problem which chiefly agitates the usually placid waters of imperial politics is that of Ireland, to whose development *The Round Table* has devoted special attention since the War. The latest number contains a full account from an Irish pen of the dispute over the oath and land purchase annuities, headed by an editor's preface which marks out a line of policy, and rounded out by an economic appendix which indicates some of the commercial consequences of Anglo-Irish estrangement.

For the United States, writes the American author of the fourth article, 1930 was the year of disappointment, 1931 was the year of disillusionment, 1932 is the year of despair. But governmental efforts to check credit deflation have already accomplished something to allay the panic, and even the nominal balancing of the Federal budget might do more.

The article on Disarmament describes from the spot the problems and progress of the Conference at Geneva, notably the reception of the French plan and the somewhat unexpected choice of the "qualitative" method of approach. There follow two articles on the Far Eastern dispute, the main one seeking to lay

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bare, in the history, the economic situation and the racial characteristics of the Chinese and Japanese peoples, the roots of the present trouble, and adding some reflections upon the need for asserting the rather shaken force of the collective system. "The first condition of helpfulness is understanding." The view of those in the thick of the trouble is given in a short account from Shanghai itself, expressing the view of the foreign residents upon the opportunity for permanent reform in the Settlement.

A correspondent in India describes the progress of the Government's policy of urging on the reforms while relentlessly warring against the wrecking tactics of Congress. It is, on the whole, a hopeful account, though the communal problem is tenser than ever, and the economic troubles of the country show no signs of relief.

The regular article on affairs in Great Britain naturally uses a large part of its space in describing the substance of the new tariff and the method of its construction. The reactions of the Liberal and Labour parties, the means test controversy, the budget and bye-elections are also dealt with. From Canada come an account of the parliamentary session (including the budget) and an essay on the condition of the prairie provinces after three years of drought and low prices.

Australia sends a most instructive account of the dispute between the Governments of New South Wales and the Commonwealth, which has recently culminated in the dismissal of Mr. Lang from the State premiership, and a section on the Australian attitude towards imperial preference, a matter which is touched upon in other Dominion contributions. A South African correspondent describes the recent course of political affairs in the Union and appends a summary history of native policy from 1910 to 1932. The quota of Dominion articles is completed with one from New Zealand in which the problem of the exchange rate receives special attention.

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JOURNAL

OF

INDIAN HISTORY

(PUBLISHED THREE TIMES A YEAR.)

Volume XI, Part III December, 1932 Serial No. 33

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Journal of Indian History

The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai (1736-1761)

BY

C. S. Srinivasachari,

Professor, Annamalai University.

XI

I. French Negotiations with Mysore begin—Salabat Jang's Difficulties

Early in January 1752, Dupleix planned to convert the Villiyanallur temple into a fort, by raising batteries and constructing outer walls. Chanda Sahib sent a letter informing that the Mysore Dalavai was dead (the news was wholly false) and that the matter had been kept a secret for about three weeks and that Kāntayarāja, the former commander, had been appointed to his place[1]. Of

1. In the reign of Chama Raja Wodeyar VII (1731-34), the three chief offices in the Mysore State; those of the *Dalavāyi* (head of the army), *Sarvādhikāri* (head of finance and revenue) and *Pradhāna* (privy councillor) were held respectively by Devaraja who was the Dalavāyi and Nanja Raja, his cousin, who combined in himself the other two offices. Chama Raja Wodeyar contrived to displace them; but they found means to recover their position quickly and to imprison the Raja and his wife. They raised to the throne Chikka Krishna Raja Wodeyar, a child of a distant branch of the ruling family. Nanja Raja died in 1747 and was succeeded by an-

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course there was no truth in the news at all; but there was possibly some confusion in his mind between the two Nanja Rajas (written Nandi Raja in the Diary), the first, a cousin of Devaraja and the second, his younger brother who occupied the office of *Sarvadhikari*.[2] Madame Dupleix persuaded her husband to write to the ruler of Mysore, asking him to help the French and not Muhammad Ali; and Dupleix himself was of the opinion that, but for the help of Mysore, Muhammad Ali could not have withstood the French so long.

Meanwhile, the troops of Raza Sahib which had had to flee to Chettupattu, plundered, in February, the region of Poonamalle, Mylapore, the Great (St. Thomas') and Little Mounts, Saidapet and Kunnattur which were large and prosperous villages. The Indian merchants of Madras were reported to have taken shelter with their goods at Sadras and Pulicat; and the Diarist regretted that they did not go to Covelong which was in French occupation, and wrote that M. Le Blanc, the chief at that place, "troubles people,

other person of the same name, who was the younger brother of Deva Raja and surnamed Karachuri. Nanja Raja was a truculent person and contributed, in great measure, to the eclipse of the dynasty and the rise of Haidar Ali. After a successful expedition into the Coimbatore country, he married his daughter to the nominal Raja, as a first step to his other ambitious projects. Haidar first came under his notice in 1749, during the siege of Devanahalli. He agreed, against the wishes of his elder brother, Deva Raja, the Dalavāyi, to assist Muhammad Ali, and led an army of 5,000 horse and 10,000 infantry from Seringapatam to Trichinopoly, about the time of Clive's siege and subsequent defence of Arcot. His transactions and movements round Trichinopoly lasted till 1755 when he returned to Mysore at the summons of his brother, in order to meet and repel an invasion of Salabat Jang and Bussy. Deva Raja retired from government in 1757, disgusted with the cruelty practised by Nanja Raja towards the Raja and his partisans who had attempted to throw off the supremacy of the two brothers. Nanja Raja was responsible for the usurpation of Haidar Ali who got him imprisoned in 1767, "in so far as a single personage could be held responsible for it." (See The *Mysore Gazetteer* (New Edition) Vol. II, Modern, Part IV. *pp.* 2465 *et seq;* M. Wilks' *Historical Sketches of the South of India* (Ind. ed.) vol. i. *ch.* VII.).

2. *Vide Note* 1: Mr. Dodwell says in foot-note 2, on p. 90 of the *Diary,* vol. viii; "I am entirely at a loss to account for his (Chanda Sahib's) statement that Nanci Raja was not the younger brother of the Dalavāyi."

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so that all fear him and prefer Pulicat or Sadras."[3] There is a hiatus in the *Diary* for three months (February 13th to May 12th). The entry for the latter date gives news from Salabat Jang's camp, according to which Namat-ullah Khan, who was a son of Khajah Abdulla Khan, Nawab-designate of the Carnatic, and who had been recently the Nawab of Rajahmundry, was to get the subah of Arcot and he was to come down with an army, subdue the refractory Pathans of Kurnool and suppress the disturbances caused by Muhammad Ali Khan, the English and the Raja of Mysore.[4] Khaja Namatullah Khan and Muzaffar Khan (Abdul Rahman who had

3. Raza Sahib made a rally at Chēttupaṭṭu after his defeat at Arni, and later at Covelong, with a design to attack San Thome; but he was not in a condition to do it (Despatch of Fort St. David to the Company, dated January 25, 1752). From a subsequent despatch of Thomas Saunders, dated February 15, 1752, we learn that Raza Sahib plundered and burnt some villages of Poonamalle and carried off to Pondicherry the furniture of the houses at St. Thomas Mount and Marmalong (Mambalam-Saidapet). The Pondicherry Council repudiated the English claim to these places; and the latter were unable to check these ravages for want of horse and their force at Madras was insufficient to defend even the Black Town (George Town) and the Pettahs; and Muhammad Ali had not sent a detachment of cavalry for which he had been so often pressed. (Madras Council's Consultation, dated February 3, 1752—pp. 1-2 of *Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book of* 1752).

4. Compare with a letter to the Madras Council alleged to have come from Salabat Jang, read at a Consultation of the 10th February, 1752 (O.S.), which exhorted the English "to quit Mahomed Ally's Interest, as He is a Rebel, and to espouse that of Chunda Saib" and "which by the confession of the Hircars coming from Pondicherry, we can't help entertaining some doubts with regard to it's being really wrote by Salabat Jang . . ."—Ibid—p. 3

With regard to the refractory Pathans of Kurnool, it is to be noticed that in the *melee* that occurred at Luckireddipalli pass in the Rayachuti taluk, Muzaffar Jang fell, struck down by a javelin thrown by the Nawab of Kurnool (January 1751). Himmat (or Himayat) Khan, the Nawab, had succeeded to power in 1733, had defied Nasir Jang who had to conciliate him and accompanied his new master on the Carnatic expedition. Shortly after he left Kurnool, heavy floods passed down the Handri and the Tungabhadra and washed away portions of the fort walls. The Nawab requested permission to return to Kurnool; but Nasir Jang declined permission. Later, a misunderstanding was created between the two by one Saif-ud-din and the ill-feeling was increased by the disappointment of the Nawab in his expectations of obtaining considerable immunities and an addition of territory from the Suba. The Nawab was killed in the *melee* of Luckireddipalli; and Salabat Jang and Bussy carried the Kurnool fort by assault in March, 1751 and imprisoned the Nawab's wife and two sons. Kurnool was placed in charge of one Sayyad Alam and of the Zamindar

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accompanied Bussy) advanced, by way of Gadwal, on Kurnool; but when batteries were about to be raised and the troops of Munawmar Khan (younger brother of Himmat Khan who had successfully got possession of his brother's dominion) which were encamped near the fort were to be attacked, the French people, who were probably the troops attached to Muzaffar Khan, came away; and operations were consequently affected. Hearing that Namatullah Khan had only a small army, the English and Muhammad Ali became emboldened and resolved "to drive away from Srirangam to Pondicherry or to destroy altogether Chanda Sahib with his Muhammadan troops, M. Law and Shaikh Hasan with the French troops, before they can be joined by Namatullah's troops, Muzaffar Khan's troops and the troops that will arrive by the Europe ships, as after that it would be impossible to dislodge the French."[5] The English, we are told by the Diarist, were resolved to fight to the end, and even spend the Company's money on continuing the war and fight harder than ever, even if Muhammad Ali could not find any more money.[6]

Ranga Pillai's note on the situation of Salabat Jang is interesting. Writing on May 12th, he says that the Nizam's treasury was empty; and his elder brother and rival, Ghazi-ud-din Khan had been writing to many that Salabat Jang should not be recognised and the various killedars would not pay their *peshkash*, while the French troops were giving trouble on account of their arrears; and the jaghirdar of Pālaki (son of Raja Chandrasen) was giving trouble. Nor was the situation at Delhi any better, where the Mughal throne was about to be swallowed up by Ahmad Shah

of Gadval; but in 1752, Ranmas Khan (*alias* Munawwar Khan) Bahadur brother of Himmat Khan, returned from Arcot, whither he had gone, to seize the estate. He got a sum of money from the Nawab of Cuddapah, was joined by Khandoji Pandit with a body of 2,000 horse, and after six months of fighting and negotiation, got possession of the fort of Kurnool and made an amicable arrangement with the Nizam. Ananda Ranga Pillai wrote in his *Diary* (July 14, 1752) thus:—"I hear that Salabat Jang has ordered Coja Namat-ul-lah Khan and Muzaffar Khan at Kandanur to deliver up that fort and country to Munawwar Khan, Himmat Bahadur Khan's younger brother and join him at Hyderabad. As Muzaffar Khan has also written this to me, I think it must be true."—pp. 141-2 of the *Diary*, vol. viii.

5. Diarist's entry for May 12th, 1752. p. 95 of the *Diary*, Vol. VIII.

6. See the Madras Consultation of 13th April, 1752, resolving to press Muhammad Ali for money who said that the Mysore ruler would repay the advances made and ordered his officials to pay a part of the produce.

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Abdali's invasion. 'Till now', the Diarist remarks, "the Moghuls have exercised authority, but henceforth the Pathans will take their place, or the Rajas of Hindustan, the Rana of Udaipur *etc.*, may become the masters."[7]

II. The Death of Chanda Sahib and of Raja Raghunath Das

Very little is found in the *Diary* of the operations round Trichinopoly, of Clive's victory at Kaveripak, Lawrence's arrival from England and his assumption of command, Chanda Sahib's retreat into Srirangam, the English blockade of the island, D'Auteuil's retreat to Uttatur and Clive's march on it—all of which took place before the end of April. He mentions that the English, Muhammad Ali Khan's troops and the Mysoreans intended to attack D'Auteuil at Uttatur, whereupon the latter had retired to Valikandapuram. Also Law, Chanda Sahib and the blockaded troops at Srirangam were suffering much from want of food and money; the sepoys and troopers had not received any pay at all for the last three months; and many had deserted to the enemy, who had occupied Koiladi, at the eastern end of the island, while others had resolved to obtain *cowles* and return with them to Pondicherry.

In this distressing condition (about the middle of May), Dupleix received an entreating letter from Salabat Jang who begged him to order Bussy and Shaikh Ibrahim to guard his person night and day, saying, "you protected me while he (Raghunath Das) lived, and must protect me now that he is dead."[7a] Dupleix accordingly wrote letters urging Salabat Jang to do exactly as Bussy

7. Ghaziu'd-din Khan I (eldest son of Asaf Jah) was appointed to be the rightful Nizam by the Emperor in January 1751. Mahmud Khan Bangash invaded Oudh and invested Allahabad, but was routed by the Marathas and by Safdar Jang in April. Early (i.e. in March) in the next year, Ahmad Shah Abdali entered Lahore and annexed the subahs of Lahore and Multan. In April, Qalandar Khan, Abdali's envoy, reached Delhi; and in May, Ghaziu'd-din Khan left Delhi for the Deccan; he died at Aurangabad in the middle of October, being poisoned by his stepmother. In April 1752, Raja Raghunath Das, the Diwan of Salabat Jang, was murdered in a mutiny of his soldiery at Balki. Sayyad Lashkar Khan who succeeded him as Diwan, was ill-disposed towards Salabat Jang and secretly favoured Ghaziu'd-din. (*see* Burgess, The Chronology of Modern India (1494-1894)—p. 193 and J. N. Sarkar's article on The Chronology of Delhi History (in the J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XVIII, Part I. pp. 89-90).

7-a. Vide *supra*, note 21.

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should advise[8], and also to Abdul Baqar Khan[9], who "is to be Diwan in the place of Raghunath Das", advising him that according to Bussy's instructions, he (i.e., Dupleix himself) was "induced to appoint him diwan". He was advised to bear two things in mind: "one is to labour with a single heart in Salabat Jang's affairs; and the other is to be our (French) man and manage our (French) affairs with all fidelity." The death of Raja Raghunath Das was a severe strain on Bussy's influence and dominance at the Nizam's court; and Dupleix had to write to Shaikh Ibrahim to do whatever Bussy should ask him to do and not disobey him even in the merest trifle.

The Diarist's entry for June 6, 1752 contains a bit of interesting news about Delhi affairs. The Afghans had captured the fort of Lahore and murdered Mir Mannu and returned to their hills owing to the approach of the rains; and the Hindustan Rajas near Delhi had assembled together with a lakh of horse and threatened the Emperor Ahmad Shah with an ultimatum that he should abdicate and the throne would be given to a boy of Alamgir's family.[10]

8. Saunders, the English Governor, wrote in a separate despatch, to the Company, dated July 5th, 1752, that he had tried various methods, in vain, to get letters conveyed to Salabat Jang, and had only received letters from him *via* Pondicherry. (Dodwell's *The Madras Despatches* (1744-55)—p. 171.

9. Professor Dodwell supposes that this person should be identified with Sayyad Lashkar Khan who was in fact appointed at once. Abdul Baqar Khan was, according to the Diarist, nominated Diwan of Salabat Jang by Dupleix. Sayyad Lashkar Khan was an officer of experience even in 1741, when he artfully secured the submission of Nasir Jang who had risen in rebellion against his father, in the field of battle. He became the governor of Aurangabad later on. (See H. G. Briggs' *The Nizam*, Vol. I, p. 51 *et seq.*) Sayyad Lashkar Khan was succeeded as Diwan by Shah Nawaz Khan, author of the *Ma'asiru'l-Umara*.

10. Ahmad Shah was the son of the Emperor Muhammad Shah, whom he succeeded on the 15th April, 1748, 27th Rabí II, A.H. 1161. After a reign of 6 years, 3 months and 8 days, he was deposed and imprisoned and afterwards blinded, together with his mother Udham Bai, by his prime minister, Imad-ul Mulk, Ghazi-ud-din Khan II, son of Ghazi-ud-din Khan I, on Sunday, 2nd June, N.S. 1754. After this he lived more than 21 years and died on the 1st of January, A.D. 1775. After his imprisonment, Alamgir II, son of Jahandar Shah, was raised to the throne. A *History of Ahmad Shah*, has been abstracted by Professor Dawson in the 8th volume of Elliot and Dowson's *History of India* (pp. 104 *et seq*) which shows the condition of affairs. Muín-ul Mulk, Rustam Hind, called commonly Mir Mannu, was

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Bad news from Srirangam reached the Diarist's ears on the 8th June in the shape of Chanda Sahib having written to the Governor that M. Law had gone over to Muhammad Ali Khan and the English and ruined everything. D'Auteuil who had advanced to Valikandapuram was attacked by Birki Venkat Rao with the Maratha troops, the Mysore faujdar and some English who were encamped at Samayavaram and forced to retreat to Ranjangudi, being unable to reach Srirangam; but Mutabir Khan, the faujdar of that place, would not admit them and, on the other hand, helped the enemy to get in their rear and attack them. D'Auteuil surrendered without striking a blow.[12] On June 15th, Ranga Pillai heard that Chanda Sahib had tried to escape, as a faqir, from custody, but had been seized; and when the news reached Fort St. David, a salute was fired and sugar was distributed to the people. The next day he learnt that Chanda Sahib, Shaikh Hasan, Law and others were surrounded in the Srirangam temple, and could get no provisions; and, in despair, Chanda Sahib offered to pay a certain sum of money to Manoji Appa of Tanjore and Murari Rao, on condition that he was to be escorted beyond Tanjore and sent to Karikal. He was to be disguised as a faqir; and so he set out, escorted by Murari Rao. But Muhammad Ali's people found him out and declared that they would take him to the fort of Trichi-

the son of Itimadu'd-daula, Kamaru'd-din Khan. He was appointed governor of Lahore by the Emperor Ahmad Shah after the battle of Sirhind, in which his father was killed. He died early in 1756, not now, as the Diarist wrote both on May 12th and on June 6th, 1752. Mir Mannu governed the Punjab with vigour, chastised the turbulent Sikhs, withheld from Ahmad Shah Abdâli the revenue of the four districts which he had stipulated to pay him after his second invasion of 1748, boldly resisted the third Abdali invasion of 1751-52, and fought with the invaders in the country between the Chenab and the Ravi. He only submitted to the Abdali after making a protracted defence of Lahore and got from the victor, the title of Farzand Khan Bahadur Rustam-i-Hind. He took part in the civil war at Delhi that followed the assassination of the eunuch, Jawid and died only in 1756. Ahmad Shah's reign was torn with internal strife and external invasion. (*see* Syed Mahomed Latif's The *History of the Punjab*. pp. 221-5)

12. The Madras Council Consultation of Monday, 3rd June (O.S.), abstracts two letters from Captain Clive, the first advising his having taken Volcondah (Valikandapuram) and in it D'Auteuil, 3 other French officers and 50 Europeans, besides 300 sepoys, 300 horse, 4 pieces of cannon, 2 mortars, and a large quantity of powder, ammunition and warlike stores; "the other (2nd letter) giving us the agreeable news that Chunda Saib, the night before, was taken prisoner." (Records of Fort St. George, *Diary and Consultation Book, 1752, Military Department*—p. 18).

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nopoly; but the people of Murari Rao and the Tanjore folk protested that they had given a cowle or safe conduct to Chanda Sahib and carried him off in haste. Later, he was detained at the Dalavai Mantapam and not taken to Tanjore, but sent on to Manoji Appa's tent. Two days later, i.e., on June 18th, the Diarist received information that, when Chanda Sahib was saying his prayers in Manoji Appa's camp, his head was cut off; and the head and the body were carried on a camel to Muhammad Ali at Trichinopoly. Dupleix found fault with Law for giving up Chanda Sahib to Manoji Appa without insisting on getting a Maratha noble as hostage and being merely satisfied with asking the Tanjore general to take an oath, which he did by proxy and broke so soon afterwards.[13]

13. Wilks wrote that Law was "justified by the fairest considerations of the natural interests committed to his charge, in recommending Chanda Sahib to incur any risk, rather than surrender to the English; and he unhappily trusted to the desperate faith of a Mahratta." According to Orme, Chanda Sahib knew that the Tanjore general Manackjee was at open variance with his prime minister and might be inclined to safeguard him, following only his personal interests, and he followed the overture with so much interest and seeming compliance, that both Law and Chanda Sahib thought that they had gained him over to their interest. When Law demanded a hostage, the Tanjorean answered that a hostage would be no real check on intended treachery, and that, by giving one, the secret would be divulged and the escape rendered impracticable, and he promised under an oath taken on his sabre and poniard, that he would send away Chanda Sahib with an escort of horse to Karikal. As soon as the victim entered his quarters, Manajee had him imprisoned in a tent and put in irons. The next morning (1st June O.S.) there was a conference in Major Lawrence's tent between the Major, Muhammad Ali, Manajee and the Mysore general, when the proposal that the English should have the custody of the prisoner, was violently opposed by the other three parties. To Manajee the Mysorean promised money, the Nawab threatened resentment and Murari Rao held out the fear of an attack; and he saw no method of saving the situation except by putting an end to the life of his prisoner. On the morning when Law surrendered at Srirangam, he had a conference with Lawrence that convinced him that the English were resolved not to interfere any farther in the dispute. The executioner was a Pathan, one of the Tanjore general's retinue. (Vol. I. pp. 236-42. 4th ed.).

Burhanu'd-din's *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi*, written in the interests of Muhammad Ali, naturally gloats over the fate of Chanda Sahib, as being the visible manifestation of divine vengeance that he was treacherously murdered in the same choultry, the Dalwai Mantapam, in which, 16 years before, he had profaned the holy Quran by a false and treacherous oath of protection that he gave to the distressed Rani Minakshi. Wilks says that his death was looked upon in this light by all Mussalman writers; but he had a manuscript which stated that Chanda Sahib was murdered "at

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It was widely believed at Pondicherry that Law misconducted himself at Srirangam; and the Diarist wrote that "it was by their own evil deeds that the army was swallowed up and they themselves (Law, Shaikh Hasan *etc.*,) fell into the enemy's hands". M. de la Tour who was senior to M. de Auteuil, refused to continue in service, as the latter who had married a sister of Madame Dupleix, was appointed Major Commandant of Pondicherry. There were rumours, of course untrue, of Nawab Muhammad Ali having been killed by Murari Rao, which were not given credence to either by Dupleix or by the Diarist.

III. Stalemate in the Situation—Dupleix's Intrigues

In July news came that the Raja of Mysore and Muhammad Ali had fallen out; and that the Mysore Dalavai and Murari Rao

the instigation of Muhammad Ali." He however believes that the Maratha general, Manajee, would not have thus disposed of his prisoner and incurred the disgrace of open perfidy, had it not been for his fear of getting involved in further disputes. He thinks that, in the mock conference held before Major Lawrence, the native chiefs were secretly agreed and that the Major was to be deterred from interfering by showing that he would thereby incur the resentment of all the confederates. (Vol. I—p. 177).

Malleson is of the opinion that "it is clear from Orme's version that Lawrence had it in his power to have saved Chanda Sahib, and did connive at the death of the unfortunate man." (*History of the French in India* —p. 328. note).

H. H. Wilson only justifies the conduct of Lawrence by maintaining that the English were at that time not so well assured of their power as to pretend to dictate to the native princes. (Note on page 87 of Mill's *History of British India* (Vol. III)—1858).

Venkasami Rao says that Mankoji, the famous general of Raja Pratap Singh, who undertook a successful expedition against the Maravas, shortly afterwards made himself "infamous by faithlessly and inhumanly disposing of Chanda Saheb at Trichinopoly." Pratap Singh's chief minister, Sakhoji, was a great enemy of Mankoji. (*The Tanjore Manual;* pp. 733 and 789).

The Madras Council Consultation of Monday, the 15th June, 1752, merely records a letter from Major Lawrence "advising that the Allies not agreeing who should have Chanda, to prevent disputes, his head was cut off and carried into Trichinopoly; that Shaik Hussan is a prisoner in Syringham to whom he had promised protection."

Dodwell points out (in note 3, p. 66 of his *Dupleix and Clive*) that, according to Saunders' letter to Dupleix of Aug. 22, 1752, Lawrence seems to deny that any conference was held; he adds that he does not attach much value to this, as he expressly says the opposite in his narrative (*Cambridge*, p. 28).

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who were not admitted into the fort of Trichinopoly, declared that they would certainly kill the Nawab and capture the place.[14] Later news was received that Muhammad Ali offered to cede to the Mysoreans the fort and country of Trichinopoly as soon as he should be firmly established at Arcot; to which they replied that the agreement was to deliver up the fort and country as soon as Chanda Sahib should have been defeated, on which event they were to have escorted him to Arcot, along with Murari Rao, and departed after installing him. The Diarist also notes that while the Dalavai wanted to seize Trichinopoly and rule at the place himself, the nominal Raja of Mysore wished to check him, "lest he should seize him as his predecessors had seized the former Raja and took possession of the country."[15] and that the Raja was trying to strengthen himself and then attack the Nanja Raja.

14. Major Lawrence and Clive both reported about the dispute that had arisen between Muhammad Ali and the Mysoreans as the former would not give up Trichinopoly and its dependencies to the latter as the price of their help. The Mysoreans and Marathas refused to march out from camp, and the Nawab could not join Lawrence in the proposed expedition to reduce Gingi, Chettupat, Chingleput and Vellore. The Madras Council resolved on the 29th June, O.S., that the English should not commit themselves to any precipitate action in the dispute which was "an affair of the utmost consequence," but should request the Dalawayi to send his *vakil* to Madras for negotiating for a settlement. Captain Dalton reported subsequently that Srirangam was, by agreement, delivered to the Mysoreans who were outwardly reconciled to the Nawab and that Murari Rao was not definitely on the English side, as he had a *vakil* at Pondicherry and frequently received letters from thence, and one of his captains had privately offered to desert to the English side, the moment his master joined the French. Dalton wrote later that Murari Rao was only designing to protract the war and to draw large sums from the Nawab as well as the Mysoreans who suspected that the Nawab and the Mahratha were both endeavouring to ruin them; and Murari Rao even threatened to join the Mysore general to sign a letter to Dupleix, promising to abide by any agreement that he should make with him (Consultation Minutes of 13th July). Dalton later on discovered a plot of the Mysoreans to get possession of Trichinopoly fort by arming the French prisoners and even murdering him. (Consultation Minutes of June 20th O.S.).

15. Dodda Krishnaraja Wodeyar I (1713-31) of Mysore was a weak ruler; and his ministers secured their own authority by affected humility. Chamaraja Wodeyar VII (1731-34) was at first successful in displacing Devaraja and Nanjaraja, his cousin, who occupied the offices of Dalawayi and Sarvadhikari. But he was imprisoned along with his queen, by these and sent to Kabbāldurga, where he did not long survive. Chikka Krishnaraja Wodeyar II (1734-66) was the reigning prince at this time; he was only 5 years old at his accession and married in 1747 the daughter of Nanja Raja Karachuri, the new Sarvadhikari and the younger brother of

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The Diarist next records the news received from letters brought by the *Centaur* on July 13th, 1752 that no more war was to be made on the Muhammadans and peace should be made and commerce continued without interruption; no man was to be sent beyond the bound-hedge, and the mansab jaghir villages possessed by the Company's servants were to be handed over to the Company itself. The Diarist was doubtful of the authenticity of this information and wrote he must ascertain its truth. Professor Dodwell notes how Dupleix's letters regarding his own and other jaghirs had excited considerable criticism in France and how decrees of the Council of State dated June 6, 1750, and December 30, 1751, forbade the receipt of presents or gifts from foreign princes.

On the 16th July, it was reported to the Diarist that Muhammad Ali had left Khairu'd-din-Khan, his brother-in-law and the English troops in the fort of Trichinopoly and that he had departed secretly, without the knowledge of the Mysoreans, with his brother, Abdul Wahab Khan, for Valikandapuram on his way to join Lawrence and to Fort St. David. Of course Dupleix kept up his buoyant hopes still; he spoke, more boastfully than was usual, that, if he had known of Lawrence's sailing to Madras, he would have ordered ships to seize his sloop; that he had frightened Governor Saunders at Madras by his letters and that the English knew not how to answer him and stood abashed.[15a] He was, neverthe-

Deva Raja, the nominal Dalawayi. In 1756, the Raja, now 27 years of age, attempted by a coup to imprison Devaraja and Nanjaraja and take the power into his own hands; but the attempt failed; and Nanja Raja stormed the palace and cut off the noses and ears of the Raja's partisans before his very face. Later, Haidar compelled Nanjaraja to make atonement for his outrage to the ruler (*Mysore Gazetteer* (revised ed.)—Vol. II; Part IV pp. 2472-5). Mir Hussein Ali Khan Kirmani (in his *History Hydur Naik* (tr. by W. Miles) ch. V—VI) says that the Raja of Mysore was offended at the protracted operations of Nanja Raj before Trichinopoly and did not send any pay for the troops for 9 months; and he later reproached him in angry terms (pp. 39 and 61).

15a. Dupleix was fully alive to the critical situation that arose out of the surrender of Law and the death of Chanda Sahib. Even before these calamities occurred, he had written to Saunders stating that he had been authorised by Salabat Jang to settle the affairs of the Carnatic by giving Trichinopoly to Muhammad Ali. Saunders waited for a day and wrote, after Chanda Sahib was dead that "Indeed, as Chanda Sahib is dead, I can see no reason why it may not be easily accomplished." But now Dupleix demanded the release of all political prisoners, "as a preliminary to discussing terms," and Saunders declined; and hence the negotiations broke down. Dupleix

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less, anxious to know what happened in Madras after Lawrence's arrival, though the Diarist warned him that it was now a very difficult matter to obtain confidential news from the place, as it was strictly guarded. Dupleix planned to prevent Muhammad Ali's men from collecting the revenue in the country and from being enabled to pay his troops.

M. Kerjean, Dupleix's nephew who had accompanied Bussy along with Vincent, son of Madame Dupleix, to the Deccan returned to Pondicherry by way of Masulipatam and Pulicat, in time to take part against Major Kinneer whom Saunders sent, against Lawrence's urgent protests, to besiege and attack Gingee, in conformity with the desire of Muhammad Ali. The latter's situation was not very enviable; the sepoys were troubling him for their pay; the English would not advance him sufficient sums; and the Mysore agent, Birki Venkat Rao,[16] visited him in camp and importuned him for the cession of Trichinopoly to his master. Both Muhammad Ali and his brother, Abdul Wahab Khan, who were encamped at Tiruvati were afraid of a surprise night attack on their camp, from the Portuguese Volonté, whose real name was Monis and had a *non-de-guerre, Kōnapparangi* (the hump-backed European), and who was encamped nearby.

The entry of the Diarist for July 30, has a reference to the acquittal of La Bourdonnais who was actually released from the Bastille to which he was committed, early in 1751 and to his *Memoire* written during his incarceration.[17]

IV. Minor Military Operations (August-October 1752)—Advance of Ghaziu'd-din

Rumours reached Pondicherry early in August, of a difference between Muhammad Ali and the English about his refusal

was stiffened by the knowledge that he was to receive reinforcements from Europe. (Dodwell p. 69 and Madras Consultation of Aug., 17, 1752.) (The Centaur landed troops and chests of silver; and 300 soldiers were expected—Diarist's entry for July 13th and 14th pp. 138 and 141 of the Diary Vol. VIII.)

16. Birki Venkkat Rao was a captain in the Mysore army and commanded the Mysore contingent, which included Haidar Ali and his brother, and joined Nasir Jang's army at Madagiri in 1750.

17. Dodwell says that La Bourdonnais' *Memoire* which was instrumental in defeating Dupleix's attacks upon him was composed by the same advocate, M. de Gennes, who was later on to draw similar documents for Dupleix.

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to give Trichinopoly to the Mysoreans and his demands for money which the English were reluctant to advance further.[18] A few days later, news came that the troops of Muhammad Ali and the English had advanced against Gingee for the relief of which Kerjean was sent with a body of 300 Europeans and some topasses and sepoys. Major Kinneer, the English commander, found a main attack on the fort out of the question, without a much larger force and a long seige, though he had taken on his way the small fort of Villupuram. On their return from Gingee, the English troops encountered the advancing French and had to retreat after a brisk fire, back to Villupuram and Tiruvati. Dupleix told the Diarist that he had instructed the garrisons in the Tiruvati and Villupuram forts to surrender without fighting and when the English came on to Gingee, expecting that its garrison would do likewise, the latter should open a terrific fire on them; then the English fled to Muhammad Ali's camp; and the Nawab, when he learnt of the advance of the army from Pondicherry and of La Volonte's encamping in his rear, fled with his own and the English armies to Tiruvannāmalai by way of Tumbūr.[19] After this victory of Vikravandi, for which Dupleix ordered a salute of 21 guns and his wife hoped that God would bless the French with Muhammad Ali's head, his spirit was greatly elated with the news of a misunderstanding that took place between Muhammad Ali and his younger brother who reproached him for the march to Gingee, among other things, and departed to Tiruvannamalai. Muhammad Ali was greatly troubled for want of money with which to pay his sepoys; and the Diarist heard that he was informed by Mr. Starke, the new Governor of Fort St. David, that strict orders had come from Europe not to interfere with the French and that he could do

18. The Madras Consultation of 10th August, 1752, contains a resolution of the Council not to give the Mysoreans and Marathas any hopes of English assistance, but a previous consultation had resolved that "we shall rather persuade him to it than object . . . . to prevent the Mysore King's being disgusted, it be hinted to him that when the Nabob is once settled in the Province, if he can be prevailed upon . . . we shall have no objection."

19. All this is a great exaggeration. Major Kinneer only reconnoitred and did not make any attempt on Gingee; and after his defeat near Vikrawandi at the hands of Kerjean, with one of his legs shot through with a musket ball, gave orders for a treat which was performed in very good order to Villupuram and thence to Tiruvati; and according to the Madras Council's Consultation minutes, "the loss upon the whole is very inconsiderable and less than the enemy's, though they were superior in number," (Minutes of August 3, 1752 p. 29 of *The Military Consultations*, 1752.)

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nothing for the Nawab who should write to Saunders at Madras. On August 19th, it was known that two nobles of Muhammad Ali were coming to Pondicherry to negotiate with Dupleix (which was done with English approval) and under his *cowle* of protection. After an amount of delay, in the course of which the two agents, Husain Muhammad Khan and Muhammad Masih Khan, were shown the strength of the sea-face batteries of Pondicherry and a few English troopers who had been seized on the sea, Dupleix refused to talk of peace until the French sepoy—captain, Hasonu'd-din and other prisoners with Muhammad Ali should be released.[20] Towards the end of August, the *gumastahs* of Kasidas Bukkanji and other bankers received information that Ghaziu'd-din Khan had crossed the Narmada and reached Burhanpur with 60,000 horse, and accompanied by Mulhar Rao Holkar and other Maratha sardars. Sayyad Lashkar Khan and other Mughal nobles advised Salabat Jang not to quarrel with his elder brother; but on his not agreeing to this course, the Sayyad and a few mansabdars and jaghirdars had resolved to join Ghaziu'd-din Khan and proceeded to Aurangabad; while Nizam Ali Khan, a younger son of Nizamu'l Mulk might either join Ghaziu'd-din or await his arrival at Hyderabad.[21] Ghaziu'd-din occupied Aurangabad, with

20. "The President acquaints the Board that the Nawab, by his vakil, had made overtures of peace to Dupleix who refused to hearken to any terms until the French prisoners are delivered up." Council Consultation of Madras, 17th Aug., 1752.

21. Ghaziu'd-din Khan had opened negotiations with Peishwa through the agency of Mulhar Rao Holkar and succeeded in inducing that Maratha chief to support his pretensions. From June 1751 to the autumn of that year, Salabat Jang was not threatened. During this interval Ghaziu'd-din and Balaji Rao had time to cement their plans. Bussy stood behind Salabat Jang with his French soldiers and trained artillery and infantry. Balaji had stipulated from Ghaziu'd-din the cession of the districts of Aurangabad and Burhanpur; and his first campaign against Salabat Jang had been interrupted. He received indeed from Salabat Jang a cash payment of two lakhs; but now his position had been strengthened and he resented an attack on a Maratha convoy ordered by Raja Raghunath Das. He ordered, in the autumn of 1751, the Holkar and Scindia to join Ghaziu'd-din and effect a junction with himself near Aurangabad, now occupied by Salabat Jang. Bussy advised the Nizam to leave Aurangabad to its fate and march on Poona itself. He also intrigued with old Tara Bai who was the inveterate enemy of the Peishwa and, after defeating the Peishwa near Poona, marched on Poona itself. At Kukadi, he took the Marathas by surprise (22nd November) when they were engaged in religious devotions consequent on an eclipse of the moon; and he followed this up by sacking Ranjangaon and Talegaon and meeting a vigorous Maratha attack led by

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150,000 men and supported by Mulhar Rao Holkar and the main Maratha army and also by the bulk of the Mughal nobility of Aurangabad and Burhanpur.

Meanwhile, a Mughal arrived at Pondicherry who alleged he had brought with him the Padshah's *parwana* for Dupleix which had been requested to be granted by Raja Raghunath Das and had been issued by Mansur Ali Khan[22] when the Peishwa had been overthrown and had been delayed as Raghunath Das died before he could send it on. He claimed to be a sardar of 1,000 horse, by name Yusuf Bashi Khan and to have brought also dresses of honour for Dupleix, his wife and her daughter, as well as a *parwana* of confirmation for the subah of Arcot, which was to be given to the French Governor to be sent on to Muhammad Ali, on condition that he would obey the former. He was persuaded to write a letter to Muhammad Ali Khan, asking him not to increase the trouble and go on warring against the French and promising him

the Peishwa and by Dattaji and Madhava Rao Sindia. Now the Peishwa changed his tactics, and directed his cousin Sadasiva Rao to open negotiations with Raja Raghunath Das, the Nizam's Diwan. He fomented discontent among the Mughal soldiery, asked Raghuji Bhonsle to harry the Nizam's eastern frontier between the Godavari and the Penganga and contrived to get possession of the fort of Trimbak. Salabat Jang had to retreat to Ahmadnagar and on the advice of Bussy, signed an armistice with the Peishwa (January, 1752).

It was on the return march from the armistice that Raja Raghunath Das was assassinated by a body of Mughal soldiers. Sayyad Lashkar Khan, the governor of Aurangabad, was now made the Diwan. (See Kincaid and Parasnis, *History of the Maratha People;* Vol. III. Ch. XLIX and Grant Duff's *History,* Ch. XVIII).—For the route of Bussy and Salabat on their march to Poona, *see* note on p. 359 of Malleson's *History of the French in India.*

According to the *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* of Muhammad Ali Khan (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VIII—pp. 316-118), Ghaziu'd-din left his son. Shahabu'd-din Muhammad Khan, as his deputy in the office of Mir Bhakshi (at the Imperial court) and proceeded towards the Deccan, taking with him Malhar Rao and reaching Aurangabad in the month of Zi'l Ka'da (July-August, 1752) —For the English attitude towards him see *Madras Military Consultations* (1752)—p. 41.

22. Safdar Jang, Nawab of Oudh and surnamed Mansur Ali Khan, was the nephew and successor of Sadat Khan, the founder of the dynasty. He was appointed Wazir in 1748 on the accession of the Emperor Ahmad Shah and conducted the entire administration for several years. He was dismissed from the Wizarat in 1752 A.D. (A.H. 1166).

Dodwell says that a large sum of money had been sent to Delhi to procure the parwana, and Bussy recommended Dupleix about this time to come to terms with Muhammad Ali.

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an *ināyat-nāma* from Sayyad Lashkar Khan that he had brought with him. To this letter which was despatched on the last day of August, a reply was received the very next day from Muhammad Ali, declaring that the Mughal envoy should have gone to him direct if he had really a *parwana* confirming the grant of the Carnatic *subah* to him. He also wrote a letter to Dupleix saying that if he should be treated with justice, he would act according to the French Governor's desires and grant him all the jaghirs which Muzaffar Jang and Salabat Jang had given him, adding, "whatsoever may be further demanded". This letter did not apparently please Dupleix, who, according to the Diarist, refused to send a reply and forbade Muhammad Tavakkal from going to him, as he desired, for beginning negotiations.

V. English Capture of Covelong and Chingleput and After

After the battle of Bahur where Lawrence who had returned from Madras lured the French troops under Kerjean to fight him (September 6), Muhammad Ali, though elated by the victory, wrote another letter, in smooth words, to Dupleix, requesting his friendship and promising him additional jaghirs to the French people. To this Dupleix replied, urging Muhammad Ali to release the prisoners taken in the fight (Lawrence having allowed only Kerjean who was badly wounded, to return to Pondicherry) and promising that the released officers would not take up arms again. Muhammad Ali would not release the prisoners, nor even return the *palanquins* and *dhoolies* sent to fetch them, but continued to protest through messengers, his readiness to be friends with Dupleix. (Diarist's entries for September 7 and 9).

On the 12th of the month, Dupleix received, in a specially prepared *shamiana* amidst great pomp, the Padshah's *parwana* and presents; and in the entry for the next day, the Diarist gives a translation of the *parwana*, which addressed Dupleix as the Captain and Governor-General Bahadur Zafar Jang and exhorted him to continue "to regard Salabat Jang as a friend dear as your own life and afford him all the help of which you are capable."[23]

23. A Madras Council Consultation (Tuesday, 19th Septr. 1752) mentions a letter from Dupleix, enclosing a copy of the alleged Padshah's *farman*, approving of whatever he had done in favour of Salabat Jang and directing him to continue his assistance. Dupleix further offered to allow the English to compare the copy with the original. The Council resolved that they were of the opinion that the *farman* was spurious, "because the advices they lately received from Bombay and other parts are so contrary," and also because "it is extremely different from the form and stile in which papers of this kind are usually worded."

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All the while the French could do nothing from the military point of view, though Dupleix sent out Europeans and sepoys as well as cannon and munitions of war to those who escaped to Ariyankuppam from the enemy, to show that "our army is ready for them". Dupleix was eagerly looking out for reinforcements which he was expecting from Mascareigne in order that he might begin operations again. One small ray of hope shone for a moment for Dupleix when the French garrison at Covelong opened fire upon troops of Clive and forced them to flee beyond the back-water where they were in fear of an attack from the French garrison at Chingleput (Diarist's entry for September 18.)[24] After hard fighting from the 16th to the 19th, the garrison at Covelong had to deliver up the fort to the English; and St. Germain who advanced from Chingleput, not knowing that the fort had surrendered to the English, came close to it and being surrounded and fired upon, lost many men and was forced to flee. Ranga Pillai quotes, at length, a letter that he received from one Krishna Pillai of Covelong regarding its surrender, the first flight of the English troops and the final surrender of M. le Blanc and his bullying and extortion (entry for September 20). Clive's advance on Chingleput and his raising a battery and sending for mortars from Covelong to fire shells into the fort which, according to the Diarist, had sufficient provisions, powder and shot for a year, the subsequent surrender of M. Villeon, the commandant of the place—these are detailed by the Diarist.[25] Both according to the Diarist and the English, the Chingleput fort could have successfully stood a siege. According to the former, Dupleix's letters ordered the garrison to surrender the fort to the English; and it was supposed by him that as there were no Europeans, but only Carnatic sepoys in the fort, it was thought they could not continue to resist for long.

24. This refers to the repulse of the first attack of the English troops on Covelong (Sadat Bunder) when they fled precipitately from a garden near the fort. They had to be brought back by Clive who was advancing with the rest of his force and who "obliged them, not without difficulty, and even with violence, to rally and return with him to the garden." (Orme. Vol. I. p. 262).

25. See Clive's paper, sent among his many memoranda, to his friend, the historian Orme, and preserved in the India Office, among the *Orme MSS. India*, Vol. II. pp. 309-10. This is printed *in extenso* in Sir George Forrest's *Life of Lord Clive*—Vol. I. pp. 214-15—entitled "Siege of Cobelong and Chinglapet." See also Fort St. George letter to the Directors dated 3rd November, 1752, para 3, (in Forrest's *Bengal and Madras Papers*, Vol. II. (1688-1757).

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The military situation round Pondicherry had come to be so bad in the beginning of October, that Maratha horsemen advanced as far as the bound-hedge of the town, "driving off the cattle, plundering the country and wounding many"; and the people in the out-villages had to take shelter in the town. Since it was rumoured that Muhammad Ali was planning to march to Arcot, after making another attempt on Gingee and demanding from Taqi Sahib of Wandewash, arrears of tribute due, Dupleix revived his negotiations with the Mysore General and Murari Rao. The Diarist's entry for October 7th, says that Mirza Abdul Nabi Beg was sent to treat with Murari Rao and Nanja Raja who were camping together. The conditions were that they should march together with their army and attack and slay Muhammad Ali; Murari Rao was to receive two lakhs of rupees and another similar sum when Muhammad Ali should have been disposed of. The Mysoreans were to receive Trichinopoly, in return for which they were to pay 30 lakhs of rupees. The French intrigues with these two had been going on for some time and were known to the English side.[26] The immediate consequence was that Murari Rao replied that he had given orders to the commander of the Maratha troops with Muhammad Ali Khan not to allow his horsemen to plunder the villages of Pondicherry, but to help the French people. Muhammad Ali broke up his camp near Wandiwash and marched back to Tiruwati, because, the Diarist wrote, the Mysoreans, Murari Rao and the Maravar were surrounding Trichinopoly in the hope of taking it. The Diarist gave the consoling encouragement to Dupleix that Muhammad Ali's play was drawing to an end; and his petty successes in the last two months, his getting money from Taqi Sahib, his luck in getting possession of Covelong and Chingleput—"all these are but the last flicker of the candle"; and that "he must suffer for his treachery even as Chanda Sahib did." (entry for October 10, 1752). The English were angry with him at not getting the Wandiwash money for himself, the Marathas threatened to abandon him; and his army was breaking up. As the Maravar were troubling the Dindigul country, Nanja Raja and the followers of Murari Rao camped at Karur and wrote recalling Innis Khan, the

26. The letter of Captain Dalton from Trichinopoly recorded in the Council Consultation of 17th August, shows that he had a suspicion that the ruler of Mysore was carrying on a secret negotiation with Dupleix. A later letter of Dalton's quoted in the Council Consultation minutes of 24th Aug., 1752, informs that the behaviour of the Mysore general and Murari Rao was so inconsistent and various, that it was evidently calculated to conceal their real intentions.

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paymaster, who was with Muhammad Ali. The Diarist recorded on the 20th of October that Dupleix and his wife had a definite understanding that, as Murari Rao's army was coming without him, 1¼ lakhs of rupees should be paid a month, that on the arrival of the army one lakh should be given, with another lakh and presents on Murari Rao's arrival and 2 lakhs more when he should depart. The agreement was written out; and Dupleix and his wife swore to keep it and, in token thereof, dipped their fingers in red and touched the paper. The last two entries of the Diarist for October describe the forced conversion of a dying man, the Governor and Madame, putting down by sheer force all opposition of his Hindu relations.

ERRATUM

On p. 184 of J. I. H. Vol. X, Part II in lines 14 and 15, delete the words "But just at that time Deva Raja died . . . but not before he" and substitute the word "Nanja Ranja."

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Some Problems about the Pradyotas of Avanti

By

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With the beginning of the fifth century B.C. we enter into the historical zone of central India, as of other parts of India. The Purāṇas, our main source of information for the preceding ages, are now usefully supplemented by literature of other types, the Buddhist and Jaina scriptures which are notable for their accuracy and veracity. The synchronism which they establish among the four emperors of northern India, Bimbisāra, Prasenajit, Udayana and Pradyota is of the greatest help for the reconstruction of pre-Mauryan history.

Of Pradyota and the dynasty that he founded in Avanti, we get stray pieces of information from the *Kathāsaritsāgara,* the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and the Buddhist and Jaina scriptures; and the Purāṇas describe a dynasty beginning with Pradyota.[1] The Purāṇic list contains names most of which can be verified from other sources. Of late, however, some doubts have been raised whether the Purāṇic dynasty called the Pradyota and the dynasty of the historical Pradyota of Ujjayinī were identical. The aim of this paper is to examine the objections that have been raised against the identification, as also other incidental problems. But before we do so, it is necessary briefly to examine the position where we stand as regards our knowledge of the dynasty.

Pradyota, who came to the throne about the beginning of the fifth century B.C., was like his contemporaries a very powerful king, famous for his fierceness and cruelty. The most important part of his foreign relations was his dealings with Udayana Vatsarāja, where his diplomacy, pitted against that of Udayana's minister Yaugandharāyaṇa, reached its climax. The story, which formed a favourite theme of poets, dramatists and old story tellers,

1. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age,* pp. 18 f.

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need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say, Udayana afterwards married Vāsavadattā, the daughter of Pradyota.

It is not easy to determine the extent of Avanti under Pradyota. The *Kathāsaritsāgara,* makes it clear that the Bhilla-Pulinda chief, whose territory lay on the 'front' of the Vindhyas, off the road running from Kauśāmbī to Ujjayinī, was Udayana's subordinate ally.[2] We are further told that when starting on his conquests after his marriage with Vāsavadattā, Udayana placated his allies by a judicious distribution of territories, and one of the recipients was Gopālaka, the elder son of Pradyota, who was given the Vidiśā region.[3] It is evident, therefore, that eastern Malwa was not within the empire of Pradyota.

Pradyota had two sons, Gopālaka and Pālaka, and a daughter, the famous Vāsavadattā.[4] Gopālaka was friendly to Udayana and preferred to remain at the court of his brother-in-law.[5] When Pradyota died, Gopālaka abdicated the throne in favour of his younger brother and was charged by Udayana with the bringing up of his son, Naravāhana,[6] obviously the Vahīnara of the Purāṇas.[7] The Kashmiri *Bṛhatkathā* further adds that Gopālaka gave away to Pālaka the kingdom of Kauśāmbi after the death of Udayana.[8] What is more probable, however, is that Gopālaka bequeathed the throne of Vidiśā only to his brother, as the Purāṇas carry on the Puru line four generations after Udayana.

According to the story of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* Pālaka, the successor of Pradyota, was deposed by Āryaka, the son of Gopālaka. Āryaka is certainly the Sanskritized form of Ajaka of the Purāṇas. He was succeeded by Avantivardhana, a son of Pālaka. Between Pālaka and Āryaka-Ajaka, the Purāṇas place one Viśākhayūpa, who is not known to any other authority. Pradhan makes him a

2. *Kathāsaritsāgara* (*Kss.*), xii 45 f; *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* (*Bkm.*), II ii 60 f.

3. *Bkm.*, III i 101 f; *Kss.*, xix 57 reads *vaideha,* an obvious mistake for *vaidiśa.*

4. *Kss.*, xi 75 f; *Bkm.*, II ii 28.

5. *Kss.*, xiv.

6. *Ibid.*, cxi 60 f.

7. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

8. *Kss.*, cxi 92; *Bkm.*, xviii 7.

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son of Pālaka and Jayaswal of Āryaka,[9] neither having any definite evidence to count upon.

Avantivardhana's name is found in the Purāṇas in many corrupt forms, Nandivardhana, Vartivardhana, etc. Jayaswal believes that Nandivardhana is the correct form, and identifies him with the Magadhan prince of the same name.[10] This theory cannot stand, as the Purāṇas are definite that Nandi- (Avanti-) vardhana belonged to the line of Pradyota and is confirmed by all versions of the *Bṛhatkathā*. The Magadhan occupation of Avanti must have come after Avantivardhana and not before him.

According to the Purāṇas the dynasty consisted of five members and ruled for 138 years. The total of the individual reigns and the total figure for the dynasty agree with each other, a rather unusual thing for the Purāṇas. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the figure against each king is correct; for the lesson that one derives from the study of the so-called Śiśunāga dynasty, the account of which can be verified by a reference to other sources, is that the Purāṇas are seldom correct in their figures and must in all cases be accepted with the greatest caution.

The Purāṇas add that after a reign of 138 years the Pradyotas were destroyed by Śiśunāga of Magadha. From the *Mahāvaṁsa* we know that Śiśunāga came to the throne 72 years after the death of the Buddha, i.e., in B.C. 411 (accepting B.C. 483 as the date of the Parinirvāṇa), and reigned for 18 years, i.e., till B.C. 393.[11] The Purāṇic statement would, therefore, mean that Pradyota's reign began sometime between B.C. 549 and 531.

According to the Jaina Paṭṭāvalis,[12] Pālaka ascended the throne the very night that Mahāvīra died (in B.C. 470) and reigned for 60 years. After him no member of his dynasty is mentioned, so that we may be justified in holding that the sixty years assigned to Pālaka include the reigns of his successors as well. If this be true, then we arrive at B.C. 410 (470—60) as the date of the destruction of the Pradyotas, a year well within the reign of Śiśunāga. If Pālaka and his successors reigned for 60 years, we

9. Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India*, pp. 235 and 245; Jayaswal, *JBORS*, 1915, p. 106.
10. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
11. *Mahāvaṁsa*, ed. Geiger, p. 21.
12. Quoted in *JBBRAS*, Vol. IX, p. 149; *IA*, 1873, p. 363; *Acta Orientalia*, 1923, p. 33.

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have to believe on the basis of the Purāṇas that Pradyota ruled for 78 (138—60) years, a historical absurdity; the Purāṇic figure cannot therefore be accepted as correct. There is no question of rejecting the Jaina evidence in favour of the Purāṇas, for the former is in a remarkable way borne out by another independent authority. We have a catching statement in the *Majjhima Nikāya* that Pradyota lived for at least some time after the death of the Buddha (B.C. 483), and Ajātaśatru was repairing the walls of his capital in anticipation of an attack from Pradyota.[13] The Jaina date of the accession of Pālaka (B.C. 470) cannot therefore be far from the truth.

The cause of the confusion of the Purāṇas and its probable solution may be found in the position of Viśākhayūpa (50 years), who might have ruled somewhere else after Pālaka as a rival of Ajaka-Āryaka and Avantivardhana. In that case, the total reign of the dynasty comes to 88 (138—50) years, and Pradyota's reign amounts to 28 (88—60) years; his accession has therefore to be placed in B.C. 498. In this way he can be a contemporary of both Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru.

There is no doubt that the Pradyotas were ousted by a prince of Magadha. According to the Purāṇas, that prince was Śīśunāga; but the Paṭṭāvalis call him a Nanda.[14] It appears that Śiśunāga himself had some Nanda-title, which gave rise to the consistent Brāhmaṇical and Jaina traditions that the Nandas ruled for about a century.[15] Jayaswal believes that the Purāṇas are to be interpreted to mean that a descendant of Śiśunāga, and not Śiśunāga himself, was the victor over the Pradyotas.[16] This is utterly unconvincing and is due to his refusal to recognise the true chronological position of Śiśunāga.

According to Harit Krishna Deb, Udayana succeeded to the thrones of Avanti and Magadha after Pālaka and Darśaka.[17] The basis of his theory is this: In the Purāṇic list of the Śiśunāgas we

13. *Majjhima Nikāya*, ed. Chalmers, Vol. III, p. 7.
14. Cf. *Avantisundarīkathāsāra*, iv 18.
15. Pradhan suspects this fact and identifies him with Nandivardhana, *op. cit.*, p. 245.
16. *JBORS*, 1915, p. 108.
17. *Udayana Vatsarāja.*

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find the name of Udāyi (with variants Ajaya, etc.) as the successor of Darśaka, the son of Ajātaśatru. In the list of the Avanti kings also we find the names of Ajaka and Nandivardhana as the successors of Pālaka. It is evident, according to Deb, that the two groups are identical and that Magadha and Avanti at some date formed part of the Vatsa empire under Udayana and continued so even under Udayana's son Nandivardhana. This is confirmed by the fact that the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* includes Magadha and Avanti in the list of the conquests of Udayana.

The line of argument, however, is faulty. We have the consensus of the Purāṇas as well as the Buddhist and Jaina scriptures that Udayī of Magadha was the direct descendant of Bimbisāra, so that there is no possibility of his being the same as Udayana of Vatsa. As regards Ajaka of Avanti we have seen that the *Mṛcchakaṭika* calls 'Ajaka-Āryaka 'Gopāla-dāraka', which means 'the son of Gopāla'. Besides, Avantivardhana and not Nandivardhana was most probably the correct name of the son of Ajaka-Āryaka. There is therefore no evidence for holding that 'Udayana Vatsarāja emerges before us as the first emperor of India since the great Civil War, under whom were first united the three kingdoms of Magadha, Vatsa and Avanti'.[18] It must be admitted that there was a change in the regular succession both in Magadha and Avanti after Darśaka and Pālaka respectively. But in neither case was it brought about by Udayana. In Magadha, it was accomplished by Śiśunāga and in Avanti by Āryaka.

It has sometimes been doubted whether the Purāṇic dynasty called Pradyota and the dynasty of the historical Pradyota of Ujjayinī are to be identified.[19] The reasons for this doubt are:—

(1) The account of the Pradyota dynasty in the Purāṇas is hemmed in between two Magadhan dynasties, the Bṛhadratha and the Śiśunāga. The mention of the Pradyota dynasty in this peculiar position would be appropriate only if it ruled in Magadha. Jayaswal's contention that the account of the Pradyotas is to be read as a foot-note to the Śiśunāga dynasty[20] has no ground, as the Purāṇas give no indication to that effect.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
19. H. D. Bhide, *JBORS.*, 1921, p. 106 f.
20. *JBORS.*, 1915, p. 108.

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(2) The Purāṇas ascribe to Pradyota a reign of 23 years; but Pradyota of Avanti had a much longer reign, being the the contemporary of Bimbisāra, Ajātaśatru and Darśaka.

(3) According to the Purāṇas, Pradyota's father was Pulaka; the *Kathāsaritsāgara* gives his name as Jayasena.[21] The two Pradyotas were therefore different.

(4) The Purāṇas call Pālaka's son Viśākhayūpa; but we know from the *Mṛcchakaṭika* that Pālaka was succeeded by Āryaka.

Jyotirmay Sen further doubts whether there was at all any Pradyota dynasty at Ujjayinī contemporary of the Buddha.[22] His grounds are the following:

(5) Counting the number of Ikṣvākus and Bṛhadrathas from Adhisīmakṛṣṇa we find that though we have the Buddhist synchronism of Udayana, Pradyota, Bimbisāra and Prasenajit, the Pradyota of the Purāṇas will be several generations prior to the other three.

(6) Pradyota's contemporaneity with the Buddha is also open to doubt when it is remembered that nowhere in earlier Buddhist texts is he brought in direct relationship with the teacher, nor is he made, if we accept the solitary evidence of the late *Theragāthā Commentary,* a convert to Buddhism.

(7) It is only in two Jātakas that Pradyota is mentioned. This contrasts with the case of the real contemporaries of the Buddha who figure largely in the birth-stories.

(8) The *Kathāsaritsāgara* clearly distinguishes between Pradyota of Magadha and Caṇḍamahāsena of Avanti.

From these Sen concludes that Pradyota lived several generations before the Buddha. Popular fancy, according to him, has connected Udayana and Pradyota, because both were abnormal in their characters, the one being extremely amorous and the other ferocious to an equal degree. 'The progress of the Pradyota legend,' he concludes, 'is interesting; it shows a deliberate attempt made from age to age to mould it in the light of fresh circum-

21. *Kss.*, xi 34.
22. *Indian Historical Quarterly,* 1930, pp. 678 f.

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stances and exigencies, till we reach the absurdity in the *Svapnavāsavadattā* that Pradyota was the contemporary of Darśaka of Magadha. The Buddhist and Jaina synchronism of Pradyota with the two preachers was the result of the attempts of both the sects to show that the local heroes of each city had been in relationship with their masters. Pradyota remains throughout an enigmatic figure floating from time to time.'

Some of these arguments are utterly untenable and must be rejected; while the rest are not so cogent as to justify such an important conclusion. We may examine them one by one:

(1) In the Purāṇas as they stand, the position of the Pradyota dynasty is no doubt anomalous, and Jayaswal's assumption is certainly unjustified. I believe that the difficulty arises only with those scholars who still refuse to recognise the true chronological position of Śiśunāga. It must be grasped that the Purāṇas are utterly wrong in placing Śiśunāga before Bimbisāra and that the true history of the period is to be found in the *Mahāvaṁsa*. With the recognition of this fact matters are considerably simplified. When the Bṛhadrathas and the Vītihotras passed away, the Pradyota dynasty came to power in Avanti. Contemporaneously with it, Bimbisāra and his successors were ruling in Magadha. The Ujjayinī and the Pāṭaliputra dynasties, however, were uprooted by Śiśunāga who made himself master of both. The Purāṇas sometimes mention contemporary dynasties as succeeding ones, as in the case of the so-called Āndhras, who were not a Magadhan power, though the Purāṇas would leave that impression. Here we stand on a firmer ground, for we are distinctly told that Pradyotas ruled in Avanti. The fact that the last Pradyota was defeated by Śiśunāga seems to be one of the reasons why the ill-informed Purāṇic copyists dragged Śiśunāga before Bimbisāra to show that Śiśunāga succeeded the Pradyotas.

The general Purāṇic text of the dynastic revolution organized by Pradyota's father runs thus:

Bṛhadratheṣv atīteṣu Vītihotreṣv Avantiṣu |
Pulikaḥ svāminaṁ hatvā sva-putram abhiṣekṣyati ||

Avantiṣu is the general reading of the Matsya; the Brahmāṇḍa and some MSS of the Vāyu have *a-vartiṣu*, while others have *vartiṣu*.

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Harit Krishna Deb has translated the above passage as: 'When the Bṛhadrathas will cease to exist, as also the Vītihotras, in Avanti, Pulika will kill his master and make his own son king.'[23] Sen objects to this translation, because the Purāṇas mention the Vītihotras in the list of the early dynasties who ruled contemporaneously with the Śiśunāgas. So it is not possible for the Pradyotas to come to the throne after the Vītihotras had passed away; according to him, therefore, the correct reading of the Purāṇas ought to be *Vītihotreṣu vartiṣu,* 'when the Vītihotras were existing (ruling).' But if we examine the list of the early contemporary dynasties, we find that in spite of the definite statement of the Purāṇas that they ruled side by side with the Śiśunāgas, some of them at least had ceased to exist before the accession of Śiśunāga. We are told, for example, that there were 28 Maithilas;[24] but long before the time of the Buddha and Mahāvīra, Mithilā had ceased to be a monarchy, and even as a republic it did not live to see the beginning of Śiśunāga's power. Similar may have been the case of the Vītihotras who might have ceased to exist before the accession of Pradyota. It is not necessary, therefore, to doubt the reading *Avantiṣu* in the above verse. It may be pointed out that this reading is supported not only by a vast majority of the Matsya MSS, but also the Brahmāṇḍa MS of the Dacca University Library which Sen himself quotes in his article.

(2) The Purāṇas ascribe to Pradyota a reign of 23 years. Even if the figure is correct, there is no difficulty in his being the contemporary of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru; but his contemporaneity with Darśaka is open to the gravest doubt. The anonymous *Svapna-vāsavadattā* no doubt calls Udayana's Magadhan father-in-law Darśaka; but as D. R. Bhandarkar shows, that is well-nigh impossible.[25] The *Kathāsaritsāgara* calls him Pradyota, while the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha* is silent about his name.[26] These differences tend to the conclusion that story-tellers had forgotten his real name and invented imaginary ones according to their fancy.

23. Deb, *op. cit.*
24. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
25. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, Lecture II. [According, to drama Princes Padmavati was the sister of Darsaka. *S.K.*]
26. *Kss.*, xv 19; *Bkm.*, III i 176; Lacote, *Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā*, tr. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIV, p. 173.

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(3) Pulaka (probably corrected to Puṇaka) is the real name of the father of Pradyota, as it is attested to by Bāṇa.[27] Later traditions have created some other names, such as Jayasena in the *Kathāsaritsāgara,* Anantanemi in the Tibetan tradition.[28] All these variants do not justify multiplication of persons.

(4) We have seen above that Viśākhayūpa's chronological position is doubtful. He might have ruled after Āryaka or ruled simultaneously with him. Such cases of inversion are not rare in the Purāṇas.

(5) There is not much diversity in the number of descendants of the three dynasties, the Puru, the Bṛhadratha and the Ikṣvāku. The Purus from Parikṣit to Udayana count 25; the Bṛhadrathas from Jarāsandha to Ripuñjaya (whom Pradyota's father is reported to have killed) count 23; the Ikṣvākus from Bṛhadbala (killed in the Bhārata war by Abhimanyu[29]) to Prasenajit count 29, but as there are four false names in the list (*viz.* Śākya, Śuddhodana, Siddhārtha and Rāhula) the actual number is 25. Thus the contemporaneity of Prasenajit, Udayana and Pradyota is sufficiently well-established even in the Purāṇas. There is no reason to think with Sen that the Purāṇic account of the Purus and Ikṣvākus is abridged, so that Pradyota is to be placed much earlier than Udayana and Prasenajit.

(6) Sen believes that Pradyota did not live in the time of Buddha because they are never brought into direct relationship with each other. A much simpler explanation is that they never came in direct relationship with each other, which is perfectly natural, because the Buddha never visited Avanti, his activities being confined to Kosala and Magadha. But we must remember that in the *Mahāvagga,* one of the earliest Buddhist texts, Pradyota is definitely said to have been a contemporary of Bimbisāra;[30] *a fortiori* Pradyota was a contemporary of the Buddha. The story of Pradyota's conversion to Buddhism, given in Dhammapāla's *Theragāthā Commentary,*[31] may be accepted or rejected. But the fact of Pradyota's not being a convert of Buddhism can never be regarded as a proof of his not being a contemporary of the Buddha.

27. *Harṣacarita,* ed. Führer, p. 270.
28. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha,* p. 17.
29. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa,* IV iv 112.
30. *Mahāvagga,* VIII i 23 f, ed. Oldenberg, pp. 276 f.
31. *Psalms of the Brethren,* tr. Mrs. Rhys Davids, pp. 238 f.

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(7) The reason of the rare mention of Pradyota in the Jātakas is that the Jātakas are mainly concerned 'with the kingdom of the Kāśī-Kosala and Magadha, where Buddha, according to tradition, lived and taught; . . . here the acts of by far the largest majority of the Jātakas were performed.'[32]

(8) This point has been dealt with above in connection with (2). It is impossible to find a Pradyota in Magadha in the 6th or 5th century B.C. The Pradyota of Magadha mentioned in the Kashmiri *Bṛhatkathā* is the product of a confusion between the two fathers-in-law of Udayana. As is well-known, the Buddhists make Caṇḍa a surname of Pradyota.[33] There is no way therefore but to identify him with the Caṇḍamahāsena of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*.

Thus, none of the arguments of Bhide and Sen can stand scrutiny. The synchronisms of the Buddha and Bimbisāra, of the Buddha and Prasenajit, of Pradyota and Bimbisāra, of Prasenajit and Bimbisāra, of the Buddha and Udayana and, finally, of Udayana and Pradyota[34] are well-established by Buddhist tradition, substantially supported by Jaina and popular legends. And as nothing is found in the Purāṇas against these synchronisms, we may hold it proved that the four emperors and the two teachers were contemporaries. Support for this conclusion is available from every quarter, e.g., the Tibetan and Chinese legends, as well as the *Lalitavistara*,[35] where Sen is 'surprised to find' the name of the Pradyota dynasty. And against this have been raised only some futile objections and vague doubts; nothing has been pointed out which can really affect what is already known about the Pradyotas. There is no evidence of any 'progress' of the Pradyota legend; save a few details here and there, it has always remained the same, based on sound history.

32. Fick, *Social Organization of North-eastern India in Buddha's Time*, tr. Maitra, p. ix.

33. *Jātaka Text*, ed. Fausböll, Vol. V, p. 133; *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 238, etc.

34. *Commentary on the Dhammapada*, ed. Norman, Vol. I, pp. 191 f; the anonymous *Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇa; Meghadūta*, i 31; *Harṣacarita*, ed. Führer, p. 268; all the versions of the *Bṛhatkathā*, etc.

35. *Lalitavistara*, ed. Lefmann, erster Teil, p. 21. (v.l. *Pradyotana, ibid.*, zweiter Teil, p. 9).

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An Estimate of Madanna from the French Records

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I.

We have considerable historical material on Abul Hasan's minister, Mādanna, in two French sources on the history of Golconda, hitherto unnoticed by Indian historians—the Letters of Director-General Baron, and the Mémoires of François Martin. The information contained in these two documents is full enough to enable us to follow the administrative career of the man, and, by focussing our attention on the motives underlying his domestic and foreign policy, to form a correct estimate of Mādanna's position in 17th century history as a diplomat, administrator, and statesman. We shall attempt to do this, in the present article, and, as a necessary preliminary, we shall first briefly examine the contents and historical reliability of the two sources just alluded to.

The material relative to Mādanna, in Baron's correspondence, is comparatively scanty, and is found, in particular, in three letters which the French Director wrote to De La Haye, to Louis XIV, and to his minister Colbert between the years 1674 and 1676.[1] We have ourselves made careful copies of these letters from the originals lying in the French Colonial Archives at Paris. The material relating to Mādanna, in the Mémoires, on the other hand, is considerable, and will be found in Volume II of "Les Mémoires de François Martin, Fondateur de Pondichéry" a proof copy of which was presented to me by the editor M. Alfred Martineau.

As material for the historian, these two documents stand in a slightly different category from each other, in point of their

1. Baron à De la Haye, Madras le 14 Dec. 1674. AC. C²63. f. 271-279. Baron Louis XIV. Surat le 3 Jan. 1675 AC. C²63. f. 293-303. Baron à Colbert. Surat le 20 Oct. 1675 AC. C²63. f. 316-317.

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character at least, if not in point of their historical reliability. This difference, is, of course, due to the difference in character of the men who wrote them. François Baron, the author of the letters, was a simple, plainspoken and an altogether loveable character as a man,[2] but, just for that reason, he is, as a chronicler of events, somewhat garrulous and gossipy,[3] and, therefore apt to rouse the suspicions of the sober minded historian. But we have really no reason to distrust or discount the little information Baron has to give on Golconda history. As we shall show when citing it, there were particular reasons why Baron could not have been mistaken in the facts he was recording.

The author of the Mémoires, François Martin, though a political disciple of Baron's[4] is, yet, in character, a perfect contrast to him. He is sober and matter of fact, where Baron is apt to be swayed by enthusiasm or imagination, prosaic and even dull where Baron is picturesque and always interesting. Though Martin's account often makes dull reading, it is thoroughly dependable, since his facts are well authenticated, and his opinions always expressed with impartiality and moderation. In respect of his information on Golconda, in particular, Martin's evidence is unimpeachable. He was not only well placed at Pondichéry to watch the course of events at Golconda for himself, but he also had a reliable correspondent there, in the person of the physician Destremeau. As Martin himself observes of his Golconda information "I only state as certain, things I have seen and known. I, of course, depend for my information on the letters and advices which I receive from people, but even so, I always carefully discriminate between people who can be trusted, and those who cannot."[5]

II.

The French accounts, unfortunately, say nothing of Mādanna's antecedents, before he came to power. Their notice of him only commences with his actual entry into Golconda politics, about the close of the year 1674. Martin describes his accession to the

2. See "Les Premiéres Rélations sentre les Français et les Princes Indigénes au XVIIieme Siecle: Adrian Duarte Paris 1932. p. 83-87.

3. See particularly his letter of Dec. 14, 1674.

4. See "Les Premiéres Relations etc." Adrian Duarte, Paris, 1932. p. 98-101.

5. Martin's Memoirs: Vol. II. p. 159.

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wazirship with characteristic brevity. Mādanna "insinuated himself into the good will of the king" says he, "and assumed absolute power, after he had caused certain Pathan, Persian, and other lords to be arrested, or removed out of the way."[6] Baron, as usual, is more expansive. "The news of Golconda," he writes to De la Haye, "is that the court is, just now, in the throes of a great commotion, on account of the Brahmin Mādanna, who has gained complete influence over the mind of the king. Musca Mian is no longer governor of this province (Madras) of which Fatte Mian will take charge, unless the son of Mahomed Amin, captain of the guard, is preferred to him. Mousafer, Jabarek, Safi Alam Khan, and two other personages whose names I do not know, have fled for safety to the Mughal Court."[7]

These two accounts of the change of Wazirs at Golconda must be taken as substantially correct. Neither Martin nor Baron could have been mistaken with regard to the facts they chronicle, for both, at this time, had a special reason to watch the course of events at the Golconda court with great interest, and, one of them, Baron, with great anxiety. Their friend Chinna Pali Mirza had undertaken, in November 1674[8] to negotiate the sale of San Thomé to the French. The success of the negotiations had depended closely on the minister in power at the court of Golconda, and, as Mādanna was not well disposed towards the French because of the Dutch, his accession to power had proved fatal to the negotiations.

If the French version, then, is accepted as true, it will be found to vary, in two respects, from Sir Jadunath Sarcar's version of the change of ministers. Slight though these variations may be, they are yet worth discussion in the interest of historical precision and exactitude. Sarcar affirms[9] that the revolution in the Golconda wazirship took place in the year 1673; the French version places it exactly a year later. Whatever may be Sarcar's reasons for accepting the former date, we have already stated ours for preferring the latter—both Martin and Baron were interested observers of the events unrolling at Golconda, *at this*

6. Martin's Memoirs: Chap. XIII. p. 38.
7. Baron á De la Haye, Madras. 14 Dec. 1674. p. 271-279.
8. Baron á Louis XIV. 3 Jan. 1675. AC. C²63. f. 298-303. Baron á Colbert. 23 Dec. 1675. AC. C²63. f. 318-324.
9. History of Aurangzib: Vol. IV. p. 333-334.

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particular point of time, and could not by any possibility have been mistaken about their date. On this point, therefore, their evidence ought to be conclusive.

The second variation, as to the cause of the change of ministers, is, to our mind, more important since it calls into question the characters of the two principal actors in the drama. Sarcar states[10] that Abul Hasan called Mādanna to office because he was exasperated with Muzaffar, for treating him like a cypher; the French version, without committing itself about Muzaffar, merely states that Abul Hasan called Mādanna to power, because Mādanna exercised a powerful ascendancy over the king's mind. Which of these versions is correct? If the Golconda king had anything like the character which Martin consistently gives him, the answer to this question is not difficult. Abul Hasan was temperamentally a cypher, and, as such, destined to be treated like one by any minister. The fact that Muzaffar treated him like a cypher would really not be conclusive with Abul Hasan in dismissing him. What really mattered was that he had come to like Mādanna more, and, to a weak, dependent monarch like Abul Hasan this was enough reason why he should authorise Mādanna to get rid of Muzaffar, and instal himself in his place.

III.

Even if we assume, for argument's sake, that Mādanna came into power as the result of an outburst of Abul Hasan's resentment against his old minister Muzaffar, it is certain that that resentment was the last evidence of strength which the king was destined to display. For, certainly, the very first activities which Martin has to record of the new Brahmin minister were activities directed towards making Abul Hasan a far greater cypher in all real management of the affairs of state, than he had ever been under Muzaffar Khan.

In three successive entries, dated respectively July and August 1675, and February 1676,[11] Martin shows us that Mādanna used his overwhelming ascendancy over the king's mind to completely alienate him from all knowledge of government, and render himself the absolute master of the state. In none of these

10. History of Aurangzib: Vol. IV. p. 333-4.
11. Martin's Memoirs: Chap. XII. p. 25 and Chap. XIII. p. 38.

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three entries is there a hint to show that Abul Hasan exhibited the least strength of character to resist Mādanna's influence. On the contrary, in his entry dated August, Martin points out that "the king was in a species of indolence, and did not show the smallest inclination for government."[12] In that of February 1676, he further tells us that "indolence was eminently suited to the genius of this prince."[13] It does not seem possible, after these conclusive proofs, that Abul Hasan was anything but the "roi fainéant" that Martin makes him out to be.

However, our main interest is with Mādanna, and not Abul Hasan. Mādanna's earliest object, after his accession to office, appears to have been to reduce Abul Hasan to such a state of dependence and mental servitude to himself, that Mādanna would become the virtual ruler of the state. In these efforts he seems to have completely succeeded. Within two years of his accession to the wazirship, not only could Mādanna "manage the king, and turn him to his sentiments"[14] but the whole government and revenues of the state were now farmed out to Mādanna in return for a monthly stipend which the minister allowed the king for his royal expenses.[15]

These measures to enslave the head of the state were accompanied by other measures to enslave every branch of the Golconda administration. Mādanna doubtless felt that in the programme ahead of him, he could only control the resources of the state, and at the same time disarm all attempts at a counter revolution against himself, by controlling all the chief offices in the state, and manning them with his own trusty servants. On his accession to power Mādanna had already made a clean sweep of the principal office-bearers and substituted his own Brahmin creatures in their place.[16] The process was now steadily continued. In August 1675, Martin writes, "Letters from Golconda announce several changes which have taken place in the court. The minister Mādanna is putting his creatures in the chief offices, in order to

12. Martin: Chap. XII. p. 25.

13. Martin: Chap. XIII. p. 38. Further down Martin says Abul Hasan was 'devoid of all resolution or any spirit of government,' that he was 'unworthy by his conduct of the title of King.'

14. Martin: Chap. XIII. p. 91.

15. Martin: Chap. XIII. p. 38.

16. Martin: Chap. XII. p. 25.

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be the absolute master of affairs."[17] The administrative revolution was, perhaps, not proceeding as quickly as Mādanna desired it, because, again in April 1677, Martin writes that "disgusted to see that there were still so many Pathan, Persian, and Deccani grandees in the state in receipt of large salaries, Mādanna had resorted to various expedients to compel them to relinquish their charges, even to the extent of causing their salaries to be reduced."[18]

IV.

It seems probable that the administrative changes we have just noted, were but the necessary preliminaries, in Mādanna's mind, to the realisation of his main objects, which were foreign and diplomatic. We are in a position to get a glimpse of these larger designs in the mind of the minister from the facts Martin chronicles and the motives he ascribes to Mādanna, in what was certainly one of the most important events of his foreign policy, namely, his co-operation with Shivaji in the conquest of the Carnatic. Fortunately for the interest which the French at Pondichéry had in this event, we have a very full account of Shivaji's expedition to the Carnatic, from Martin's pen.[19]

The assassination of Cavesh (Khavas) Khan, the Bijapur regent, by his rival Bhulol Khan in December 1675 was the signal for the outbreak of a civil strife between the Deccani and Pathan factions which distracted the Bijapur capital. From the capital, the war extended into the provinces. In the Carnatic, Shere Khan Lodi, the Bijapur governor of Vāligoṇḍapuram, and champion of the Pathan faction made war on Nazir Mahomed, ruler of Gingi, and partisan of the Deccani faction. Owing to his superior resources and the military help which Martin gave him Shere Khan was able to get the better of his adversary, and wrest most of his possessions from him. Worsted in the conflict, and, "animated with bitter hatred of the Pathan party," Nazir Mahomed, in May 1676, sought the protection of the king of Golconda. He agreed to place Gingi into the hands of Abul Hasan, and, in return to hold certain lands in gift from the king of Golconda.

17. Chap. XII. p. 38.
18. Chap. XIV. p. 130.
19. Martin: Chap. XII. pp. 36-107.

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Mādanna who completely had the ear of his royal master, and could turn and twist him to his own wishes, now suggested to Abul Hasan that Nazir Mahomed's request offered an excellent chance for the king of Golconda, not only to gain possession of Gingi, but of Madura, Tanjore and other parts as well, and thus make himself virtual master of the Carnatic. At the same time, however, he pointed out that it would never do for Golconda to send a large army into the Carnatic, for the declared purpose of conquering it, without rousing the opposition of the Mughal. The best course, in the circumstances, he suggested would be to depute Shivaji to make the conquest. The Mahratta chieftain, he assured Abul Hasan, would gladly undertake the mission, were he provided with the necessary help in artillery and funds. Once he had conquered the Carnatic, Shivaji would retain certain parts of it which he claimed as his ancestral patrimony, and hand over all the rest to Golconda. Needless to say, Abul Hasan fell in entirely with Mādanna's plan.

Shivaji was now sent for (March 1677), and if there were any lingering doubts in Abul Hasan's mind, they were entirely removed by the magic of Shivaji's personality. At the interview which took place between Abul Hasan and the Mahratta chief, Mādanna's plan was formally endorsed, the military and financial contribution which Golconda would make towards the enterprise settled, and orders dispatched to all the Golconda officers in the Carnatic that Shivaji was acting on behalf of the king of Golconda and should receive all co-operation.

In April 1677 Shivaji descended into the Carnatic by the Damalchervu pass. In June he took delivery of Gingi from Nazir Mahomed. In July he defeated Shere Khan Lodi at the battle of Trivadi, and by September, he was on his way back to his own kingdom after having placed the Carnatic in the hands of his lieutenants. Long before this time, however, he had made it clear that he was not acting as a deputy of Abul Hasan's, but as a principal. In the original pact between Nazir Mahomed and Golconda it had been agreed that when Gingi was surrendered to the Golconda officers, Nazir Mahomed would be compensated with other jagirs in the Golconda kingdom. When Gingi was surrendered to Shivaji in June, the Golconda officers naturally asked that they should be placed in possession of the fortress, but Shivaji's officers bluntly refused to surrender it. "This refusal," says

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Martin, "opened Abul Hasan's eyes to the deception which had been practised upon him. It made him realise that Shivaji and Mādanna had come to a secret understanding with each other to the prejudice of his own interests."

Deception there certainly was, and of a methodical and deliberate kind. Mādanna's meeting with Shivaji at Golconda did not represent, as it was intended to appear, the commencement of his negotiations with the Mahratta chief, but their final consummation. We have Baron's conclusive evidence[20] that Shivaji had entertained the project of invading the Carnatic as early as in 1675. Since that time continuous negotiations had been in progress between his emissary Raghunath Narain, and Mādanna. Mādanna had already fully made up his mind to subsidize Shivaji with Golconda money, to enable him to conquer the Carnatic for himself. Only the pretext for letting Shivaji loose into the Carnatic was wanting, and the pretext had opportunely arrived in the request of Nazir Mohomed. When Shivaji finally set out on his mission as Golconda's accredited agent, and with the sinews of war which Golconda had supplied, nobody knew better than Mādanna that Shivaji would never give Abul Hasan the territories he had promised to give him. As Martin observes, Mādanna "knew Shivaji too well not to realize that he would never keep the promise that he had made." The whole was a carefully planned conspiracy to hoodwink Abul Hasan into pulling the chesnuts out of the fire for the greater benefit of the Mahratta chieftain.

The deception, however, once proved, only makes us wonder why it was practised, and what were the ultimate ends of all this tortuous diplomacy. The first point, is, of course, easily settled. If Abul Hasan could never be expected to see eye to eye with Mādanna's ultimate views, it was necessary to practise deception on him and place before him the bait of fictitious advantages he would never actually reap. But deception was only the means to a definite end. What was the end in view which justified the employment of such means? We shall let Martin answer the question: "Mādanna's views," says he, "were to place this part

20. 'Anagi Pent . . . m'avoua avec beaucoup de franchise que si le Mogol continuait lá guerre du côté de Laör . . . que Sivagy porterait ses armes de ce côté lá . . . et pour avoir moins de difficulté á l'entreprise il avait envoyé un ambassadeur á la Cour de Golconde'. Baron á De la Haye, AC. C²63. 316-7.

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of the Carnatic once again under the domination of the Hindus, and, by facilitating its conquest for Shivaji, to make of him a powerful protector."

V.

We have reached the year 1677 which is, in several respects, the year of the fullest maturity of Mādanna's diplomatic system. Everything that the system stood for—absolute rule at home, a brahmin administration, the restoration of Hindu rule in the Carnatic, a firm alliance with Shivaji as the chief plank of national defence—all these had, by the year 1677, become concrete accomplished facts giving expression to his aims and definitely influencing the history of the Deccan. The future had nothing new to add to these products of Mādanna's diplomatic mind. On the contrary, the future was only to bring in the reaction against the system. Hereafter Martin's scanty entries only serve to show the decline and fall of the system Mādanna had reared up, under the undermining influences of the system itself and other forces set in motion by a greater diplomat than Mādanna—the Emperor Aurangzeb.

This year, then, serves as a very convenient point at which to take stock of Mādanna's diplomatic achievements, and, in the light of the evidence the French accounts place before us, to assign to him his proper position in 17th century history as a diplomat, statesman, and administrator.

Mādanna doubtless favoured the existence in Central and Southern India of a community of Hindu and semi-Hindu states as a defensive bulwark against the ever pressing encroachment of Mogul India from the North and West. Nothing short of such a theory can statisfy the facts of Mādanna's rule since his accession to power in 1674. He had imposed himself and a brahmin bureaucracy on the Golconda state, one of the clauses of the Treaty of Kulburga stipulated that his brother Akkanna should be wazir of the Bijapur state,[21] he had helped to establish Hindu rule in the Carnatic, and finally he had secured the firm alliance of Shivaji. What other supposition can these facts warrant than that Mādanna sought to consolidate Hindu rule in Central India, and use it as a defensive weapon against the constant menace of Mahomedan India from the North? These doubtless were the "Vast designs" which Martin

21. Sarcar: History of Aurangzib. p. 150,

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is always hinting at in his comments on Mādanna's policy in the memoirs.

If this is a correct expression of Mādanna's aims, the strongest point of the system was undoubtedly his alliance with Shivaji, and the weakest his attempt to fasten an alien administration on the Golconda state. The first proves Mādanna's claim to be considered a clever diplomat, the second repudiates his claim to be considered a statesman. The alliance with Shivaji was, in fact, Mādanna's greatest diplomatic achievement. It was the only effective weapon practicable at the time against Mogul agression, and it was permanent and beneficial as a scheme of national defence. Though momentarily threatened in 1678[22] it lasted as long as Shivaji lasted and was renewed with his successor Sambaji. From the national point of view it served its purpose well. We have Martin's evidence[23] that Shivaji's diversion in 1679, to relieve the pressure of Dilir Khan's attack on Bijapur was largely subsidized if not actively instigated by Golconda, and only the weakness of Sambaji prevented the alliance from becoming an offensive weapon to combat Aurangzeb's invasion in 1684[24]. On the other hand, however, the greatest weakness of Mādanna's system was the brahmanical tinge which he gave it, and his attempt to fasten an alien Brahmin administration on the Golconda state. This change dictated by narrow religious interest was doubly a mistake. As Martin points out[25] the disturbance of hereditary vested interests which the change involved, created a vast army of malcontents who became the declared enemies of the state, and by taking refuge in the Mogul court, hastened the revolution which brought about the ruin of the Golconda state. On the other hand, the change was itself a bad one. By removing the older Mahomedan administration to replace it by a rapacious Brahmin oligarchy Mādanna was doing nothing to earn the gratitude of the people, and win their support to his rule. The pernicious effects of Brahmin extortion and their bad government are plainly visible in these eloquent entries of Martin made during his passage through the Golconda kingdom in 1677. Mangālgiri "a big town—of great importance formerly on account of its weavers and painters was now in ruins owing to the deplorable administration of the Brahmins." Vālāby "important formerly because of the manufacture of chittes, and a town where there were more than 2,000 painters

22. Martin: Memoirs. p. 126. Also Sarcar: History p. 221.
23. and 24. Martin's Memoirs: Chap. XVI.
25. Martin: Chap. XII. p. 20 and Chap. XIII. p. 38.

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had now no more than 20 in it." At Anteguir "the inhabitants were in the last state of misery and dared not even eat betel leaves lest they might make it known, thereby, that they had something over and above what was absolutely necessary for life, and thus provoke the extortions of the Brahmins." The only improvement which Martin saw was that between Masulipatam and Golconda "there had been put up, at intervals of four leagues, big buildings of the shape of granaries, by order of the minister Mādanna where they cooked rice every day." But this charity was only given to the Brahmins. "They would not give so much as a drop of water by way of alms to any other persons be they Christians, Mahomedans, or even Hindus of any other caste than Brahmins." Is it any wonder that, in these circumstances, the minister should have died, as Sarcar puts it "undefended, unavenged, and unhonoured"?[23]

VI.

It only remains, now, to rapidly sum up the march of events which led to the final act in the drama, and brought about the fall of the Brahmin minister. In the war of diplomatic wits which preceded the ruin of the Deccan sultanates, Aurangzeb had every thing to gain by a waiting game. Time was on the side of the Mogul Emperor. Of the three adversaries pitted against him, death removed the most powerful in 1680.[27] Thereafter all that Aurangzeb had to do was to wait patiently until the two Pathan states of the Deccan should give him a suitable pretext to invade and destroy them.

In the meanwhile, however, he employed all the resources of his malignant diplomacy to foster dissensions among them, through the Mogul residents at the Pathan courts, and, in the case of Golconda, at least, to goad Abul Hasan to the point of resistance, by his endless exactions. Martin records the slow process of this financial exhaustion of the Golconda state. Already in 1679, Dilir Khan's demands for money had compelled Abul Hasan to melt down his silver and gold vessels, and sell some of the royal jewellery[28] and now, in 1684, Martin records that "the Mogul who has his own views in mind was weakening the Golconda state every

26. Chap. XVIII. pp. 240, 244, 245-6.

27. Shivaji's death is stated by Martin to have taken place on April 17, 1680.

28. Martin's Memoirs: p. 142.

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day. He was draining it every year of large sums of money under the name of tribute. Hearing that this poor prince had a diamond weighing 420 carats he ordered his ambassador at the Court to ask for it. The government was so spiritless that Abul Hasan dared not refuse, and the diamond was sent to the Mogul."[29]

At length in 1682, it was clear that the day of reckoning of the Deccan states was fast approaching. The flight to the court of Sambaji of Aurangzeb's revolted son Akbar, drew the Emperor, in that year, towards the South. But two years later Aurangzeb abandoned the project of subduing the possessions of Sambaji and concentrated all his attention on the preliminary destruction of the Deccan Sultanates. In March 1685 he laid siege to Bijapur. The three Deccan states were like the bulls in the story. So long as they stood together they had some chance to prevail against the Mogul lion, when isolated from each other, they were sure to fall. This essential condition of their existence was evident to Mādanna, for, directly Bijapur was beseiged Golconda prepared to assist its sister state.[30]

Sarcar declares[31] that Aurangzeb's interception of a treacherous letter from Abul Hasan to Sikandar caused the breach of diplomatic relations between Golconda and the Mogul. Martin, on the other hand, affirms[32] that Abul Hasan took the initiative in the diplomatic rupture by ordering the Mogul ambassador's residence to be plundered of the 12 lacs of rupees which had just been paid in as tribute. However this may be, war was declared between Aurangzeb and the Golconda state, and, in July 1685 Sultan Shah Alam was detached from the main army encamped before Bijapur, to attack Hyderabad. For the details of what followed, Martin's description is perhaps the best. "The Golconda army, under the command of Mādanna and Mahomed Ibrahim encamped on the frontiers of the Kingdom to oppose the advance of the Mogul army under Shah Alam. Owing to cowardice or treachery,—most probably the latter—Mādanna and Mahomed Ibrahim suddenly raised their camp and retired. They were pursued by Shah Alam who forced them to seek shelter under the cannon of the fortress of Golconda where Abul Hasan had already retired on receiving intelligence of the enemy's approach. In the meanwhile the Mogul

29. Martin's Memoirs: p. 361.
30. Sarcar: History. p. 341-42.
31. History: p. 314.
32. Martin's Memoirs: p. 403.

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army, without encountering the least opposition, entered Hyderabad, the capital of the Kingdom, and one of the richest cities in India. The retreat of the Golconda troops before the Mogul army seemed all the more surprising that till then the Golconda forces had always had the better of the Mogul army."

Mahomed Ibrahim who was encamped outside the fort walls was now ordered to come and see the King. At the gates of the fortress, however, he was told, rightly or wrongly we do not know, that his going into the fort would do him no good, as he was sure of leaving his head behind. He forthwith turned round his horse, and rode away to Hyderabad where he threw himself on the protection of Shah Alam, who received him with great joy.

The defection of a man of Ibrahim's importance alarmed the Golconda court. It is said that when he rode away Mahomed Ibrahim caused a report to reach the ears of Abul Hasan that his minister Mādanna was betraying him. The news was communicated to Abul Hasan while he was conversing with Mādanna on the state of his affairs. The King promptly asked Mādanna what he had to say. Mādanna replied that if the King permitted him to leave the fortress, he would undertake to deliver the real traitor into his hands—meaning Mahomed Ibrahim. The King without saying a word withdrew into the ladies apartments, where one of the foremost ladies of the court was heard to say that Mādanna was a traitor, and that he only wanted to leave the fort to set afoot the conspiracy he had been hatching, and that he ought to be killed at once.

We do not know whether Abul Hasan gave this order through the lady, but a negro slave of the late King who was standing by Mādanna's side, without waiting to be told again, fell on the minister and killed him with several strokes of his sabre. Then, followed by several other slaves, he went to the house of Akkanna brother of the Minister, who suffered the same fate as well as all the other brahmins who were in the fort. The bodies of Akkanna and Mādanna were then dragged through the streets, and afterwards tied by the feet outside the fort walls so that the army should see them. Their heads were then cut off, and sent to Sultan Shah Alam, and from there they were carried before the Mogul who ordered them to be trampled under the feet of elephants."[33]

33. Martin's Memoirs: p. 417-419.

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George Gray's embassy to Hyder Ali

By

Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, M.A.,

Historical Museum, Satara.

By the Treaty of Madras concluded between Hyder and the British on the 3rd of April 1769 which put an end to the First Mysore War, it was stipulated that, in case of attack, the contracting parties would assist each other with troops. When however the Marathas invaded the territories of Hyder in 1771, and when Hyder claimed the benefit of the article of the treaty of 1769 and asked for British aid, the Government of Madras did not help him in any way. Hyder was naturally greatly displeased with them. When war was declared between England and France in 1778, the French settlements in India were promptly attacked by the English. Pondicherry fell after a gallant resistance. The important French port Mahe on the Malabar coast was taken by Col. Braithwaite on the 19th of March 1779, notwithstanding all the protests of Hyder. This greatly annoyed Hyder; to him Mahe was a very useful port through which he obtained military stores from the Mauritius. It was included in the territory recently conquered by him.

Just at the time the relations between the Nizam and the English became estranged. Basalat Jung, the brother of the Nizam offered to rent the Guntur Circars to the English to save himself from the encroachments of Hyder, and a treaty with him was concluded in April 1779, without the knowledge of the Nizam whose subject Basalat Jung was. The Nizam consequently resolved to take the field against the English. For this purpose he tried to win over the Peshwa, the Bhonsle of Nagpur and even Hyder to his side and formed a confederacy to root out the English.

The Marathas had reason to be more hostile to the English. The Bombay Government supported Raghunath Rao who aspired to be the Peshwa by removing the young Peshwa Madhav Rao II, and the first Maratha War was going on between the two powers.

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The Marathas had begun to show sympathies towards the French, the enemies of the English and on May 13, 1778, Nana Phadnavis delivered a paper to St. Lubin an ambassador from France and sought the assistance of the French to punish a nation who had raised an insolent head and whose measure of injustice was full.[1] [The Marathas had also concluded a treaty of peace with the Portuguese on the 17th December 1779 in accordance with which the fleets of the respective parties were not to attack one another at sea, but to provide each other with any necessaries they might require and both the parties bound themselves not to help each other's enemies. (The Portuguese in India by F. C. Danvers, Vol. II, p. 438.) They had also won over to their side the Sidi of Janjira against the English though he was always an ally of the English, and their enemy.] In the war between the Marathas and the English the latter were defeated, and had to sign the Treaty of Wargaon in 1779. As this treaty was dishonourable to the English, Warren Hastings, the Governor-General, repudiated it. A continuation of the war with the English seemed inevitable, and the Peshwa and other Maratha nobles thought it prudent to stop their enmities against Hyder and were but too glad to accept the Nizam's request for help against the English.

The Bhonsle of Nagpur who was almost ousted from Bengal and Orissa by the English was but too glad to join the confederacy against the English and see that they were severely punished, as may be seen from one[2] of Mudhoji Bhonsle's letters to Nana Phadnavis, though of a later date, viz., 13-11-1780, in which he says—the English must be overwhelmed on all sides. Unless they are once severely punished no power would remain in peace. Even the Emperor of Delhi and his minister Nazafkhan wished very much that the English should be crushed.

It was agreed among the confederates that the Bhonsle should attack the English in Bengal, the Nizam and Hyder should attack them in the south, and the Peshwa with the help of the Scindia and Holkar should attack them on the western coast.

The corrupt and inefficient Government of Madras was very slow to perceive these developments which aimed a fatal blow to the English power in India. [Thornton observes that the moral

1. Journal of the Bombay Historical Society, Vol. III, p. 65.
2. Unpublished—in the Satara Museum.

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atmosphere of Madras was pestilential, corruption revelled unrestrained. It is not wonderful that where public spirit and public decency were alike extinct the Government should be neither wise nor strong. (V. Smith's Oxford History of India, p. 541.)] The three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay pursued their affairs independently of each other. Although the Regulating Act of 1773 gave Bengal controlling authority over the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, it took some years to properly exercise the controlling authority. Both Madras and Bombay acted at times on their own responsibility without the sanction of, or even reference to, the Supreme Government. The treaty of Wargaon concluded by the Bombay Government with the Marathas in 1779, and the treaty concluded by the Madras Government with Basalat Jung detrimental to the interests of the latter's master the Nizam, offer good illustrations.[3]

In the meanwhile Sir Thomas Rumbold the Governor of Madras, with the double policy of softening the anger of Hyder and of ascertaining his real attitude towards the English sent Schwartz, a Danish missionary working at Tanjore with a letter from himself to Haider. Schwartz accordingly started on his journey, and on the 6th of July 1779 reached Caroor, the frontier fort of Mysore, forty miles west of Trichinopoly. Here he was detained a month waiting for Hyder's answer. On the 6th of August he resumed his journey and on the 25th he arrived at Seringapatam. Hyder Ali was struck with the singlemindedness and unaffected piety of the missionary, and he held frequent intercourse with him. His first interview with Hyder is thus described and can be read with interest along with Gray's interview with Hyder described in this article.

When I came to Hyder he desired me to sit down alongside of him. The floor was covered with the most exquisite tapestry. He received me very politely, listened friendly and with seeming pleasure to all I had to say; he spoke very openly and without reserve and said that the Europeans had broken their solemn promises and engagement, but that nevertheless he was willing to live in peace with them. At his last interview with Hyder, Schwartz thus explained the motives of his journey.

3. The Central Authority in British India by A. P. Dasgupta, p. 66.

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["You may perhaps wonder what could have induced me, a priest, who has nothing to do with political concerns, to come to you, and that on an errand which does not properly belong to my sacredotal functions. But as I was plainly told that the sole object of my journey was the preservation and confirmation of peace, and having witnessed more than once, the misery and horrors attending on war, I thought within my own mind how happy I should deem myelf, if I could be of service in cementing a durable friendship between the two Governments, and thus securing the blessings of peace to this devoted country and its inhabitants. This I considered as a commission in no wise derogatory to the office of a minister of God, who is a God of peace."]

Hyder answered with great cordiality,

["Very well! very well! I am of the same opinion with you; and wish that the English may be as studious of peace as you are. If they offer me the hand of peace and concord, I shall not withdraw mine."[4]]

Schwartz returned from his mission in October 1779.

Although Schwartz was treated with due honour by Hyder, the mission produced no good to the Madras Government. Hyder continued to be hostile to the English, and even kept in prison at Calicut some English subjects as the following extract from Military Consultations,[5] 1780, bears witness.

EXTRACT FROM MILITARY CONSULTATIONS, 1780.

The President delivers the following Minute:—

I am to inform the Committee, that I have received a letter from Mr. J Hare dated at Calicut 29th of November in behalf of himself and others with him, who have been made Prisoners by the Officer of Hyder Ally Cawn. The ship they came in from Suez has been obtained, and all their papers and effects plundered. They have addressed the Officer Commanding in those districts for the Nabob Hyder Ally a copy of which address I now lay before the Committee to which they received for answer—That some difference had arisen between the Nabobs and our powers and that in order to adjust them some Gentlemen from Madras were arrived at His Highness's Court, and to these Gentlemen he promised to forward short state of their case.

4. History of India by Beveridge, Vol. II, p. 476.

5. I express my sincere thanks to the keeper of the Records of the Government of Madras for supplying me copies of all the Extracts from military consultations published in this article.

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As Mr. Hare and those with him are suffering much from the ill treatment they have, and are likely to experience, I think it absolutely necessary that a person should be immediately sent to the Nabob Hyder Ally to demand the release of those Gentlemen and Family's and to Complain of the Outrage Committed on their persons, and property, at the same time to assure Hyder Ally, if he will explain to us any just cause of complaint in his side against the subjects of the British Nation, we will endeavour to remove it and as it appears from the Letters from Colonel Brathwaite that the Chief and Council of Tellicherry have improperly given protection to some of the Officers or Chiefs, of the Nairs dependent in the Government Hyder Ally, that we do assure him such interference has been without the knowledge or approbation of this Government, as the Officer Commanding the troops sent from hence had the strictest Injunctions not to assist or give protection to any of the disaffected chiefs at that district and that if the Chief and Council of Tellicherry have acted so contrary to the intentions of the Companys Government, that we shall endeavour to have a proper enquiry made and try to remove all Cause of jealousy and uneasiness between him and the company, and that we expect the same friendly conduct in his part.

To His Excellency Sirdar Khan General in the service of his Illustrious Highness the Nabob Hyder Ally Khan Commandant and Governor General of the Kingdom at Calicut.

The Memorial of John Hare on behalf of himself and 8 other subjects of the King of Great Britain.

Your Memorialist begs leave in the first place to remind your Excellency that the Humanity and Policy of enlightened ages, have suggested certain rules of universal conduct under the denomination of the Laws of Nations. That the progress of civilisation has tempered and refined these Laws, so that a minute attention to the forms in some measure the perfection of National Character.

Your Memorialist is a subject of the King of Great Britain and having occasion to depart from England by the shortest route to the British Settlements in the East Indies, he arrived at Suez on the 30th day of August last, and found at that Port the Nathalia a Danish ship in readiness to depart for Calicut, he did not hesitate to embark on board that ship and with other English subjects arrived here on the 5th day November Instant.

Your Memorialist and his Countrymen being apprized of that wisdom honour and magnanimity which celebrate the name of his Illustrious Highness the Nabob Hyder Ally Khan throughout Europe and the whole world, and being satisfied likewise that your Excellency's Renown is derived from the same virtues they would admit no apprehension in this or any other quarter of his Highness Dominions of their personal safety or freedom—But they have experienced the sad reverse of their expectations.

In a season of public peace and alliance between the powers of the Nabob and Great Britain, nine English subjects have been seized by an armed force and their persons confined without the necessaries of life separated from their property the whole of it has been violently plundered, and

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such parts of it as remained undamaged and rendered useless by the Salt Water.

Their imprisonment besides being in the first instance unjust and contrary to the Laws of nations is aggravated by circumstances of peculiar and wanton cruelty. The indecent noise and Insolence of the numerous force which constitute their guard, molest equally their peace by day and their rest by night, their situation is moreover destitute of every domestic convenience and Consolation and the whole of their Money has been taken from their chests and publicly confiscated, your Excellency allows them no other supply than 2 Rupees per day to support 8 persons and their servants.

The value only of your Memorialists property which has been forcibly seized, plundered, damaged, and detained, amounts to 6,000 Rupees.

Your Memorialist proceeding from Europe to India by a shorter route than the Ordinary one was entrusted with many private Letters, and Packets which his friends had requested him to preserve with care and forwards with expedition the nature and practice moreover of his profession of a Councillor at Law (in which Capacity he was authorized to proceed to India) require a great number of manuscript papers, to the compilation of which he has dedicated some years of his Life. All these letters, Packets and papers have been forcibly taken away and obtained, and although their contents are found to be of no Public or Political Import but merely the intercourse of private friendship and the materials of a private profession; Your memorialist is denied a restoration of them, and hears with unexpressible concern that he is to be detained in prison while they are sent to His Highness the Nabob.

Your Memorialist therefore in the names of his unfortunate friends and himself prays your Excellencys attention to this state of their case, and that your Excellency will manifest that humanity and benevolence which are the attributes of your character by ordering their immediate release, the restoration of their property and with all granting a passport for the pursuit of their Expedition. But should that apparent justice be denied them your Memorialist for himself prays that he may not be further separated from those Letters Packets and papers which are the peculiar object of his case, but immediately sent with them, his servant and a proper guard to the Court of his Illustrious Highness the Nabob.
Calicut Nov. 18th 1779.

J. HARE.

Resolved that Mr. George Gray be appointed to proceed to Hyder Ally to demand the Release of the English subjects confined by his Officer at Tellicherry and that instructions be prepared for him in the terms of the President's Minute.

JOHN WHITEHILL.
CHARLES SMITH.

According to the resolution of the Madras Council Sir Thomas Rumbold wrote the following letter to Mr. George Gray, formerly of the Bengal Civil Service, and asked him to proceed immediately

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to Hyder principally to demand the release of the English subjects and to see if Hyder can be brought into a better understanding with the English.

EXTRACT FROM MILITARY CONSULTATIONS 1780.

To Georg Gray.

Sir,

We have thought it proper to appoint you to proceed to Hyder Ally, to demand the release of some English subjects who are detained at Calicut by the order of Sardar Cawn Hyder's officer at that place.

We enclose you a copy of the Memorial which Mr. Hare one of those persons delivered to Sardar Cawn in behalf of himself and the rest of his Majesty's subjects so detained which will explain all the particulars sufficiently to guide you in your representations to Hyder.

You will complain to him of this outrage committed on the Persons and property of so many English subjects. At the same time assure him that as it has been always our desire to preserve a good understanding and friendship with him, if he have any cause of complaint against any of the Company's people or any English subject whatever we shall endeavour as far as lies in our power to remove it, that we have heard by Letters from our Commanding Officer on the Malabar coast that he has some complaint against the Gentlemen at Tellicherry for improper interference with the Chief of the nairs who are under his authority, that we have not the particulars, but as it is totally contrary to our wishes and the orders we gave to our Commanding Officer there, that there should have been any interference whatsoever; so we have represented both to the Governor and Council of Bombay, and to the Gentlemen of Tellicherry the propriety of removing every just cause of uneasiness, that we doubt not to meet with the same conduct on his part as nothing can contribute so much to our mutual interest as a sincere and mutual endeavour to preserve the friendship that has so long subsisted between us.

You must confine your Representations simply to the fact and the sentiments here laid down but should Hyder propose or mention any thing foreign to the subject of this Commission you will transmit the same to us for our Information.

If Hyder Ally refuse or delay to give you satisfaction in regard to the detention of the English subjects at Calicut you will desire his leave to depart and return with all convenient expedition to Madrass.

You will proceed to Vaniambady and wait there for a Passport from Hyder to join him or if the Kellidar of Vaniambady will furnish you with an Escort you may proceed without waiting for the Passport.

We are
Sir,
Your most obedient Humble Servants,
Thomas Rumbold, &c.,
Select Committe.

Fort St. George
14th January 1780,

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AT A COMMITTEE PRESENT.

THE HON'BLE SIR THOMAS RUMBOLD BART. PREST.

JOHN WHITEHILL SIR HECTOR MUNRO K. B.

CHARLES SMITH.

Minute of the last Committee read and approved.

A Letter of Instructions to Mr. Gray and a Letter to Hyder Ally having been prepared agreably to the Minutes of last Committee are now read and approved and ordered to be copied fair.

According to the instructions of the Governor of Madras on the 20th January 1780 and went to Shrirangpatan on the 17th February. But unlike Schwartz Mr. Gray received a very cold reception from Hyder and although the English prisoners were already liberated by Hyder and the main object of his mission was gained he could not do anything to bring Hyder into a better understanding with the English. He could clearly see that Hyder did not care for the friendship of the English and even seemed determined to take hostile actions against them. Hyder gave him leave on the 19th March. Gray left the place on the 20th March and returned to Madras on the 30th.

Mr. Gray had written a full account of his mission to Hyder a copy of which procured by the late Rao Bahadur Parasnis, and now preserved in the Historical Museum, Satara, in the Bombay Presidency, is published below. He narrates in it the difficulties that he met first in getting a passport to go to Hyder's capital and then to get an interview with him, the rough ways in which he was treated by Hyder and his men throughout his stay in the Nabob's capital. The description of Hyder and his court given by Gray is graphic and the picture of Hyder which we see published in books suits his description.

Mr. Gray was in vain waiting at the court of Hyder for securing his sympathies towards the English. He could not know that his own Government had done things to estrange his feelings, and that it was now impossible to win him over to the side. At the very time Gray was trying to get a personal interview with Hyder the latter was engaged in concluding an alliance with the Marathas, and on the 26th Feb., 1780 (20 Safar, Vikāri Saṁvatsara) a treaty was signed between Hyder and the Marathas the latter being represented by Balaji Janardhan, i.e. Nana Phadnavis, Hari

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Ballal, Mahdaji Scindia, Anand Rao and Krishnarao Ballal Kale[6], in which it was thus stipulated:

1. That the territory on both the banks of the Tungabhadra conquered by Hyder was to remain with him and he was not to molest Maratha territories.

2. That Hyder should take the offensive against the English and conquer their districts of Chinnapatan, Arcot, Trichinopoly, etc. The Marathas would attack them in Gujarat and the Nizam would do the same in Chicacole and Rajamundri.

3. That if it is necessary 5000 cavalry should be sent to the assistance of the Peshwa.

4. That Raghoba and his assistants should not be entertained.

5. That Rs. 15 lakhs should be remitted to Hyder in the Poona treasury in satisfaction of his tribute to them up to the year 1780 and Rs. 12 lakhs should be paid annually in future.

6. That Tanjore must be made free from English attacks.

7. That the Peshwa and Hyder should divide equally the newly conquered territories.

8. That Hyder should not enter into a treaty with a third power without the knowledge of the Marathas.

9. And that Raste should remain in Hyder's service with 1000 cavalry.

THE JOURNAL OF MR. GEORGE GRAY.

On the 14th January 1780 I was appointed by the Select Committee to proceed to Seeringapatam, on an Embassy to the Nabob Hyder Ali Cawn, to demand the release of some English subjects who had been stopped at Calicut by Sirdar Cawn, Hyder's Fouzdar there, but I was particularly instructed by Sir Thomas Rumbold to endeavour to bring Hyder into a better understanding with the English, than he had for some time shown, and if possible to gain his confidence; This measure seemed the more necessary in the present juncture of affairs, to prevent his taking any steps against us, that might favour either the French, and encourage

6. G. S. Sardesai's Marathi Riyasat, Uttarbhāg, Vol. I, p. 217.

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their invading the Carnatic, or the Mahrattas, with whom we are actually at War; especially as the Finances of the Carnatic are not in condition to support a War, or to maintain armies in the Field. I was therefore desired to use every argument of persuation that the urgency of the situation could suggest. A passport from Hyder had been sent for, and Veenagee Pundit his Vakeel at Madras assured Sir Thomas that one would come for me. Sir Thomas therefore desired that I would proceed with the utmost expedition. My public Instructions were dated the 14th January, but it was the 20th in the evening that I set out from Madrás; I arrived on the 24th.

I wrote to the Killadar of Vaniyambady the first town in Hyder's Bounds to acquaint him that I was going to Seeringapatam on public business, and desired he would send an Escort to Conduct me; but the Hircarrahs who carried my letter were stopped by a party of Hyder's Sepoys stationed just within his Borders, purposely to prevent my entering the Country; I found that no Passport had been sent; and the Soubadar of the Bara Maul who has the Command of the District and Town on that Road, informed me by letter that I could not possibly proceed on my journey, till such time as a Passport arrived for me, until when, he advised me to continue at Amboor, and I was forced to follow his advice, I was surprised at this Obstacle, intentionally, thrown in my way when I expected a Passport, it seemed to me no favourable sign for the success of my Embassy. I wrote to Hyder to inform him of my Commission, and to request a Passport, and affixed my seal with the Title of Muttimud Ul Dawlah which I received from the Emperor Shah Allum. I forwarded my Letter to the Soubahdar of the Bara Maul and desired him to send it by the Nabob's Tappals to Seeringapatam which he did.

3rd February. Mr. Hare one of the persons whose enlargement I was desired to sollicit, arrived at Amboor, and the next day the rest arrived. They had been very ill treated at first but latterly Hyder behaved very well to them, and furnished them conveniencies for their journey thro' his Country, although the confinement of those people, was one ostensible cause of my Embassy to Hyder; yet as another object remained that I should proceed, notwithstanding they were set at liberty; whenever Hyder, gave me permission to do it.

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5th February. Hyder's Passport arrives with two Hercarrahs to conduct me to Seeringapatam, but the Passport is expressed in very unceremonious terms, and limits my retinue extremely, however I determined to go on with all my People and to see what construction Hyder's Officers put upon it in his own Country.

6th February. I set out from Amboor being saluted with 13 Guns. I halt in the evening at Vaniyambody; next day at Mallipaddy a Fort of Nabob of the Carnatic, where I find the killadar and Aumildar at variance, and try to reconcile them; The day after I stay at Kishnagery; and the following day I arrive at the Pass of Royacotta, where the Soubahdar of the Bara Maul is for the present, I receive a letter from Hyder sealed with his small seal Futteh Hyder, in answer to the one I wrote to him. Here I meet with an Instance of intended slight—Hyder's Letter deprives me of my Title, and is written in disrespectful terms. He repeats in his Letter the Extent of my Passport which by limiting me to one Palankeen prevents my being accompanied by any Person in the Character of a Gentleman, or even by a servant of the country of any consequence. All my sepoys and most of my Hercarrahs are stopped, and I am hindered from appearing with the Retinue which is proper for the Rank I bear, the rest of my People and Baggage are allowed to proceed. The Saubahdar not daring to visit me himself has sent his Munshy to me, who makes an apology for his Master, which shews that he is conscious of a failure in Civility, not voluntary, but enjoined him.

10th February. Left Rayacottah and halt successively at Tillamunglum, Tilta Chuncanally, Holgur Ikera, and Arkurra; Hyder's Hercarrahs here inform me that it is their Master's orders that I shall wait at this place till he is informed of my arrival. I therefore write to him. Next day two more Hercarrahs arrive with Hyder's answer in which he writes me, that on account of the popularity of Seeringapatam, there is no room for me within the Walls, but he has fitted up for me a Munduff by the River side where he desires me to go next morning.

14th February. I set out from Arkurra and arrive in two hours at the Munduff. My Habitation is an old ruinous stone Choultry about two miles from Seeringapatam, and on the opposite side of the River from the Fort, Suburbs, and Markets. It stands at a distance from any Houses, on a bare Plain. One

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part of the Munduff is filled with Ropes and Yokes for drawing heavy artillery, over which there is a Guard of Sepoys, who have Centinels on this common Gate, who I find will also be Centinels over me, and my People; The other part is alloted to me and my attendants. It is fortunate for me I have a good tent, otherwise I should be very badly lodged. Not long after my arrival a Choubdar came on Horseback who without ceremony squatted himself beside me, and asked a great many Questions; He seems rather to have been sent to make what observations he could about me, than to shew me Civility. I ordered one of my Choubdars to go to the Nabob with my compliments; to enquire after his health, and to tell him that by God's Grace and his Favor I was safely arrived. But my Choubdar was not permitted to stir out of the Munduff. I find there are Hircarrahs posted at the Gates and all around, who will not suffer my People to go to the Buzar without an attendant, nor permit any person to come to the Munduff without the Nabob's special leave—and no person of any distinction at the Nabob's Court, or in the Character of a Gentleman, has come to receive me, or to welcome my arrival at Seeringapatam; nor has the present of Provisions usual upon such occasions been sent but I am left to provide for myself, and People, as well as I can under the restraints I have already mentioned.

18th February. The Choubdar who came yesterday returned this afternoon, to acquaint me that the Nabob expected me in the Evening, and he was to conduct me to the Durbar. I desired him to let me know the precise time proper for me to set out; which by his Information was about half past Six o'Clock, In about an hour I arrived at the Palace where I was conducted thro' a Gate to an open veranda crowded with Peons, Sepoys, Hircarrahs, and all sort of Rabble. There I was stared at and made an object of Curiosity to all that passed; One man of apparent consequence asked my Dubash what was my name. I ordered him to reply that the Nabob knew it. I was detained in this Place near two hours, when ashamed of my situation, and impatient at the Indignity put upon me, I ordered one of the Nabob's Hircarrahs that attended me, to go, and tell that if the Nabob was not at leisure then to receive my visit, I would go and come another time. Soon after this I was sent for and conducted to the Dewanchanna (—Khana) where the Nabob was. I was introduced by Abu Mahomed Master of Ceremonies and paid my respects by taking off my Hat and bowing but the Choubdars called out as when the lowest of his dependents made their Tusseliment whilst I bowed, and

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Hyder made no other return than a bare, and silent Salam with his hand to his Turband. Hyder was seated not by the Wall, but about the middle of the Divanchuna (Diwankhana) between two Pillars, and a Crimson Velvet Musnud, edged with Gold Lace; a Sword and Shield by his side, One Chidmutgar behind him with a Gold Moorcha; he was dressed in a short Jama open on the left side; his sleaves were tucked up to shew a pair of Diamond Bracelets, and he had a large Diamond Ring on his Finger. There was a good many people seated in the Durbar, but I saw none of Dignity or even of good appearance. The Jamadars had Cattaries, and I wore my sword. I was conducted round and seated on the Carpet on Hyder's right Hand, close by the Wall, at about the distance of 20 feet from him. After I was seated I waited a few moments to see whether the Nabob chose to speak to me, but he shewing no Inclination to do so, I informed the Nabob that Sir Thomas Rumbold gave his compliments and sent Letters which I delivered. They were immediately read by the Munshies. I mentioned that Sir Thomas had sent a Saddle and Gun which were delivered into the hands of the Nabob's People, The Nabob enquired after Sir Thomas Rumbold's Health—A Letter was delivered me which came by the Nawab's Tappal. as I knew it was from the Governor and might be of immediate concern I opened it, and told the Nabob that Sir Thomas in that Letter desired me to present his compliments, and to inform his Excellency, that he wished to know what kind of European productions would be agreeable to his Excellency, that he might send them. Hyder replied, that he had about 600 Coss of Sia Coast from near Goa to below Calicut, where ships of all nations resorted and that he had ships of his own; by which means he was amply supplied with every thing he wanted, On this occasion the People of the Durbar launched out in praise of the Nabob's great Possessions, the Trade of his country, the number and strength of his Forts, The quantity of his Cannon and Arms. The Nabob himself mentioned the great Expences his Forts cost him, on which I joined in the general Subject of praise; I said that Europe resounded with the fame of his Wealth, his Power, his Wisdom and the glory of his warlike atchievements; that I esteemed myself very fortunate, and happy, that I had an opportunity of Seeing a Warrior I had so often heard of, Hyder seemed greatly pleased with the compliment. The Saddle and Gun having been brought forth, I told the Nabob that the Gun was of an uncommon construction, and required particular management, he looked a little at it, and said he would send

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a Man in the morning to learn the Way of managing it. I waited to see if any opportunity offered of talking on Business; but the Nabob took no further notice of the letters; and as he did not himself propose the subject of my Embassy it was a sign he did not choose to enter upon it.— I saw that my Reception was in State, from which he did not choose to relax, either because it was my first visit, or from other motives; and the style of conservation of the Durbar seemed calculated purposely to give me a great idea of the Nabob; I therefore determined to postpone entering upon Business, till my next meeting which I resolved to ask for next morning when the Person came about the Gun— It was now late; the Nabob gave me leave to depart; and Bettle and Other being brought, I took my leave.—

19th February. Mahomed Osman a confidential Servant of the Nabob's, who has been at Madrass, has to my surprize brought both Gun and Saddle; and says that the Nabob desires I will think nothing of his sending them back, as the Saddle is not of the Hindostan Form and therefore of no use to him, and because the Gun is liable to be put out of order, and the workmen of this country do not know how to repair it; and besides they say that it is not so good as a Gun which is loaded at the Muzzle. The Nabob desires that altho' the present is returned, I should not think that his regard is diminished; I replied that he is the Master; I know such trifles to be of no consequence; that what was agreeable to him was the principal object I attended to, I desired that it might be delivered; I laid very little stress on ceremonials, I said I had seen the Courts of Princes, both in Europe and in India; that I knew something of the forms of the Durbars of Hindostan, where I had some pretensions to Rank from the King himself; that altho' I was very sensible when there was any Deviation from the usual customs or Rules; yet I was not at all affected by it, that I came to do Business, not to stand on Punctilios. I particularly desired Mahomed Osman to inform the Nabob, I wished to have a private audience to communicate the Subject of my Embassy; that the season for sending our ships to Europe, and writing the Dispatches was at hand and I wished to see the Nabob as soon as possible to have time to inform the company in Europe by the ships of this season, of the result of my conference. Mahomed Osman promised to deliver my message, and took his leave— soon after a present of sheep and Rice, and other Provisions came to me from the Nabob.

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The return of the present, is not to be explained away by any apologies whatever, and joined with the other parts of the Nabob's Behaviour, shews no friendly disposition towards us. He has from the beginning shewn an unwillingness to admit me; and altho' in a manner forced, by Sir Thomas Rumbold's Importunity, to receive me at last; he has done it in a manner that brings no honor to the English, and that marks no consent, nor Inclination towards friendship, nor concession of any kind on his Part. It is indeed reported that he has entered into an alliance with the Mahrattas, and is preparing to second their views by attacking the Carnatic. It is said that he is assembling a considerable army at Bengalore, where he has sent 15 or 20 pieces of Battering cannon, and a great many field Pieces; Troops are also said to be collecting at Carour. The old claim on the City of Trichinopoly which was promised to the King of Mysore, near 30 years ago, is said to afford a pretence for the Invasion, and it is to open with the attack of that Place.—Whatever Hyder's views may be, it is certain his Deportment towards me, is disrespectful, and unfriendly hitherto; but perhaps that may alter. I find Monsr. Lally, who was in the service of Bazalet Jung, and afterwards of Nizam Ally, is now come here, with some Europeans and Sepoys; and there are Mahratta vackeels here.

20th February. Although I spoke to Mahomed Osman to inform the Nabob I wanted a private audience, yet not trusting to that, I think it necessary to demand one by Letter; and accordingly I write to him and send my Letter by a Choubdar but it is returned, the Nabob being retired to his Zenana.

21st. Sent my Letter again and the Nabob desires that I should come in the Evening. I set out by direction after sun set and was conducted to a better apartment, than on my first visit, Here I found several Jamadars, and others sitting without their Cattaries, it being the usual Custom of Hydar's Durbar to be unarmed. After some time two Choubdars came and called out several People by Name to go to the Presence, and they were told to take their Catteries. When I had sat above an hour I was called and conducted to the same Dewanchanna as at first I take notice that the Nabob did not speak to me on my Entrance. In about half an hour Mahomed Osman came and asked me from the Nabob whether I chose to confer in a public or private audience; I replied in a private one. He said in that case you must go into another

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apartment, where a Person in the Nabob's confidence will accompany you, and when he has heard what you have to say, he will inform the Nabob of it, and carry you an answer; I said that I wished to speak personally with the Nabob; he said it was not the Nabob's Custom to do so, and the way he had mentioned was the only audience I could get; with which I was obliged to comply. I went into another apartment, and was followed by an orderly man, named Mahomed Gheas, and by Mahomed Osman—When seated they asked me what was the purport of my Embassy; I said I had delivered two Letters from the Governor of Madras, one on the Business of the English subjects, who had been detained at Calicut, whose dismission I was directed to demand, when that Letter was written, and when I left Madras it was not known that the Nabob intended of himself to set them at liberty; that I had met them on the road and learned from themselves the Nabob's Kindness, in sending for them to his Presence, and in providing them with necessaries and conveniencies for their journey; for which I returned him thanks. I assured the Nabob that if any English subjects had behaved in such a manner as to give his officers just cause to complain, or to detain them; it was without the knowledge of the Company's Presidencies, against their Inclinations and against positive orders and I hoped nothing of the kind would happen again in future. The second Letter, I said, informed the Nabob, that I was commissioned to confer with him on the Interests of the two Nations, in consequence of my Instructions, I now expressed in the name of Sir Thomas Rumbold, and the Council of Madras the high regard, and friendship they entertained for his Excellency; and assured him of the personal Esteem and regard they had for his Character; that they wished to strengthen the alliance now subsisting between him and the English, not only by a renewal of former Engagements, but of entering into a closer Union of Interest. Mahomed Gheas, and Mahomed Osman on this, went to the Nabob, and related what I had said; they returned, and replied. The Nabob says he would have been glad of the friendship of the English but (hia Taida) to what purpose is it" They added the Nabob concluded one Treaty with the English, every article of which he had faithfully adhered to, but the English failed in every point, and the Treaty is absolutely broken. They spoke of the conquest of Tanjore, notwithstanding that Country was guaranteed by the Treaty. They expatiated largely on the having withheld the stipulated assistance when the

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Mahrattas invaded and ruined Mysore; by which they said the Circar sustained a Loss of 3 Crores of Pagodas; and that was the only time when we had an opportunity of rendering the Nabob any service, or of shewing how we stood affected towards him. They said there were many other complaints which it was needless to relate. I replied that I was not come to enter into a Discussion of old grievances, which had happened in former Governments, but to propose a remedy against new ones. The Gentlemen who had now the management of affairs differed from their Predecessors, and were sincerely desirous of an effectual junction with the Nabob; that such a junction could not but be of great service to him, by strengthening him with the assistance of our forces, supplying him with military Stores, and by securing his Dominions to himself, and to his family, against all invaders or Enemies whatsoever. On this the Nabob's confidants hinted, that the Nabob stood in no need of assistance or Supplies, for he was strong enough to take care of himself. They said that the Nabob Waulan Jah (Walajah) Bahadur was an Instance of the manner in which the English assisted their friends; who tho' an old friend of the Company's and particularly favored by the King of England himself, yet was obliged to pay immense Sums for their friendship every year. Mahomed Osman said that when he was at Madras the Nabob Waulan Jah had shewn him several honorable Letters from the King of England, and from the Company expressed in terms of the greatest friendship: but that the Nabob complained at the same time, of the Lacks of Pagodas, each of those letters cost him. I replied, the Nabob Bahadur must judge for himself, how far a sincere, and effective Friendship and alliance with the English can be of service to him. As for the Nabob Waulan Jah Bahauder his affairs were so connected with, and interwoven into those of the Company from the long and expensive Wars carried on in the Carnatic, that neither Mahomed Osman, nor any body else who was not a party concerned, could pretend to judge; I was glad however to find that the Nabob Waulan Jah had friends at the Court of Seeringapatam, who interested themselves and were so anxious on his account; but the Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn was on a very different footing in point of an expence of that nature— Finding that we now seemed to be sliding into conversation rather than doing Business, I recalled the attention of the Confidants to the principal points of what I had said, by repeating them, and desiring that they might be reported to the Nabob. I desired they would also tell his Excellency from me, that it was not from weak-

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ness, or alarm, I had come to make this offer, for the English never were before so strong in India as at this time.—We had a fine army in the coast from whence we had driven all our Enemies, our numerous fleet was unopposed; and if any unforeseen event rendered it necessary to have still more Troops in the Carnatic, we had a very considerable army at Bengal, ready to come down on the first notice; but that Sir Thomas Rumbold had sent me from a conviction, that it would be for the mutual Benefit both of the Nabob Bahadur and of the Company to unite their Interests confidentially, and effectually together; that having informed the Nabob of the friendly Disposition of the Government of Madras towards him, I had executed the commission I was charged with, and was now at his Excellency's Disposal, either to return with an answer, or to write to the Governor of Madras an account of what had passed, and wait for fresh Instructions from thence—The confidants went to the Nabob, repeated to him what I had said, and returning, told me the Nabob desired I would write to Madras, and stay till I heard from thence—I mentioned that the Company's Ships going to Europe were to sail very soon, it was therefore necessary to send my Letter by the quickest conveyance, in order to get an answer the sooner, and that whatever conclusion we came to, my Letters to Madras might arrive before their Departure, and enable Sir Thomas to inform the Company of what had passed; I therefore desired my Letters to Sir Thomas might go by the Nabob's Tappals rather than by a Messenger which would occasion a difference of several Days; The confidants replied very well—" I did not choose on this occasion to intimate that Sir Thomas proposed to go home himself, as it was necessary, and would not alter the state of the negociation—after this I returned to the Durbar, where I sat a few minutes, and the Nabob gave me leave to retire.—I was not pleased with the appearance of things in this conference. The Nabob did not choose to talk to me in person, but employed other People; their opening upon me with old complaints that were in fact obsolete; the indifference with which my Advances were received; no advances or even encouragement on their part; One thing however I was glad of. The Nabob's desiring me to stay at Seeringapatam, as that wore the appearance of his not being determined against coming to an Explanation, which I hoped in time to find some opportunity of effecting.—

22nd February.—I wrote to Sir Thomas an account of what passed, and sent my Letter to the Fort to be forwarded by the

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Tappal as I desired yesterday, but the Nabob was inaccessible; next day, I sent it again and desired my Chaubdar to ask for Passports for the People I left at Royacottah. The Chaubdar returned with my letter, which was not permitted to go by Tappal; but he brought Passports for Hircarrahs to carry it, and for my People at Royacottah. The refusal to send my letter by the Tappal does not pretend that the Nabob means to enter into an amicable connexion with us, for if he was desirous of it, he would wish that it should be effected as soon as possible, and would therefore promote it; on the contrary, it would seem that he wished to amuse, and to gain time.—

From this time till the 19th, March I had no permission to visit the Nabob notwithstanding my repeated Sollicitations and endeavours to obtain a private confidential audience— From day to day, he used to send by Choubdars presents of Fruit, Flowers, Sweetmeats to so *a*. Yet even this apparent civility was conducted in a manner that discovered more the condescension of a Superior to an Inferior, than of an act of Politeness; for his Choubdars neither delivered a civil message when they came, nor behaved respectfully; but were greedy, insolent, and clamorous— He gave me leave to see his two Gardens without the city, and I went once to each of them; otherwise I never went out of the Choultry.

The Intelligence I received was that very soon after my arrival, express camels were sent to Poonah, with the Regency of which Hyder was executing a Treaty. Before my arrival, preparations for taking the Field had been carried on with great Deligence, and Tippoo Sahib Hyder's eldest Son, was ordered to join the Troops at Bingalore; but that order was afterwards reversed, and since my arrival his Preparations have been greatly relaxed, tho' not quite laid aside, and it is believed, as the season is so far advanced that the army will not take the Field till next year. It is the general report of the Bazar, and camp, that the armament is intended against the Carnatic; some say however that the next campaign will be against Bazalet Jung, others against the Nizam. It is impossible for me situated as I am to get accurate Intelligence because I am surrounded with Spies, and debarred all communication— My opinion however is, that he keeps his Troops in readiness to seize the first opportunity of extending his territories, either on the side of the Carnatic, or of Golcondah as chance may offer. He will not venture to cope with the English in their present Force; but the French People about him have

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flattered him with the notion of an armament from the Mauritius; and he perhaps may think that the War in which we are engaged with the Mahrattas will occupy our whole force, and embarrass us; in either of those cases he would not fail to make an Effort; on that account therefore, he probably does not choose to enter into any engagements with us at present; at the same time he will not give us direct umbrage, nor come to an open rupture, till the opportunity offers— His force I understand to consist of about 10,000, Horse of his own Stables, and about 15,000, more Horse of hired Troops, with a number of Plunderers that serve without pay. He is said to have about 25,000 Sepoys with European arms; and Peons Colleries (Kallars), etc. without number; He has a great quantity both of battering and Field artillery; The Europeans in his Service, a mixed Rabble of different nations, may amount to 400, all mounted— Such was the Intelligence I was able to pick up during the interval since my last visit, of which I wrote to Sir Thomas Rumbold what I thought necessary.

17th March.— I received by my own Hircarrahs a Letter from Captain Keating at Amboor dated 9th informing me that he had dispatched a Letter from Sir Thomas Rumbold for me to the Killadar of Waniambody, to be forwarded by the Nabob's Tappal— My Hircarrahs have been 9 days on the road, whereas the Tappal arrives in three,— The letter Captain Keating forwarded must therefore have arrived some days ago, and must now be in the Nabob's possession. I ordered my Moonshy to wait upon the Nabob with my compliments and to represent to him that it was a long time since I had the Honor to see him; and that I wished for permission to wait upon him; that I understood a Letter from Madras had been dispatched by his Tappals from Waniambody, and I begged to know if it was yet arrived. My Moonshy went, and the Nabob received him by no means in a good Humour, however he gave him the letter which came by the Tappal, and told him that he intended to call me, to take leave of him, the day after Tomorrow, of this his Intention I had heard indeed a day or two before.—

19th March. The Nabob having sent me notice by one of his Hircarrahs that he expected me in the Evening to take leave, I set out by information of his Hircarrahs as usual, after Sun set, and was conducted to the same outward apartment as on my last visit; where I waited near two hours before I was sent for. In

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the Durbar, I was placed at a greater distance, from the Nabob, than before; separate from the other People in his front, so as to be an object of Exhibition to all the Durbar. He did not speak to me, and scarce deigned to look towards me; I determined as he had sent for me for a particular purpose, not to be the first to speak, especially as I was seated so far from him, that I could not address him without being heard by the whole Durbar altho' it was his desire that I should write to Madras an account of the conference I had at my preceding visit, and he could not but suppose that the Letter I had received was an answer to what I wrote; yet he could not condescend to inquire about it, and as he had taken the Resolution of giving me my Dismission, before I received that answer, let it be what it would; I thought it would not only be ineffectual, but degrading to speak concerning it; as every thing concerned me I had no favourable answer to expect, I was resolved not to give him an opportunity of making me an insulting one, in the face of the Durbar.— After I had sat above an hour in silence, some Gold Stuff, a Shaul and 2 Bags of 500 Rupees each, were brought to me with Beetle and Otter; I then said to the Nabob that I was very sensible of his Goodness, favour, and politeness, and should always keep them in remembrance; I also said that if I could be of any use to him at Madras, I hoped he would command my services; to which he replied coldly, very well. A Passport having been made out, and a Letter delivered me for the Governor, I rose up, made my Bow, and went away.

And thus ended my Embassy to the Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn Bahauder, during the course of which I was rather received and treated as a Spy, than as an Embassador, and rather confined, than lodged. He never admitted me to a confidential audience altho' I frequently sollicited it; He never allowed me to enter his city by day light; He kept me at a distance from his person, as if he suspected I had a design upon his life, and he watched me as narrowly as if he thought I was come to pry into his affairs, or to carry on some secret plot with his People— I was by no means sorry to leave so inhospitable a region. I set out the following day, and arrived at Madras in ten days.

On the 31 March 1780 Gray Made the following report to the Governor and delivered to him the following letter which Hyder had sent with him. The latter gives the reason of the failure of Mr. Gray's embassy to Hyder.

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EXTRACT FROM MILITARY CONSULTATIONS 1780.

TO THE HON'BLE SIR THOMAS RUMBOLD BART. GOVERNOR AND THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE OF FORT, St. GEORGE.

Gentlemen,

Pursuant to your orders of the 14th January I went to Seringapatam where I arrived on the 17th February.

The Nabob Hyder Ally Chan had of his own accord liberated the Gentlemen whose enlargement I was directed to sollicit so that it only remained for me to return him thanks for the friendly manner in which he had dismissed them and provided for their Journey through his country. When I had done this I took occasion at the same time to express to the Nabob the sentiments of regard and frienship which the Government of Fort St. George and the English Nation in General entertained towards his highness, but I am sorry to say my professions on that subject did not meet with the reception which I hoped for,—they were answered with reproaches of repeated Breaches of faith and the English Nation was taxed with a positive breach of treaty. Notwithstanding this unpleasant manifestation of the Nabob's sentiments I continued at Seringapatam in hopes of finding some favourable opportunity of an explanation but I was completely disappointed; for he never permitted me to visit him again till the 19th March when he sent for me purposely to give me an audience of leave and delivered me the accompanying letter for the Governor.

I have to observe that my reception at the Court of Seringapatam was neither friendly nor respectful, a few instances of politeness were overbalanced by many more of inattention and slight, and I will venture to say that the latter had the appearance of being evidently remarked.

I have the honour to be with respect,
Gentlemen,
Your most obedient humble servant,
GEORGE GRAY.

31st March, 1780.

EXTRACT FROM MILITARY COUNTRY CORRESPONDENCE 1780.

No date: March?

From Hyder Aly Cawn to the Governor.

I have received your letter by Mr. Gray, and understand the contents, as well as the Particulars you had entrusted that Gentleman with. How did you keep to the Engagements you made at the Time that Chunda Cawn and the French laid seige to Trichinopoly. The Governor and Council afterwards entered into a Treaty of Peace with me which amounted to this—They were to regard my Friends as their Friends, and my Enemies as theirs, and were to give me their Assistance when I required it.

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I took it for granted that no deviation would happen in the Company's Treaty—The Original is with you to which I refer—When a War subsisted between me, and the Mahrattas, altho' I had no occasion for your Assistance yet in order to try whether you would keep to your Engagements or not, I wrote you repeatedly to assist me with a small Force, agreable to the Treaty but no attention was paid to my Request. You wrote me some time ago, that you were to assist Buzalet Jung; and you accordingly sent your Troops to him who met and had an Engagement with mine.

Besides this your Territories lay continguous to mine, from Dindgull to Cudappa and continual disturbances are raised by you in my country—for instance the Chief of Tellichery gives protection to the Nairs dependent upon me, keeps their families in his Factory, assists them with lead, powder and Fire Arms, and comits disorders in my country. He has, and is now at this time laying waste districts, which yield me an annual Revenue of Twenty Lacks of Rupees. When you are thus acting in this unruly manner, what Treaty subsists between you and me? or which of us has violated it? You and the Gentlemen of your Council may look to it. What more?

———

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Bengal Under Jahangir

Baharistan-i-Ghaibi of Mirza Nathan

By

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The Mughal period is the best studied of the pre-British periods of Indian history. The abundance of contemporary or semi-contemporary chronicles, mostly by officials, makes it easy to study the fortunes of the Mughal rulers of India. It is not to be wondered at however that most of the contemporary chronicles deal with the affairs at the imperial court and as such touch provincial matters only when these affect imperial policy or imperial fortunes. It is rarely that one comes across a contemporary chronicle dealing with the history of a province and still rarer it is to find it written by an official serving in the province at the time when the events described were taking place. In the Baharistan-i-Ghaibi of Mirza Nathan, who later on became Shatah Khan, we have both these fortunate circumstances in combination. The MS—the only copy extant is in the National Library at Paris—was utilised by Sir Edwor Gait in his history of Assam. But he had access to only a partial summary of the work prepared by Sir Jadunath Sarkar who had already brought this rare MS to the notice of students of history in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society in March, 1921. He acquired a rotographed copy of the MS and published a table of contents mostly based on the summaries of the chapters appended thereto by the author himself. Unfortunately these summaries are not reliable, the author not infrequently taking the wish for the deed, and thus mentioning many things in the summaries of the chapters which he probably intended to put therein but ultimately decided otherwise. Mr. S. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., now lecturer in history in the University of Dacca, was introduced to the MS by Sir Jadunath, and used it for his History of the Mughal North-East Frontier Policy. Unfortunately, though he had a rotographed copy of the MS procured for him by the University of Dacca, his use of the MS has not been very accurate or fortunate in some cases at least. Dr. Beni Parshad neglected to use this valuable material in his

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History of Jahangir though it had already been brought to the notice of students of history.

By the courtesy of Sir Jadunath I have been able to study this little known work. In the belief that the publication of the original or the translation of this bulky text may not be attempted for sometime yet, I have prepared a summary abstract of this work. No attempt has been made at a literal translation unless absolutely necessary.

Nathan's father was appointed officer in charge of the artillery and the war boats when Islam Khan was appointed governor of Bengal in June, 1608. He had been brought up under the protection of prince Shah Jahan.[1] Nathan accompanied his father to his new charge and remained serving in Bengal till after the defeat and expulsion of Shah Jahan therefrom. He served as a partisan of Shah Jahan when he appeared in Bengal after having been defeated in the Deccan by Mahabat Khan. He lived to see that prince emperor and this history was written in Shah Jahan's reign.[2] He is mentioned in the Assamese Buranji as a Mughal officer who served with distinction in the Mughal campaigns against the Ahom Raja in 1618.[3] The Paris copy was supposed by Sir Jadunath to be the author's own MS; but the many gaps in the text[4] show that at best it can only have been a copy of the author's original MS prepared, as the fly leaf says, for one of his patrons. We are fortunate in possessing marginal notes on the text. Sir Jadunath supposed these to be the author's corrections. But the notes pour ridicule on many statements and actions of the author and they must therefore be by someone else. Who he was is a question difficult to decide. He adversely comments upon the language, the style and the usuage of the author. Of course the annotator was a staunch Muslim, as is proved by his vehement comments on the irreligious conduct of the Mughal officers when they celebrated a Mughal victory in the sacred month of Ramzan. He would not have a Sayyad lead the van,[5] nor would he tolerate anyone among them being executed for any fault what-

1. Page 304 a.
2. Cf. p. 277a.
3. Page 51; Sir Jadu Nath's copy of the English transiation.
4. Cf. p. 271a.
5. Leaf 318.

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soever.[6] He must have written when the fear of Jahangir and Shah Jahan was a thing of the past. His comments on many of their actions are too free for a Mughal courtier even of a later generation. He dubs Shah Jahan's conduct in one case as foolishness.[7] He picks holes in the historical knowledge of his author, but himself fares no better when he indulges in any exhibition of his own knowledge. He rightly refuses to believe in the miracles which Nathan declares in his book he was able to perform.

The work is divided into four parts. The first part deals with the government of Islam Khan in Bengal; the second treats of his successor Qasim Khan's rule therein; the third deals with Ibrahim Khan's government of Bengal; while the last is a record of Shah Jahan's rule in Bengal and the allied provinces. Every part is further sub-divided into stories or chapters. The first book is rather over-burdened with verse. Out of its 141 double pages, 55 (double pages) are covered by the work of poets who seem to have flocked to Bengal in order to allow Nathan to adorn his work with their verses. Unfortunately the versified accounts of many of the incidents differ from the story given in the original. Verses appear elsewhere as well but not so frequently.

The interest of the work is manifold. Besides providing us with a detailed story of the Mughal conquest and occupation of Bengal and Assam, it throws welcome light on many administrative practices of the day, and enables us to judge for ourselves how far imperial orders were obeyed by the governors of far off provinces. It further supplies us with a detailed account of Shah Jahan's rebellion in Bengal and Bihar. Its references to social customs and religious beliefs are very valuable. The detailed account of Mughal seige operations and expeditionary forces prove, as never before, the difficulties of warfare in Bengal and the Mughal efforts at overcoming them. Further it preserves a faithful account of the part Nur Jahan was playing at this time in the government of the country.

Let the work speak for itself now.

6. Leaf 313.
7. Leaf 203

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BAHARISTAN-I-GHAIBI

By

Mirza Nathan.

Introduction.

Shatab Khan alias Nathan, son of Malik Ali Ihtmam Khan, brought together this account of the affairs in Bengal so that it may form a part of the chronicles of Jahangir's reign and find a place in the Memoirs of the emperor.

PART I.

The Government of Islam Khan.

Chapter I.

When Jahangir Quli Khan,[8] governor of Bengal, died, Islam Khan,[9] governor of Bihar, was appointed to succeed him. He came to Agra so that he might be invested with the insignia of his office. When he had royal audience, he submitted to Jahangir that all the old officers in Bengal were dishonest and treacherous, but

8. Jahangir Quli Khan originally known as Lala Beg was the son of Nizam, Humayun's Librarian. He entered Jahangir's service when he was still a prince. On Jahangir's accession he was raised to the command of 4000 horse and appointed Subahdar of Bihar. When Qutub-ud-Din, governor of Bengal, was killed by Sher Afghan on May 30, 1607 (Beni Parshad, page 175, has wrongly assigned March 30 as the date of Sher Afghan's death.), he was appointed governor of Bengal. He succumbed to the climate of Bengal soon after. Jahangir learnt of his death on 20 Muharam, 1018 A.H. (27-4-1608) cf. Iqbalanama Jahangiri, 33, 34, Memoirs of Jahangir, 1, 21 and 208; Maasir I, 512 to 514.

9. Islam Khan, originally known as Alaud Din was the grandson of Shaikh Salim Chishti and son of Jahangir's foster brother. He entered Mughal service under Akbar. He was brought up along with Jahangir and was a year younger. He was raised to the command of 2000 horse and given a post at Agra by Jahangir on his accession. He informed the emperor of Qutub-ud-Din's death in Bengal and was appointed to succeed Jahangir Quli Khan in Bihar. His appointment to Bengal in June 1608 was resented in the court circles as he was considered to be too young for that important charge! He was 38 at the time. Cf. Memoirs, I, 31, 32, 143, 144, 171 and 208

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very good at coining excuses. They should therefore be all recalled. Further it was necessary, he held, to appoint an honest Diwan. Ihtman Khan[10] or someone else as competent should also be sent as officer in charge of the artillery and the war boats. Jahangir thereupon issued orders recalling the old Diwan, Wazir Khan,[11] and his sons who were at the root of the disturbed condition of things in the province. Further Islam Khan was empowered to suggest other changes in the government on reaching the province. Abul Hasan Mu'atamid Khan was accordingly appointed Diwan[12] and Ihtman Khan was appointed the Chief of artillery and the navy.

(Islam Khan and Mu'atamid Khan thereupon left Agra for Bengal and took charge of the province. Islam Khan preceded his Diwan) who reached Raj Mahal later on and paid his respects to the governor and prince Jahandar.[13]

10. Ihtmam Khan, originally known as Malik Ali, was a commander of 250 horse and Mir Shab when the Ain was compiled. By the time Akbar died, he had risen to become the Kotwal of Agra and Jahangir sent him against Khusru when he rebelled. Later on he was sent against Badi-uz-Zaman to Malwa with a view to reconcile him and bring him to court. On his appointment to his present office he was raised to the command of 1,000 horse. Cf. Memoirs, I, 127 and 144; Iqbalanama, 9.

11. Wazir Khan, originally known as Mukim was styled Wazir Khan and appointed a Wazir by Akbar probably after the compilation of the list of the Wazirs in the Ain. Jahangir was not very well inclined towards him and after keeping him the Wazir for some time, appointed Jan Beg his colleague, in the first year of his reign. Soon after he was appointed Diwan of Bengal to settle the revenues of the province. He was recalled from that province on March 19, 1608, five weeks before Jahangir learnt the news of Jahangir Quli Khan's death in Bengal. He reported himself to Jahangir on 17 Jumadi-ul-Awwal 1017 A.H. Nathan is wrong therefore in ascribing his dismissal to Islam Khan who was in Bihar when he was recalled. Cf. Masir, III, 932—933; Memoirs, I, 13, 20, 22, 139, 147. He rose to be a commander of 2,500 horse.

12. Cf. Memoirs, I, 139. He had already been appointed Wazir Khan's successor before Islam Khan's appointment to the province of Bengal.

13. According to Mirza Hadi's preface to the Memoirs of Jahangir (P. 17 of the Aligarh edition of the Persian Text.) he was born about the time of Akbar's death in 1605. Terry (Early European Travels in India, 330.) states that Jahangir got the news of his birth just when he ascended the throne. This is opposed to Price's translation of the Tarikh-i-Salim Shahi

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Ihtman Khan was invested with a *Khiliat* and raised to the command of a thousand horse (second class) on Wednesday, 5 Rabi-ul-Awal, 1017 A.H., 2 hours after sunset.

He was sent to the prime minister who gave him good counsel and asked him to take 400,000 maunds of salt with him to the prince (presumably to be sold by him) as little salt was produced in Bengal[14]

Chapter II.

On an auspicious day on the morning of 9, Rabi-ul-Awal, Ihtman Khan brought his war boats into the river Jumna just below the salutation balcony where Jahangir was sitting. The boats manoeuvred and the artillery thundered. The emperor was so pleased that he declared he would now be able to quell all disturbances in Bengal. After thus saluting the emperor, Ihtmam Khan left by way of the river. On the ninth day he reached Allahabad. Here he learnt that Raja Kalyan Singh, son of Man Singh,[15] who had earlier been recalled to the court from

(350). He was born of a concubine. When he was barely a year old he was sent to Bengal on June 6, 1606, with Qutub-ud-Din, the new governor of Bengal, as his tutor. He remained in Bengal at his tutor's death under the guardianship of his successor Jahangir Quli. It seems that the tutorship of this prince had become attached to the government of Bengal as Islam Khan was now appointed to the job. Cf. Memoirs, I, 20, 153; Iqbalnama, 306. Price's Jahangir, 35, wrongly makes Jahandar a uterine brother of Parveiz. Gladwin (22) makes him, again wrongly, a twin to Shahryar and places his birth in the first year of Jahangir's reign.

14. Cf. Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, p. 47, and Ain-i-Akbari, II, 122.

15. Raja Kalyan Singh has been wrongly described in the Tuzak (Persian Text, 199, Memoirs, I, 402.) as a son of Raja Todar Mal. This has been hitherto accepted though Maasir-ul-Umra does not mention any such son of Todar Mal, nor any son who rose to distinction. Banerji (History of Orissa, I, 33.) follows Tuzak. I have no hesitation in accepting Nathan's statement especially when Brook's Political History of the State of Jaipur mentions a son of Man Singh who was known as Kalyan Singh. I am surprised to find Sir Jadu Nath (J. B. O. R. S., VII, 53.) follow Tuzak without even mentioning the difference between Baharistan and the Tuzak in this connection. It should be remembered here that Man Singh, his father, was the governor of Bengal when Jahangir came to the throne. Rather reluctantly Jahangir continued him in that command and then sometime in the first year made him Fojdar of Rohtas. He sent for him repeatedly to the court and Man Singh presented himself at Agra on 21, Zil Qada, 1016. (Memoirs,

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Rohtas, had just left Allahabad and was at Serai Bandgi[16] The emperor had ordered Ihtmam Khan to take with him to Bengal the artillery Kalyan Singh was bringing with him. Ihtmam Khan sent his officers to Kalyan Singh who handed over 330 pieces of cannon, big and small.

Chapter III.

When he reached Jusi,[17] he met Wazir Khan, the Diwan, who was hastening to the imperial court as ordered. He told him that he had been authorised to take charge of the pieces of artillery in Wazir Khan's train. As his artillery was travelling by land and had been left behind, Wazir Khan made arrangements for making over to Ihtmam Khan 4 pieces of cannon and two war boats. These taken over, Ihtmam Khan proceeded further. At Chahuba, his party was attacked by river pirates, but his son, Nathan, overpowered them, seized two boats that they had taken possession of and, by steady fire throughout the day, he was able to scare them away by the evening. He thus reached Patna wherefrom he proceeded to Rohtas. Here he examined the defences of the fort and took away with him to Patna 85 spare pieces of artillery. From Patna he sent his personal assistant, Mohammad Murad, to Islam Khan in order to arrange for the payment of the salaries to his men. Islam Khan assigned Jahanabad,[18] Tambuk,[19] Bardwan, and Midnapur to him in lieu of the salaries of his men and gave him a Jagir in Bhati[20] and Ghoraghat.[21].

I, 15, 78, 138 and 208; Iqbalnama, 32; Price, 32.). Kalyan Singh seems to be following his father to the court and was later on appointed to his command at Rohtas.

16. Probably in the environs of Allahabad.

17. Opposite Allahabad on the other side of the river. Iqbalnama, 223.

18. 25° 13′ N., 85° E.; a subdivision and its headquarters in Bengal. named after Khan Jahan. Cf. Blochman, J. A. S. B., 1873, 223.

19. Probably Tamluk of the Imperial Gazetteer (XIII, 116), in the Midnapur district in Bengal.

20. The coast strip of Sundar Bans from Hijili to Meghna, Blochman, J. A. S. B., 1873, 226. Cf. the Ain, II, 116.

21. Ghoraghat; modern Chaukhandi on the right bank of the river Karatya, a *sarkar* in Bengal with 84 Mahals. Ain-i-Akbari, II, 135. Cf. Blochman op. cit. p. 215 where he wrongly declares the number of Mahals in the *sarkar* to be 88. 'It comprised portions of Dinajpur, Rangpur, and Bograh district.' Cf. Khulsat-ut-Tawarikh, 48; Haft Aklim (Ms.) 26 (a); Riyaz, 47; Dorn. I, 183.

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Meanwhile Islam Khan had already reached Bengal. He took in hand the task of quelling the rebels. He sent an army against Usman[22] who had murdered the officer of the Mughal garrison at Alap Singh. Anayat Khan was in charge of this expedition. He expelled Usman and captured the place. He was now named Ghias Khan.[23]

Iradat Khan,[24] governor of Bihar, sent his men to purchase elephants in Orissa. This party of the Mughals was attacked by the Afghans under Kumar-ud-Din who defeated them, captured the elephants and took possession of other presents these men were bringing from Orissa. Raja Kalyan Singh who was going to Rohtas from Raj Mahal came to the rescue of the Mughals, defeated the Afghans, recaptured the elephants and other valuables and sent them on to Islam Khan. When the emperor heard of this exploit of the Raja, he added 20 villages to his jagir and gave him permission to fly his own flag.

22. Usman, the leader of the Afghans in Bengal at this time, has been variously described as Daud Khan, king of Bengal's brother (Dorn, I, 183.), Sulaiman's son (Ain, II, 147.), Sulaiman's brother and Katlu's son (Maasir, I, 165.). Sujan Rai (413) makes the confusion worse confounded by making Isa Khan, Katlu's son. Blochman (Ain, II, 147.) makes Usman, son of Isa Khan on the authority of Makhzan-i-Afghani though Dorn's reading differs from his. Nor does Tawarikh-i-Murass, a Pashto (Ms.) translation of Makhzan bear him out. Iqbalnama, Tuzak, Akbar Nama, and Farishta shirk the question and describe him simply as the leader of the Afghans in Bengal. Gladwin, Vincent Smith, and Beni Parshad follow suit.

23. Aayat Khan surnamed Ghias Khan is most probably Anayat-Ullah of the Memoirs (I, 158, 160.) who was promoted at the request of Islam Khan, governor of Bengal, to the command of 1,500 horse and created Anayat Khan in 1017 A.H. He was created a commander of 2,000 horse in the sixth year (Tuzak, 97). Rogers' translation (I, 199) making his previous rank 2,000 goes against his text and Beveridge has noted no departure in the reading in any of his MSS. Anayat Khan became the Bakhshi of Ahdis (special household troops) on March 18, 1618 (Memoirs, II, 14.) and died in October, 1618 (Memoirs, II, 43.).

24. Iradit Khan was not the governor of Bihar at this time. Afzal, son of Abul Fazal, was appointed Subahdar of Bengal in succession to Islam Khan (Memoirs, I, 143.). Iradat Khan however had been serving as the Bakshi here since 14 Jamadi-ul-Awal 1016 (Memoirs, I, 117.). He was appointed Mir Saman in the sixth year, rose to the command of 1,500 horse in the 12th year, that of 2,000 in the thirteenth, governor of Kashmir, in the 15th. He died in 1059 A.H. at the age of 76 and a commander of 6,000 horse. He was one of the trusted servants of Shah Jahan. Cf. Memoirs, I, 306, 372; II, 15 and 175; Badshah Nama, III, 718; Maasir, I, 174-79.

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Shaikh Badi, Vakil of Raja Pratap-Āditya,[25] saw Islam Khan about this time with his son Sangrāmāditya. He promised to send the Raja with his contingent to the governor.

Chapter IV.

Islam Khan now decided to punish the disturbers of peace in Bengal. He reviewed Ihtmam Khan's war boats and artillery. Ihtmam Khan presented the governor with valuables and cash worth Rs. 46,000, Diwan Mu'atamid Khan Rs. 10,000, Bakhshi Tahar Mohamad Rs. 8,000, and Hoshang, son of Islam Khan, Rs. 5,000.

When Islam Khan first visited Chat Mahal[26] his army was much harassed by the local rebels.

Islam Khan came to Gaur and from here sent an army under Shaikh Kamal against Bir Bhum of Pachet[27] Shams Khan, and Salim Khan Zinimdar of Hijili.[28] The Mughals first entered the territory of Bir Hamir who submitted. They advanced to Darni[29] where Shams Khan also accepted Mughal authority. When they reached Hijli at last, Salim Khan submitted.

Islam Khan sent Iftkhar Khan[30] against Raja Satarjit.[31] The Raja decided to oppose the Mughals. But he was taken by surprise when the Mughals forded the river and entered his territories. Satarjit now submitted and accompanied Iftkhar Khan to Islam Khan's court.

25. Raja of Jessore and the strongest Hindu prince in Bengal.

26. Probably a variant for Chatgaon, modern Chitagong.

27. Pachet is Panchet, originally Panchkot, in Manbhum district and is represented now by a large Zamindari.

28. Hijili, an old village in the Midnapur district in Bengal, 21° 8′ N, 87° 9′ E.

29. Probably Darwani in the district of Rangpur in Bengal, situated at 20° 53′ N., 88° 15′ E.

30. Cf. Memoirs, I, 170.

31. Satarjit was son of Mukand of Bhusna and one of the twelve great landlords of Bengal. Cf. Blochman in J. A. S. B., 1874, 199; Ibid, 1873, 229; Ibid, 1972, 56 ff. Badshah Nama, III, 70, describes him as the Thanadar of Pandua. Cf. Badshah Nama's account with the account given here; also, Bhattacharya, Mughal North East Frontier Policy.

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On Islam Khan's representing the danger to prince Jahandar if he remained in Bengal where disorder was rife, he was recalled to Agra.[32]

Islam Khan meanwhile had left Alai Pur[33] for Nasar Pur. Here his armies joined him and he advanced to Shahpur where Raja Pratāpāditya presented himself. He was duly received and presents were exchanged between the Raja and the governor after which he was given leave to depart.

Chapter V.

As the rainy season had begun, Islam Khan decided to proceed towards Ghoraghat rather than towards Bhati. This he

32. Jahandar returned from Bengal and waited upon the emperor on August 18, 1609, when Jahangir discovered him to be a born idiot (Memoirs, I, 156.). Gladwin suggests (45), without quoting any authority, that he was sent to court because he had shown some symptoms of insanity. This is opposed to the testimony of the Memoirs, probably relied on by him. If مجذوب of the text means insane مجذوب مادرزاد would mean born insane and thus there is no question of Jahandar showing these symptoms at this time in Bengal. I am inclined however to read مجذوب as meaning devout which alone makes some sense of the text. It is incredible to think that Jahandar was born insane and Jahangir discovered it when he was more than four years old.

Jahandar's subsequent career is shrouded in obscurity. When Terry was in India with Sir Thomas Roe, Jahandar was alive. Terry writing in 1624 (Early Travels in India, 330.) mentions him as one of the sons of Jahangir, but we can suppose that this meant that he had seen him alive when he left India in 1619. He married and had some children none of whom was however alive when Jahangir died (Iqbalnama, 306). Rogers (Memoirs, I, 461.) is wrong in stating that he died unmarried.

The date of Jahandar's death is not known. Iqbalnama (306) and Mirza Hadi's preface to the Tuzak (17) state that the date of his death has been mentioned in the appropriate place in the two works. Unfortunately no such entries are to be found in either of them. However it is certain that he predeceased his father (Iqbalnama, 306.). Cf. Hawkins (Early Travels, 101.).

33. On the junction of the Atharbanka and the Bhairab, east of Khulna, named after Alaudin Hussain Shah of Bengal; J. A. S. B., 1872, 227 n.

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thought would enable him to deal with the risings of Musa Khan[34] and twelve Bhumia Zamindars of Bhati[35] more easily.

Raja Partāpāditya had promised to send 400 war boats after reaching Jessore. Further he promised to join Islam Khan's armies in person with 500 war boats and 20,000 foot, when he would proceed against Bhati. Islam Khan gave Jessore back to Pratāpāditya, and added to his territories Bikrampur[36] and Sri Pur.[37]

At an auspicious hour Islam Khan left for Ghoraghat by land, where he stayed for some time. Ihtmam Khan was asked to proceed by river. Passing Amardal,[38] Ibrahim[39] Pura and Kalabari he reached Ghoraghat and joined Islam Khan.

34. Musa Khan was son of Isa Khan described as the chief of all other kings and a great friend to Christians by Ralph Fitch (Early Travels, 28.). Cf. De Laet, 183.

35. Bhumiyas or Bhuiyas as they are variously called were originally twelve governors appointed by the Pathan rulers of Bengal. Slowly and steadily they wrested power from the hands of their king. 'They refused to pay tribute or to acknowledge allegiance to anyone. They became kings with armies and fleets at their command, ever ready to wage war against each other and to oppose the invasion of Portuguese pirates or Magh free-booters.' Wise; J. A. S. B., 1875, 182, 183. After the conquest of Bengal by Akbar, they continued in their government of the districts paying tribute to the governor. Their headquarters were at Bhowal, Bikrampur, Baluah, Chandardip, Khizrpur, Jessore, and Bosnah. Some of them were Hindus and others Pathan. Cf. J. A. S. B., 1874, 199.

36. Bikrampur was the headquarter of one of the twelve Bhumiyas of Bengal. It is now in the district of Dacca, situated at 23° 33′ N., 90° 33′ E. It is included in the Sarkar of Sonargaon in the Ain, II, 138. It was visited by many European travellers in the sixteenth century. It was the capital of Bengal under its Hindu kings.

37. Sri Pur is an island near Rājābāsi and is now called Sripur Tek (Wise, Notes on Sonargaon, J. A. S. B., 1874, 86.). Cf. Ralph Fitch (Early Travels in India, 28.); Ain, II, 134; Badshah Nama, I, 436. Kedar Rai of Sripur who died in 1602 long gave the Mughals very great trouble in Bengal. Takmil-i-Akbar Nama, Elliot, VI, 111.

38. Amar Dal is probably Amadi in Jessore.

39. Ibrahim Pura is probably Bazar Ibrahim Pura in the Sarkar of Sharifabad in Bengal; Ain, II, 139. Or is it Ibrahim Pura in Sarkar Tanda, II, 130? The rivers of Bengal have rendered the task of identifying many of the sites in Bengal difficult.

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Raja Rai invested Shahzadpura in Tugmaq Khan's Jagir. He was defeated, his son Raghu Rai was captured and forcibly converted by Tugmaq Khan. When Islam Khan learnt this he was very much upset.

Meanwhile Mirak Bahadur who had been stationed at Chand Pratap was hard pressed by the local Zamindars, Hindus and Muslims. Under the impression that the rainy season made Mughal reinforcements impossible, they besieged the fort of Chand Pratap. Mirak Bahadur did his best, but could not hold on for long against the large force that was surrounding him. A breach was effected and the besieged would have soon been compelled to surrender when Tugmaq Khan who had meanwhile put the affairs at Shahpur in order and heard about Mirak's plight, hastened to his help. The attacking party was taken by surprise, many were killed and the rest fled away in their boats.

There was some unpleasantness between the governor and the Diwan on one side and Ihtmam Khan on the other on account of the fiscal arrangements that he made for the upkeep of the boats. They objected to the estimates of Ihtmam Khan as they were three times as much as the previous accounts. Ihtmam Khan thereupon reduced his demands by one third.

Meanwhile when Hashim Khan,[40] governor of Orissa, heard that Islam Khan in Bengal intended to reduce Muse Khan and twelve Bhumias he decided to send expeditions against Raja Purshotam Dev[41] and other Zamindars of Orissa. Raja Kesho Dass

40. Hashim Khan was the first governor of Orissa which had hitherto been governed as a part of Bengal. Probably the task had proved too much for any one individual (Memoirs, I, 127.). Hashim Khan was appointed on 26th September, 1607. He was thus Islam Khan's senior.

41. Purushotam Dev's territories included Purushotam Puri where the temple of Jagan Nath is situated. He succeeded his father Ram Chandar in 1609 according to Stirling (Asiatic Researches, XV, 294.) and 1607 according to Hunter (Orissa, II, 190.). The siege described below therefore could have taken place in 1609 or 1610. The fact that a present of a horse was sent to Kesho Dass Maru by the emperor in the fifth year (6th April, 1610.) places this meritorious service of this Mughal commander in the end of the year 1609 or the beginning of 1610. Purushotam Dev at this time was Raja of Khurd alone (Hunter, II, 190.). For a description of strange rites associated with the temple of Jagan Nath, Cf. Haft Aklim (Ms.), 26 (b).

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Maru[42] wanted to be beforehand with his other colleagues. He was stationed in Cuttack and under the guise of going to worship at the temple of Jagan Nath he set out for that place. After performing worship he at once made himself master of this temple fort. Property worth Rs. 2 to 3 crores fell into his hands. When Raja Purshotam Dev heard this he at once set out for Jagan Nath with a force of ten to twelve thousand horse and three to four lakhs foot and a large number of chariots driven by five hundred to a thousand men. He placed all the chariots by the fort wall. Hard pressed Kesho Das took out the canopies and kanats from the store of the temples, wound them round long poles, dipped them in oil and setting fire to them threw them among the besiegers on the chariots. There was panic among the thick ranks of the enemy, many of them were burnt to death, and others ran away.

Raja Purshotam Dev was very much upset and opened negotiations. Meanwhile the news had travelled to Ghoraghat and Islam Khan sent Tahar Mohammad to Hashim Khan to Cuttack so that reinforcement might be sent to Kesho Doss. Purshotam Dev was frightened into making peace when he heard the news. Kesho Dass was married to the Raja's sister. He also agreed to

42. Raja Kesho Dass Maru, the hero of this exploit and the desecrator of a shrine of his own race, has been confused with Kesho Dass Rathor, Jahangir's father-in-law, by Rogers (Memoirs, I, 170 n.) and Kesho Dass, Raja of Jassailmer in Puri District Gazetteer, (37), followed by D. R. Banerji (History of Orissa, II, 35.). He was however a son of Jaimal of Merta who was shot by Akbar when defending Chitor. He is described as a commander of 300 in the Ain whereas Kesho Dass Rathor is separately entered as a commander of 200 horse and (Ain, I, 502, 506.) died in the 36th year of Akbar.

On Jahangir's accession Kesho Dass Maru was promoted to the command of 1,500 horse and in the first year to that of 2,000 (Memoirs, I, 296.) In the tenth year he complained against the governor of Orissa (Memoirs I, 296.) and came to the court where he received an increment to his rank becoming a commander of 2,000 Zat and one thousand horse (Tuzak, 146; Rogers' translation, I, 297, making the original 1,000 horse is wrong; Cf. Rogers, I, 390). Thus the statement of Nathan accepted by Sarkar and swallowed by Banerji that as the result of this desecration of the temple (see below) Kesho Dass was raised to the command of 4,000 horse and given a standard is entirely without foundation. In the fifth year, the only honour Kesho Dass received was the present of a horse which was sent to him to Bengal (Memoirs, I, 170.). This is however no ground for rejecting entirely Nathan's account of the siege of Puri.

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give his daughter in marriage to Jahangir and pay Rs. 3 lakhs. He paid Kesho Dass Rs. 10,000 as indemnity. He sent his daughter to the imperial harem.

Kesho Dass was promoted a 4 Hazari and given the privilege of flying his own colours.[43]

Ihtmam Khan fell dangerously ill about this time but was cured by a Kaviraj from Allap Singh.[44]

Islam Khan sent embassies to Raja Lachhmi Narain[45] of Kamta (Kuch) and Bir Parichhat Narain[46] of Kamrup. The first submitted through the mediation of Raja Raghunath of Shushang.[47]

Abulwahad was sent against the latter but was defeated and ran away to Fatahpur rather than return to his command. He was imprisoned and brought back in disgrace by Mirza Hussain who had been appointed officer in charge of the artillery.

When the rainy season was over Islam Khan asked Ihtmam Khan to take his boats up the canal to Sayal Garh.[48] Ihtmam Khan and Nathan set their boats in motion.

43. Cf. The translation of this part in J. B. O. R. S., VII, 53 ff, by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar.

44. Probably Alap Shahi in the Sarkar of Bazoh in Bengal, Ain, I, 137.

45. Lachhmi Narain was a son of Nar Narain (1540-1584 A.D.) and grandson of Bisya who founded the kingdom of Kuch Bihar in about 1512. He came to the throne probably in 1584, his coins struck in 1587 are extant. On his accession to the throne, his cousin Raghu Dev who had established a kingdom in Kuch Haju but accepted his father's sovereignty became independent. Lachhmi Narain was thus the first king of Kuch Bihar. He submitted to Akbar in 1596 and Raja Todar Mal, then governor of Bengal, married his sister in 1597. The death of Raghu Deb in 1603 complicated matters and his son Parichhat Narain who succeeded him made war on him. The capital of his kingdom was Kuch Bihar. For a detailed history, Cf. Gait (History of Assam, pp. 46 ff.); and Blochman (J. A. S. B., 1875, 306; and Ibid, 1872, 100.)

46. Parichhat Narain, was a son of Ragho Deb, Lachhmi Narain of Kuch Bihar's cousin, and succeeded his father in 1603. His step-mother's attempt to exclude him from the throne created a civil war in Kuch Haju and his difficulties with Lachhmi Narain weakened his power considerably. His capital was at North Gauhati. Cf. Gait, op. cit.

47. In Maiman Singh district and the seat of Raja Raghunath whose family had been imprisoned by Parichhat Narain. Raghu Nath complained to Islam Khan and this provided an occasion for invading Kuch Haju.

48. Probably modern Sialdah in the district of Twenty-four Parganas? Cf. I. G., VII, 284—286.

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Nathan left his father on the way in order to visit the shrine of a saint at Pandua and joined him later on.

Chapter VI.

The shallow waters of the Khal created many difficulties which were overcome by the ingenuity of Nathan who managed to let into the Khal water from the channels near about, and Sayal Garh was at last reached. Ihtman Khan went to Shahzad Pur[49] where Islam Khan was waiting for news of his artillery and boats. They decided to pass the Id-i-Ramzan there.

After the Id celebrations Islam Khan reviewed the fleet and the artillery, and was very much pleased with the arrangements especially the floating bridge. From here the army moved on to Balia.[50] The Subhedar went by land. Ihtman Khan was bringing the boats and the artillery. It was decided to send the van to Dacca with 2,000 matchlockmen, 50 pieces of cannon, big and small, 100 mds. of gunpowder and 200 mds. of glass. The van reached Dacca in six stages and began to strengthen the fort.

Islam Khan moved on Kats[51] Garh and Nathan was ordered to follow. Then came the news that Darya Khan had been murdered on account of a brawl due to his unnatural conduct towards an eunuch. Ihtmam Khan wanted to attack Jatra Pur[52] himself but Islam Khan did not consent thereto. Raja Raghunath of Susang submitted now.

Islam Khan sent an expedition to Fatahebad[53] under Habib-Allah. Mujlis Uutab was obliged to shut himself up in the fort, and ask for reinforcements from Musa Khan. But the imperialists were too many for him even when the reinforcements came. Raja Satrajit's generalship and bravery helped them. There were many sallies; but the Raja made it impossible for the enemy to score much. After a good deal of fighting on both sides, Mujlis Qutab tried to slink away to Musa Khan; but the imperialists made that impossible. At last he left the fort and ran away.

49. Shah Zadpur in Sarkar Lakhnauti in Bengal; Ain, II, 131.
50. Bhalua, the seat of one of the twelve Bhuiyas already mentioned above.
51. Cf. I. G. (new), VIII, 101.
52. 25° 49′ N., 89° 47′ E.
53. Mentioned as one of the Sarkars in Bengal. Cf. Ain, II, 132.

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Meanwhile fight between Musa Khan and Islam Khan had also commenced when Musa Khan heard that Islam Khan was at Kats Garh. Rather than allow him to proceed to Jatrapur, he sailed down and attacked the imperial camp with seven hundred boats through the river *Isamati*. When the night came, he encamped at Dakchera on the other side of the Isamati.[54] Digging a deep ditch round, he entrenched himself there. He was supported by Alawal Khan, his cousin, his younger brother, Madho Rai of Kahalsi, Banod Rai of Chand Pratap, Pahlwan of Matang and others. On the other side Islam Khan arranged his forces in battle order. Musa Khan again began the bombardment and caused heavy casualties among the imperialists. They returned the compliment in kind, and sank many boats of the rebels. Madho Rai's son and Banod Rai's brother were killed. Next morning some of the enemy under Madho Rai and Banod Rai landed near the Mughals and engaged the Mughal forces in a hand to hand fight. The imperialists however pressed them hard on land and many were driven into the river and lost their lives. Islam Khan then sent an expedition under Iftkhar Khan against the fort of the enemy at Jatrapur. Nathan here proved of great value and connected the two wings of the imperial army by cutting a channel. With ten thousand boatmen engaged in the task, he did not spare himself.

Musa Khan had now had enough of it and submitted. He visited Islam Khan who received him kindly. But when Islam Khan went to return the visit, he injured Musa Khan's feelings by his foolish talk and interference. Musa Khan broke off negotiations and the battle raged once again. Islam Khan however succeeded in conquering the fort of Jatrapur.

Now he turned to the siege of Dakchera. Nathan with his ten thousand boatmen was busy cutting a channel. Working day and night and encouraging his men by his own example, he cut the channel in a week and connected it with the river *Isamati* He informed Islam Khan. On 27 Rabi-ul-Awal 1017 (1019?), a day fixed by the astrologer, Islam Khan entered the channel and praised Nathan's work. At night all the royal boats entered the canal. Nathan begged for an appointment for taking part in the attack on the fort. Dakchera was now invested

54. Isâmati is probably the Ichhamati river in Bengal.

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with greater vigour, and Nathan did wonders. From sheer jealousy, other commanders did not support him. He set five thousand men to fill up the ditch round the fort and stormed it at night. It was at last captured by his skill after a siege of 25 days.

Luqman's Jangnama on the war.

Islam Khan now turned back to Dacca. As the imperial army marched, arrangements were made for dealing with the enemy if he dared to raise his head. At Sripur, Kalk Pura and Shahpura[55] Balra, Kodalia, Pathra Ghat garrisons were left to keep the country in order. Musa Khan however was not able to face the Mughal Army. At last Dacca was reached in safety.

Chapter VII.

Musa Khan had not submitted to the imperialists; he had left his conquered forts in the hands of the victors and himself fled to Katra Bo.[56] When Islam Khan turned his back upon the country, Musa Khan made up his mind to challenge the imperialists once again behind the protection afforded him by the river Lakhya. Islam Khan decided to take up the challenge.

He stationed garrison forces at Sart Pur, Vikrampur, Kadm Raml, Katra Bo, Khizar Pur[57] and Kanvar Sir. Khizar Pur was attacked by Musa Khan's forces but they were obliged to allow the Mughals to establish themselves there under Nathan. The main Mughal outpost was however established at Katra Bo where Nathan and Musa Khan lay facing each other and exchanging shots. On March 12, 1611, Islam Khan visited the batteries when Nathan explained his plan of crossing the river Lakhia and carrying the war into the enemy's country. Later on a merchant was captured who was seen coming from the enemy's side. He told them that the enemy planned to gather his forces for a surprise attack on the place. Nathan sent the trader to his father at Khizar Pura and himself began crossing the river at the dead of night. A part of the army crossed on elephants, others on the rafts of

55. Shahpura is described as a Mahal in the Sarkar of Tajpura in Bengal in the Ain, II, 135, extending now over Eastern Purnia and Western Dinajpur according to Blochman (J. A. S. B., 1873, 215.).

56. Katraboh is mentioned as a Parganah in the Sarkar of Bazuh in a grant of 1700 A.D. (J. A. S. B., 1874, 214.).

57. Khizrpur in Lakhnauti Sarkar (Ain, II, 131.) was the seat of one of the twelve Bhuiyas.

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banana planks, while 80 boats sent by Ihtmam Khan came just in time to help his son. The Mughals now attacked Daud Khan's fort who was so hard pressed by this surprise attack that he was compelled to evacuate it. A part of the rest of the Mughal army crossed over and Nathan went to Kadam Raml to his father. Meanwhile the enemy attacked the Mughals who were hard pressed. They managed however to head off the attack and Nathan led them to assault Musa Khan's fort. Musa Khan and Mirza Mumina and Alawal Khan left the fort and fled away. Their followers however were not so easily discouraged and returned to attack the Mughals. Nathan now used his elephants to produce a panic among the enemy boats. The Mughals were at last successful and Musa Khan fled to Ibrahim Pura.

Luqman's verses on the war.

Sonargaon was surrendered to the Mughals by an officer of Musa Khan. Daud Khan, his brother, was killed by the Farangis (the Dutch ?). Musa Khan tried in vain to oust Nathan from the fort of Alawal Khan. A change of commander at Kodalia seemed to give him another chance, and he almost succeeded in capturing the fort when reinforcements arrived. The battle now became fierce but Mughal elephants and artillery helped them to victory. Khark Bahadur and Mujlis Qutab now submitted to Islam Khan and were given their lands as Jagirs. Their war boats were however taken into the imperial service.

About this time envoys from Raja Salim of Magh's cousin, came. He undertook to conquer Sandep from the Farangis and this was given to him as a Jagir.

Meanwhile at Patna a fakir led a rising with the help of Raja Madhokar Ujjania claiming that he was Khusru. He distributed a large amount of gold among his followers. Afzal,[58] the governor of Patna, whose absence on the expeditions against Musa Khan had provided the occasion for this rising, returned in haste. When he was about to cross the river Pun Pun his path was disputed; but he succeeded after a skirmish in making good his advance. The supposed Khusro fled to Patna where he at last surrendered. Afzal Khan tortured him to death, tearing him limb by limb.

58. Cf. Memoirs, I, 173, 175 and Iqbalnama, 42, 44.

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When Jahangir received the news he flew into anger at Afzal Khan's dealing on his own authority with one who claimed to be the emperor's son. Islam Khan's intercession however saved Afzal Khan.

Islam Khan arrested Baz Bahadur for his inactivity against Musa Khan on Ghias Khan's complaint. When the rainy season came, Islam Khan stationed garrisons in the territory of Musa Khan who now discovered that he had no other course left but to submit. He made his submission to Shaikh Kamal at Kanvar Sar with all his followers. He was sent to the emperor under a guard and his brother was taken into service and appointed against Usman at Bakai Nagar.

Chapter VIII.

Ali Akbar, one of the followers of Wazir Khan, the late Diwan of Bengal was given a fort in Bengal. When he reached Malda he borrowed Rs. 4,000 from his father-in-law. Leaving Malda he reached Bidhi Ghat where he joined Mir Jalal who was carrying the imperial treasury to Dacca. He frightened the Mir who fled away and all the treasure fell into Akbar's hands. He now returned to Malda, and, after an ineffectual resistence, made himself master of the city which he ravaged. He got a large amount of pillage thereby getting Rs. 700,000 from the house of Ihtmam Khan which he razed to the ground and burnt. From there he advanced to Tajpur[59] which he also plundered. Islam Khan sent Iftkhar Khan from Shahpur against him who made a dash to Tajpur reaching there in 42 hours instead of five days. Ali Akbar was on the point of taking to water in the river Kasi but was compelled to face Iftkhar Khan. He very nearly succeeded in slaying Iftkhar who was however saved by the bravery of one of his companions who cut down Ali Akbar's mount and slew him as well. His head was exhibited on the point of a spear whereupon his followers fled away.

Masnavi of Luqman.

Islam Khan sent another expedition against Raja Anant Manank of Bhalua under Abdul Wahad. This army consisted of 4,000 horses, 3,000 matchlockmen and fifty elephants. When

59. 25° 51′ N, 85° 43′ E.

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Anant heard the news, he came out five stages from his capital, and waited for the Mughals who soon came. The battle raged fiercely for some days, the Mughals pillaged the country side. Mirza Usaf, Anant's prime minister however went over to the Mughal side and was created a 5 sadi of the second class. Anant was naturally perturbed by this turn of events and at night slipped away to his capital. The Mughals discovered his flight in the morning and followed him fast. Exasperated and unable to hold the fort, he fled to Raja Magh and the Mughals entered Bhalua.

Chapter IX.

An expedition was now decided upon against Usman of Bakai Nagar. Land roads would not have enabled the imperialists to carry their cannon and siege implements into Usman's territory and it was decided therefore to make a riverine way to the place by connecting the Brahmputra with some of the existing canals (Khals). This was to be done about the village of Hasanpura which was reached by a continuous march for three days and nights under Ghias Khan. The expedition contained, besides the matchlockmen in the imperial artillery, 5,000 matchlockmen, 3,000 (or 300?) war boats, besides those of the twelve Bhumyas, 3,000 elephants (300 ?) besides 80 in the artillery. The number of horsemen must have been in proportion, besides 1,000 picked horse. The whole province was denuded of its military strength, the garrisons in the territory of Musa Khan were weakened, the forces at Dacca attenuated. As usual there was a quarrel between Islam Khan and Ihtmam Khan who was ill and did not accompany the expedition at once. The governor instructed his men to see that he did so and if he did not, asked them to make him start by force. There was a scene and Nathan interfered to make peace. The expedition was marred by ill-timed quarrels between *mansibdars* each jealous of his position, and therefore unwilling to co-operate with the other. But the crowning mercy of the campaign came when Anwar Khan and his brothers of Bania Chang[60] came to Dacca, submitted to the governor and asked him to send them towards Sylhet so that they might close that way of escape to Usman. In an unfortunate moment Islam Khan agreed, gave Anwar Khan his own territory in Jagir and sent a part of his own army to accompany him. Anwar Khan thus got Dacca almost empty of its garrison. He had not gone very far

60. A village in Assam situated at 24° 31′ N, 74° E.

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when he wrote to Mahmud Khan, Musa Khan's brother, who was accompanying the main expedition, to rise and make short work of the imperialists and release Musa Khan at Dacca. He further invited Usman to make a surprise attack on the Mughals. Himself he invited the Mughal commander Mubaraz Khan to a feast. Fortunately he was ill and was thus saved. Raja Rai and Islam Quli however went and were taken to Bania Chung whereto Anwar Khan fled. Mubaraz Khan now informed Islam Khan of the plot. He had already become suspicious on account of Musa's conduct. Mahmud Khan and Bahadur Ghazi accompanying the main expedition were made prisoners and sent to Dacca along with other Zamindars.

The main expedition now marched victoriously on conquering fort after fort till Bakai Nagar was reached in the month of Ramzan (28 October—26 November, 1611). Usman was at last forced to vacate Bakai Nagar and fled away to Sylhet owing to the desertion of Nasir Khan and Darya Khan of Tajpur. Bakai Nagar was occupied on the Id; a garrison was left here and an advance was made to Tajpur. However the Mughals discovered they could not achieve much there and returned to Bakai Nagar which was more than 100 *kos.* from Dacca. There was a good deal of bickering and worse, on account of the failure of the expedition to pursue Usman; but Islam Khan had to be content with the victory gained. The territory conquered was given away in Jagir to some of the Mansibdars.

An expedition had also been sent against Anwar Khan. When he heard of Usman's defeat and flight, he submitted and was made a prisoner.

Another expedition under Shamsud-Din was sent to Matang[61] governed by Pahlwan. Here affairs took a turn for the worse, when Usman's brother attacked the imperialists in the rear. Imperial elephants however saved the day. Shamsud-Din and Pahlwan both perished in a single combat. Qurban Ali, adopted son of the Haji, however succeeded in keeping the imperialists together. The enemy was defeated and ran away (was the fort taken?).

61. Tract of country in Lakhmipur district, Assam, I. G. VI, 334.

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Chapter X.

Islam Khan now began to assume imperial airs. He set up a Jharoka Darshan where he could reply to the salutation of the Amirs without rising. Mu'tqad Khan who protested was put to shame; Saifud-Din went further and fared worse, he was imprisoned.

He soon picked a quarrel with Raja Pratāp Āditya whose boats he got all dismantled. An expedition was sent under Ghias-ud-Din. The artillery demanded pay and there was a good deal of unpleasantness on that account between Nathan and Ihtmam Khan on one side, and the governor, the Bakhshi and the Diwan on the other. However the men were quietened in the end, and Nathan started with his men. Islam Khan stationed garrisons in Bala Sandur, Hasan Pur and Bakai Nagar. Nathan conquered Alai Pur in the way. Ghias Khan sent an expedition from Mahal Pur Baghwan to Bakha which was conquered, and a garrison stationed there with 400 men. Ghias-ud-Din then proceeded on his way. There was a quarrel between Ghias Khan and Mirza Saif-ud-Din, the leader of the expedition, on account of some female prisoners. Ghias wanted a few for himself, Saif refused. Not content with this he enraged Ghias by his foolish talk when he invited him to ride with him on the same elephant. The crisis came when Saif insisted on entering his commander's apartments when he was being massaged. He was imprisoned and sent back in disgrace to Islam Khan.

Meanwhile the expedition advanced into the territory of Jessore. At Salka, Udyāditya, Pratāp's son, sat entrenched in a strong position surrounded on three sides by natural waters, and on the fourth by a trench filled from the waters of the Brahmputra diverted thereto. Nathan, however, divided the imperialists into two sections and attacked Pratāpāditya from land and water. He entrenched himself in front of the enemy who however did not give him time enough for it. In a hard contested battle, the imperialists almost lost the day, but the death of Khawaja Kamal turned the fortunes of the day. The Jessorian army ran away and the imperialists would have succeeded in capturing Udyāditya, but for the ingenuity of the Europeans who intervened with their boats. Udyaditya succeeded in making good his escape with two of his wives who had been with him all through the battle.

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History of the Reign of Shāh Jāhan

By

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PART II.

INTRODUCTION: PRECIOUS STONES IN GENERAL

Wealth may have power and money may be wealth, but there is nothing essentially interesting or inspiring about a heap of gold and silver as such. A pearl or precious stone, however, is a different matter. Just as a beautiful manuscript is art wedded to knowledge, so a jewel is art wedded to wealth.

We have no respect for a man who loves gold or silver, except when it is used as a means to a moral or artistic end: we have nothing but admiration for a man who loves gems and jewels for their own sake; for love of beauty is itself beautiful.

The Jewel Treasury of the Mughals represents a very special institution which reflects their temperament and their tastes, their wealth and their power—the spirit of the age, in fact, as interpreted by them.

The subject-matter of this Part, therefore, is fascinating beyond words.

One's interest in life must precede one's interest in history; and things must make a real impression on our minds before stories about them can signify anything. We propose, therefore, to devote this Introduction to the general nature of precious stones, the qualities which they have been believed to possess, the uses to which they have been put, and the like.

SECTION I: FANCY

Weight for weight, precious stones have always been among the most valuable things of the world. Their use is mainly ornamental or artistic. It constitutes one of the facile paradoxes of

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economists that while the most essentially useful things like air and water seldom have a price in the market, the utterly useless things like rubies or diamonds command incredibly high prices. But we are not all economists or dealers in paradox.

From a wider point of view a deep and subtle interest attaches to the appearance of gem-stones from the bowels of the earth. Whatever the mineralogists may have to say, the mysterious forces of nature, in producing a diamond or an emerald, seem to strike together by rare chance into a delicate balance. No one can deny that among the products of nature there is something noble and select and classic about precious stones. The Germans certainly need not apologize for calling a precious stone an *edel*-stein—a 'noble stone'.

The coloration of gem-stones has always made a powerful appeal to the poet. Metaphors from precious stones have constituted an ornament in the poetry of all countries since early times. Who has not heard of the 'Emerald Isle', 'sapphire seas', 'ruby lips', 'pearly teeth', 'amber hair', 'coral lips', and 'turquoise skies'; or read in Shelley of 'the emerald heaven of trees', 'the sapphire floods of interstellar air', and 'the chrysolite of sunrise'?

'The love of precious stones', says Dr. Kunz, 'is deeply implanted in the human heart, and the cause of this must be sought not only in their coloring and brilliancy but also in their durability. All the fair colors of flowers and foliage, and even the blue of the sky and the glory of the sunset clouds, only last for a short time, and are subject to continual change, but the sheen and coloration of precious stones are the same to-day as they were thousands of years ago and will be for thousands of years to come. In a world of change, this permanence has a charm of its own that was early appreciated!' (G. F. Kunz, *Curious Lore of Precious stones*, Preface, p. v.).

But this is not all. Fable and popular superstition have, from shadowy antiquity, invested these products of nature's mute alchemy with weird powers over man's destiny and his temperament. Who knows, some of the earliest intuitions of humanity may be a nearer approach to truth than a closely reasoned system of thought, which has its day and ceases to be? For, still there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in Horatio's philosophy. All we are concerned with is the fact that

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from the earliest times the precious stones have filled the human observer with wonder, and sent his fancy travelling through a strange system of affinities and symbolism.

'The magi, the wise men, the seers, the astrologers of the ages gone by', continues the same writer, 'found much in the matter of gems that we have nearly come to forgetting. With them each gem possessed certain planetary attractions peculiar to itself, certain affinities with the various virtues, and a zodiacal concordance with the seasons of the year. Moreover, these early sages were firm believers in the influence of gems in one's nativity—that the evil in the world could be kept from contaminating a child properly protected by wearing the appropriate talismanic, natal, and zodiacal gems. Indeed, folklorists are wont to wonder whether the custom of wearing gems in jewelry did not originate in the talismanic idea instead of in the idea of mere additional adornment.' (Kunz, 1)

Colour went a long way to determine the influence of gemstones on the fortunes or health of the person who wore them; and affinities between temperaments and precious stones could possibly be traced through the colours with which the latter were associated.[1]

Primitive imagination has always revelled in a gorgeous display of gems. The Babylonian legends tell of trees on which grow precious stones (232).[2]

The reader is no doubt familiar with the description of the New Jerusalem in the vision of John (*Revelation* xxi, 18-21).[3] Nor is that the only example of the kind, for the idea of a gem-city has always fascinated the nations of antiquity. Lucian, in his *Vera Historia*, describes one under the name of the city of the Islands of the Blessed (237). Again, the *Puranas* contain a description of the wonderful city of Dwārakà which is 'a gorgeous mass of the most brilliant gems known in India' (236). 'Hindu mythology tells of a wonderful tank formed of crystal, the

1. On this subject see Kunz, 29-34.

2. This and all the figures within brackets that follow are references to the pages of Kunz.

3. See also *Isaiah*, liv, 11-12.

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work of the god Maya' (237). A wonderful 'Diamond Throne' stood near the Tree of Knowledge beneath which Gautama Buddha received his supreme revelation of truth (238).

A few virtues of precious stones may be noticed here by way of curiosity (It is only a selection from a very large and miscellaneous catalogue):

Spirits lived in precious stones (27). Amulets were considered indispensable, by way of protection, for those who evoked dark spirits (39). The magician's art was powerless if an emerald was in his vicinity (77).

The opal rendered its wearer invisible (148). The serpent could not look upon an emerald without losing his sight (157-58).[4]

The true Oriental ruby announced coming misfortunes by change of colour and by growing obscurity (158-59). The red coral and the onyx had a similar ominous character (159-60). The emerald foreshowed future events (76). Again, by putting it under the tongue, one could predict future events (79).

A diamond worn on the breast of the high-priest showed the guilt or innocence of a person accused of any crime (71 and 278). The emerald 'revealed the truth or falsity of lover's oaths' (78). Yet this stone was an enemy of sexual passion; for the exceptionally valuable emerald worn in a ring by King Bela of Hungary broke into three parts when he embraced his wife. (Albertus Magnus) (78). A sapphire was used as a test of female virtue, the change of colour indicating unfaithfulness on the part of the wearer (105). Shakespeare considers the opal a fit emblem of inconstancy (*Twelfth Night*, II, iv).

A ruby of the King of Ceylon was 'believed to possess the virtues of an elixir of youth' (166). Diamond, emerald and sapphire were all antidotes against poison (376, 379 and 104 respectively). Diamond was said to grow dark in the presence of poison (379). The ruby, when thrown into water, caused it to boil (102).

4. 'Blinded like serpents when they gaze
Upon the emerlad's virgin blaze'.—Moore.

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'Sleeping-stone' induced sleep, and 'Waking-stone' induced wakefulness (Pseudo-Aristotle) (163-64). In Sumero-Assyrian inscriptions we have 'Stone of Love' and 'Stone of Hate', which excited these passions respectively in the hearts of their wearers. There are similarly the stones of memory and forgetfulness in the *Gesta Romanorum* (35).

Precious stones could, under certain circumstances, lose their powers, 'If handled or even gazed upon by impure persons and sinners, some of the virtues of the stones departed from them. Indeed, there were those who held that precious stones, in common with all created things, were corrupted by the sin of Adam. Therefore, in order to restore their pristine virtue it might become necessary to sanctify and consecrate them, and a kind of ritual serving this purpose has been preserved in several old treatises' (44-45). Again, 'the talismanic power of a diamond was lost if the stone were acquired by purchase; only when received as a gift could its virtue be depended on. The same belief is noted regarding the turquoise. The spirit dwelling in the stone was thought to take offence at the idea of being bought and sold, and was supposed to depart from the stone, leaving it nothing more than a bit of senseless matter' (73).

The ancient Mexicans called blood "water of precious stones" (40). With some people 'the wearing of precious stones was believed to enrich the blood and thus to promote health and vigour, for "the blood is the life" ' (40).

Extravagant tales are told of luminous stones, of how they lit up rooms, temples and palaces. Instances are reported where rubies, diamonds and emeralds shone by their own light. 'From the Lydian river Tmolus a marvellous stone was taken which was said to change color four times a day. This surpasses the properties of the "saphire merveilleux" which changed its hue at night. Only innocent young girls could find the Lydian stone, and while they wore it they were defended from outrage' (163).

Engraved Stones.—So far about the plain stones. From ancient times signs, figures and letters have been engraved on stones, which imparted certain special qualities of their own to them, independently of the inherent qualities of the latter. If these two reinforced each other the effect was stronger. Again, in order to attain special efficiency, the signs were engraved at a time

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when the astrological influences were favourable. Further, 'in the production of engraved stones to serve as amulets, the influence of the respective planet was made to enter the stone by casting upon the latter, during the process of engraving, reflections from a mirror, which had been exposed to the planet's rays. In addition to this, the work was executed while the planet was in the ascendant, and the design was emblematic of it. With these combined influences the gem was believed to be thoroughly impregnated with the planetary virtue' (340).—Throughout the historical and the prehistoric periods we find gnostic signs and writings, astrological symbols, sacred texts and names, names and monograms, etc., of owners, engraved on gems for various purposes.

The Babylonian and Assyrian cylinder seals (from 4000 B.C. to 500 B.C.), Cretan seals (from 2500 B.C.), the Egyptian scarabs (funeral scarabs, or else used as gifts or as signets), Roman rings set with scarabs, Babylonian scaraboid seals introduced from Egypt (fifth or sixth century B.C.) and seal-rings (third century B.C. to third century A.C.) can only be mentioned here (117-22).

Engraving sacred texts on stones is an old practice. The ancient Egyptians engraved 'texts from a very ancient ritual composition, called the Book of the Dead, upon certain semi-precious stones which had been cut into various symbolical forms' (225).

A few of the most remarkable examples of engraved stones are given below:

'In the Cabinet du Roi, in Paris, there was an engraved carnelian, the design showing Jupiter enthroned, with thunderbolt and sceptre, and Mars and Mercury standing on either side of the central figure. Separated from the gods of the upper air by a bow, probably representing the arch of the sky, appears the bust of Neptune, emerging from the sea. The border of the design is formed by the twelve signs of the zodiac, Virgo being of an unusual type—the virgin and a unicorn—said to have been used only during the reign of Domitian (81-96 A.D.)' (341).

'The popularity of the carnelian as a talismanic stone among Mohammedan peoples is said to be due to the fact that the Prophet himself wore, on the little finger of his right hand, a silver ring set with a carnelian engraved for use as a seal.' Imām Ja'far

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declared that all the desires of any man who wore this stone would be gratified. In Persia the name of one of the twelve *Imāms* is frequently engraved on this stone (63-64).

Again, 'there is in the Imperial Academy at Moscow a turquoise two inches in diameter, inscribed with a text from the Koran in letters of gold. This turquoise was formerly worn by the Shah of Persia as an amulet, and it was valued at 5000 rubles by the jeweller from whose hands it came' (quoted from Kluge, *Edelsteinkunde*, Leipsic, 1860, p. 366) (142).

At the other extremity of the moral scale are certain jewels said to have been pawned in Paris by the ex-Sultan 'Abdu'l-*Ha*mīd for 12,00,000 francs (about £47,500). The designs on these were an offence against public decency, so that they could not be offered at a public sale (139).

Religious Uses of Stones.—These, as we have seen, date from the ancient Egyptians.

Every one knows of the Breastplate on the ephod of the Hebrew High-priest, the twelve stones of which symbolized the twelve months of the year. This Breastplate, it should be noted, belongs 'to the time of the return from the Babylonian Captivity and the building of the second temple' (231).[5]

Instances could be added *ad libitum;* but space prohibits.

Among the Hindus there was the *Panchratna,* usually consisting of gold, diamond, sapphire, ruby, and pearl (241). And then we have the *nauratna,* the nine-gem jewel, 'one of the oldest and perhaps the most interesting talismanic jewel' (242). It was designed to combine all the powerful astrological influences, and comprised diamond, ruby, cat's-eye, zircon (hyacinth), pearl, coral, emerald, topaz, and sapphire.

The *Manī Mālā,* or Chain of Gems, in possession of the late Rāja Sir Surindro Mohun Tagore, of Calcutta, consisted of diamond, ruby, cat's-eye, pearl, zircon, coral, emerald, topaz, sapphire,

5. The "breastplate of Aaron", if it had any actual existence, and the one 'brought by Titus to Rome after the capture of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., are in all probability entirely distinct objects' (289).

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chrysoberyl, garnet, carnelian, quartz, and rock-crystal, with a *nauratna* pendant, from which a pear-shaped pearl hung.

The so-called "phenomenal" gems, which exhibit a phenomenal quality—a moving line as in the chrysoberyl cat's-eye, or the quartz cat's-eye, or a star as in star-sapphire or star-ruby—are a great favourite with the Oriental peoples, being considered to bring good fortune to the wearer (333-34).

Jade talismans are very popular at the present day in the Muslim world, specially among the Turks (246).

Birth-stones.—These came into use comparatively late. The fashion of wearing them is traceable to the Jews (309).

A stone corresponded to each one of the twelve months of the year, and had influence over the destiny of the person born in that month. Again, a stone belonged to each of the seasons of the year, spring, summer, autumn and winter (323). A series of stones corresponded also to the twelve zodiacal signs—"astral" or "zodiacal" stones.

'When the zodiacal signs were engraved on gems to give them special virtues and render them of greater efficacy for those born under a given sign, the Hebrew characters designating the sign (or at least the initial character) were often cut upon the gem' (332).

Only a word need be added on the medicinal uses of precious stones. These cured not only talismanically by the patient wearing them but were ground to powder, dissolved and taken internally. Considering the therapeutic properties of gems noticed by various writers, we fancy a natty little parmacopoeia could be compiled out of the multitudinous variety of stones prescribed for the various ills and ailments.

We may wind up these odds and ends of curious lore by the following passage, where the birth of the diamond and the creation of the pearl are poetically narrated. Considering that imagination, after all, is of the essence of life, the following is delightful reading:

'When the God of the Mines called his courtiers to bring him all known gems, he found them to be of all colors and tints, and

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of varying hardnesses, such as the ruby, emerald, sapphire, etc., etc. He took one of each; he crushed them; he compounded them, and said: "Let this be something that will combine the beauty of all; yet it must be pure, and it must be invincible." He spoke: and lo! the diamond was born, pure as the dew-drop and invincible in hardness; but when its ray is resolved in the spectrum, it displays all the colors of the gems from which it was made. "Mine," said the god, "must be the gem of the universe; for my queen I will create one that shall be the greatest gem of the sea," and for her he created the pearl' (325-26).

Rock-crystals.—The use of rock-crystal for purposes of divination, which dates from ancient times, is a fascinating subject. Instances of 'scrying' are to be found as early as classical Greece and Rome. The Achaians 'used a mirror to divine diseases or to learn whether there was danger of sudden death' (177). Pausanius tells us of a sacred well with its oracle of the magic mirror, in front of the Temple of Demeter, or Ceres, at Patras, which answered questions touching diseases. In Lucian's description of the palace of the Moon-King we have a similar well with a large mirror, where one could hear and see everything passing in the world (*ibid.*). A god of the ancient Mexicans saw in a magic mirror everything that happened in the world (178). Helenus, the Trojan soothsayer, foretold the downfall of Troy by a magic sphere of stone mentioned in the Orphic poem "Lithica" (*ibid.*). We learn from Joseph's story (*Genesis,* xliv, 1-5) that a silver cup was used for divination among the primitive Hebrews; and a golden ball was used by 'the Magi, followers of Zoroaster,' in their incantations (179). Roger Bacon made a marvellous 'glass' in which events happening at far-distant places were mirrored (182-83).

The *jām* (cup) of Jamshed, with which every student of Persian literature is familiar, and which, curiously enough, is not mentioned by Kunz, obviously belongs to this class.

It will be noticed that divination was not done by crystals alone. Besides cups or balls of gold and silver, polished spheres or cubes of stone such as beryl, surfaces of water, boys' fingernails, etc., were often used for the purpose. Dr. Dee, the famous charlatan of Queen Elizabeth's time, used several articles for scrying, a polished slab of black stone, obsidian, among the number.

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Among remarkable crystals may be mentioned the following:

(1) Crystal globe, 2¼ inches in diameter, surmounting the sceptre of the Scottish regalia (183).

(2) Dr. Dee's Crystal, of cairngorm, or 'smoky-quartz', now preserved in the British Museum (190).

(3) 'A crystal ball, one of the largest perfect spheres ever produced, has been made from rock-crystal of Madagascar. It is a very perfect sphere and of faultless material.' Diameter, 6⅛ inches; price, $ 20,000 (217).

(4-6) Three fine crystals in the collection of the American Museum of Natural History, New York: (*a*) Apparently perfect. Diameter, 5½ inches. (*b*) Not entirely perfect. Diameter, 6½ inches. (*c*) Fine crystal ball, of wonderful purity. An ideally perfect sphere on account of very precise cutting. Diameter, 4-11/16 inches (219).

(7) One of the largest and most perfect crystal balls is in the 'Grüne Gewolbe' (Dresden). Weight, 15 German pounds; diameter, 6-2/3 inches; price, $10,000 (in 1780). It was used for purposes of augury (223).

(8) The Currahmore Crystal. Slightly larger than an orange, with a silver ring encircling it at the middle. It cures cattle of all distempers. Supposed to have come from the Holy Land. (223).

(9) 'An exceptionally fine specimen of Aztec work is a skull carved out of rock-crystal. It weighs 475¼ ounces Troy, and measures 8¼ inches in width' (101). See illustration of this rock-crystal skull (Ancient Mexican) (now in British Museum, London) on p. 100 of Kunz.

(To be continued)

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Editorial

MOHENJO-DARO AND THE INDUS CIVILIZATION

EDITED BY

SIR JOHN MARSHALL, C.I.E., LITT. D., ETC.

3 volumes, Arthur Probsthain, Publisher. London,

I.

THIS long expected report is the official account of the excavations carried out at the site Mohenjo-Daro, mound of the dead, by the archaeological department of the Government of India between the years 1922 to 1927. Its publication in 1931, though it might strike one as being somewhat belated, cannot from what it incorporates be regarded as having been brought out tardily. The significance of what has been laid bare by the excavations at this site, it will be some considerable time before we can claim to understand in full. But it is reasonable that all the material in this archaeological work of the first importance should be made available for this very purpose, for study and investigation, as early as it is possible for those concerned to do. Though the report has taken about four years' time, the five years' excavations preceding it did exhibit much that required very careful study and analysis before the results could be indicated even in tentative inferences. The report therefore is quite worthy of the great labour that it has involved, almost ten years' labour in the study, and five years' work at actual excavation. Of the three volumes, the third is devoted purely to illustrations, and the first two volumes are taken up with the report with some of the illustrations that are very material to the understanding of the report itself. The plates themselves count 164 not including plans and maps in colours, and the report itself is spread over the two volumes in 32 chapters. The first volume takes us through the first 19 chapters, and the second contains chapters 20 to 32 with appendices and the necessary index. The two volumes together make 716 pages. The first eight chapters of the report are by Sir John Marshall himself, and deal with the general results of his study of the excavations, and cover a little over a hundred pages. The subsequent chapters are arranged by area-units in which excavations were

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carried out, sometimes by different officers of the department from period to period. The remaining chapters are devoted to the treatment of the various topics in which the results of the excavation could be dealt with to purpose. The arrangement appears to us to be logical and quite satisfactory. An excellent map and a well-prepared plan of the sites accompany the first volume along with 14 of the plates and ten figures. Volume 2 similarly contains 41 figures to illustrate, but contains none of the plates proper. They are all consigned to the third volume.

The printing of the work undertaken by Mr. Arthur Probsthain, the well-known Oriental bookseller and publisher of Great Russel Street, London, is a model of high grade printing in the three sumptuous volumes. As printer and publisher of the report, he has done his best to make the volumes quite worthy of the importance that they possess at present, and of the far-reaching results that this publication is likely to lead to.

Egypt and Near Asia have hitherto been regarded as the ancient sites which required the energies of the achaeologist and his confreres as unearthing the early history of man carrying us to a period in the comparatively remote past. The special importance that these ancient sites enjoyed as such is now shared to the fullest extent by the area generally included in the term Indus Valley. The Indus Valley Civilization, even though its excavations and the interpretation of the excavated material have not gone their full course, has established its place alongside of the archaeological explorations, Egyptian and the Near Eastern. What the future has to bring to us by further systematic exploration on this and other sites which ought really to be carried out on the large scale that the actual importance of the work demands, is more than we can say at present. The work that this report incorporates gives enough promise that what the future holds for us is bound to be of the greatest value.

The site concerned covers a comparatively small area of about 240 acres in a part of Sind, which, even at this time, is described as the garden of Sind. The site is on what is called an island locally between the main river Indus and the loop formed by one of its principal canals on the west called the western Nara. The site is about 25 miles from Larkhana, and is actually reached from the railway station at Dokri about seven miles to the end of the site. The whole area is a level plain, but the mounds rose to a

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height of some seventy feet, and thus proved a prominent feature of the whole area. The general character of the locality is so destructive that the very mounds have undergone disintegration to a very great extent. The first destroying agency is the erosion caused by the floods of the river and the canal. But the dryness of the climate and the saline nature of the soil help to cause disintegration and flaking away in those short periods when the atmosphere is charged with humidity. This is visible even now in the encrustation of saline material upon the surfaces recently laid bare. If a similar state of things continued in the past, anything else is hardly necessary to understand the vicissitudes that have actually taken place over the whole area. But the very nature of the destructive work gives us a hint that other changes have taken place as well, and have contributed their own quota to this destructive work. There is more or less clear evidence that the rainfall in the fourth millennium and the third must have been far larger, though far from being abundant, than it happens to be at present. This is made clear to us by the fact that the builders of the cities, the older cities of Mohenjo-Daro, have used burnt brick for all the exposed parts, though they have used sun-dried bricks largely in work which was hidden from the surface, such as the parts that required filling, and the foundations, etc., that could be kept free from surface action. The very animals which come before us on the coins and the seals excavated, seem to be animals that flourish in damp jungly country. The number and disposition of the drains within the houses and in the streets would perhaps indicate more ample rain. These features of the locality may be capable of other interpretations, but a comparison with similar changes that are more clearly visible in old sites in the neighbouring areas of Baluchistan in a large number of cases, would support this inference, as the alternative explanations will not hold in respect of that locality. There are many bunds that are visible in the locality concerned, which were intended to function as dams for impounding and storing water. This would be unnecessary in a region when there is a plentiful and evenly distributed rainfall. They could be directly useful only in areas where the rainfall is somewhat larger than they happen to be at present in the area, and much less evenly distributed over the year. It is then that the inhabitants would feel the necessity for impounding the water and storing it for use in the more adverse seasons of the year. We know that Baluchistan itself must have been dried up in the period extending from the Chalcolithic age to the retreat of Alexander from India. Apart from the sufferings

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of Alexander so graphically described, Nearchus has recorded a tradition that the armies of Cyrus two centuries before and those of the queen Semiramis of Assyria suffered severely on the soil of Baluchistan, which tradition supports the inference from the excavations in Sind.

If then there have been climatic changes of a striking character, particularly as affecting the rainfall of the locality and consequently its fertility, it may be due to one of two causes. The first of these may be the moving up of the belt of the Atlantic rain-storms blowing across the Continent of Europe through Mid-Asia. In the last glacial age and the period immediately following, the storm-belt, which is now Central Europe and farther north, was actually the Mediterranean region and North Africa extending into Asia the southern part of which is now more or less a desert region up to the Ganges itself. These storms have still some little reach in this direction, and account for the winter rainfall at least in Baluchistan. Whether the changes in Sind are accountable to this cause does not seem quite so clear. The monsoon from the Bay seems to have had a much farther reach even in historical times, and that ought really speaking to have affected Sind more than the other. The winter rain in Sind is comparatively inconsiderable, and the highest rainfall in certain years is found to be due to the monsoons rather than to the winter. While the two may have combined to produce the change of climate, it is clear that the more important influence so far as Sind is concerned is rather the monsoon conditions than the distant Atlantic winter storms. This in a way is supported by what we find in Egypt and Mesapotamia in neither of which places have we any evidence that in the Chalcolithic age the rainfall was at all heavier. On the material available to us, definite conclusion in this matter would be difficult.

Another important feature of Sind is the change that has come over the river-system of the Indus. We have the evidence of Mussalman historians that in the period of the early Muhammadan invasions, Sind was watered by two rivers, the Indus in the west and the great Mihran, or as it is otherwise called Hakra or Wahinda, in the east of it. According to these early writers, the Mihran seems to have been regarded as the more important of the two. Both the Mihran, and the river Indus itself, have changed their courses rather widely. All that we can be certain about is that by the 14th century, the two large rivers

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really ran their parallel courses and carried the waters of the Punjab rivers to the sea, even including the more eastern Ghaggar and Chitang. It is believed that the extraordinary storm-floods of the middle of the 14th century which was fairly world-wide actually brought about the great changes in the course of the Punjab rivers including even the drying up of the Hakra itself. We cannot be certain, nor is it necessary for us to assume, such extraordinary changes in the vast period between the chalcolithic age and the Muhammadan invasions. The ordinary changes due to the floods and the change in the course of the rivers taking place normally would be quite enough to explain the changes that we noticed. But, so far as the site of Mohenjo-Daro itself is concerned, the district surrounding it has not undergone much change during the period of five thousand years from the days of its great prosperity down to the present day. The existence of the two rivers and the fertility distributed over the country by these and their tributaries, would warrant the belief that the territory of Sind must have been much more fertile and wealthy than it is described to have been in the days of Alexander and his predecessors, the Achaemenid emperors of Persia. With a second river to carry the waters down, the Indus itself must have been a much less destructive river then, than it actually is at the present day. Even so, it would be impossible to believe that the floods and inundation characteristic of the Indus region did not exist at the time. But the constant inundation of the river brings about the raising in the level of the country surrounding, to some extent, while the bed of the river itself rises much more largely. Of course, as we noticed elsewhere, the process is a slow one, but it is a persistently steady one. The fact that we find brick remains buried more than 30 feet below the earth would surely confirm this assumption.

The site of the ruins of Mohenjo-Daro must have been far more extensive than it is at present. We can notice on the plan six or seven separate groups of buildings, and perhaps, when cities existed, they were not altogether all that constituted Mohenjo-Daro. The area must have been vaster, and the narrowing of the area may be due entirely to erosion by the periodical floods. The total area is separated by a street running east and west leaving a comparatively smaller section to the south, and the far larger number of these sections to the north of it. There is a similar one, a street or a road that cuts across almost the middle from north to south with a comparatively slight inclination from the north-west to the south-east. This shows a deep indent all along

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its course, and is taken to have been the old bed of the river, though it is found to be really no more than the old street damaged and widened by the rain and the flood water. This is confirmed by a number of parallel streets that further excavations have laid bare. Three or four bits excavated to the east of the north-south road are marked the Dk. area, while to the west of it, there were three large areas excavated. The one to the south of the east-west road is called Hr area, which is perhaps the largest excavated site. Just to the north of it across the road is a comparatively large excavated section called the Vs area more or less at the angle between the north-south and the east-west roads. To the west of it, but separated by a road, is a comparatively large area excavated also, which is called the Stupa mound containing a number of sites, one section containing the big bath of the bath section and another one to the east of it is called the Stupa section, and so on. Of course the names given in this section relate to one of the later sites in Mohenjo-Daro really. The excavations carried out so far indicate clearly that the extent of the area varied with actual cities at different times, low tumulai, or prehistoric sites, or pot-sherds strewn over the whole surface. The existing site probably was reduced to its present dimensions owing to erosion caused by floods. Whether it was a walled city has to be left in doubt as from the fourth layer upwards the site shows shrinkage of area indicating a growing diminution in the size of the successive cities. If walls existed, we may have to look for them in the area covered by the fourth layer, some 25 to 30 feet below the present level. But we cannot carry our excavations at that depth to make sure, on account of the sub-soil water which comes to within 15 feet of the surface in winter, in which season alone it is possible to carry out excavations. From the level of the sub-soil water reached, up to the height of the mounds as they existed till now, seven strata have been found. In the three topmost strata there is not only a diminution of the size, but there are also other signs of decadence. Between these three and the next lower, the fourth stratum, there is a break which would indicate that the fourth city had been destroyed and remained in ruins for some considerable time. These seven strata fall into three classes; the first three belonging to the late period, the next three belonging to the middle, and the last to the early period, the classification proceeding all along so far on the basis of the buildings that have been unearthed rather than by the other finds. But in regard to the finds of antiquities, there is the possible danger that the minor ones at any rate could have been washed down to a

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lower level by the process of erosion making any strict classification a matter of difficulty. In regard to the levels themselves, we cannot regard them as uniform at different depths, as certain parts seem to have been artificially raised for specific purposes, such as is clearly noticeable in the Stupa mound. The Buddhist monastery is raised by an artificial terrace of unburnt brick to a height of over twenty feet from the surrounding level. The discovery of this site was made by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji in 1922. The only structure that was noticeable was the Buddhist stupa and the monastery-building of bricks taken out from the older layers; but further digging soon showed that there were layers below of far greater antiquity. The discovery of some seals by chance showed that the locality must have been contemporary with that of Harapa where similar seals had been discovered the year before in the carrying out of excavations there. So they advanced step by step to lay bare a certain number of sites so that it became necessary to extend operations, and in 1925-1926, a number of officers of the department were detailed to carry on the work, each being allotted a particular part of it. The finds accumulated and the work was carried over an extensive area. A whole time officer with experience of exploration work in Mesapotamia was now needed. Mr. Ernest Mackay was appointed. Separate reports of these excavations have been published in the previous annual volumes of the department.

BUILDINGS.

The first view of the ruins of Mohenjo-Daro in their present state of partial excavation, says Sir John Marshall, 'reminds one of a modern working town in Lancashire, because of the wide expanse of the brick structures laid bare, plain and completely devoid of ornamentation and indicating stark utilitarianism in the views of the builders. This impression is heightened by the size of the bricks used, which happen to be far larger than the bricks used in modern times in the area and of about the size of English bricks used in Lancashire." It is a well-known feature that Indian architects revelled in ornamentation. In contrast with this feature is the complete absence of such in the buildings of Mohenjo-Daro. There is clear evidence of the destruction of the town by fire in certain stages. Destruction by fire means destruction of all wood work if any existed. There is again evidence of wood work, having formed part of these structures. The inference therefore is possible that, at any rate, the better buildings had a

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considerable amount of wood work and of ornamentation in the wood work which had been destroyed by fire. This is only a possibility. As it is, however, it seems as though the buildings were all bare of art. The character of the construction of these buildings, however, seems quite excellent. The builders of Mohenjo-Daro used good burnt bricks, and they knew unburnt ones as well. In Mohenjo-Daro itself, they used both. In all the exposed parts of the buildings, burnt bricks are used exclusively. Unburnt bricks were reserved for filling in foundations, and for use of course in the interior and unexposed parts of the walls. The bricks were found to be of three sizes, the smallest of which was 10.5 x 5.5 x 2.5; the largest being 11.75 x 5.25 x 2.5, the third variety being 11 x 5.5 x 2.75. These were put together, laid in mud generally, but when more strength was called for in mud and gypsom mortar. Gypsom alone as a joining agent is used in parts where particular strength was required, such as for the hearting of the walls or the pointing of joints to keep out moisture. There is evidence of the use of lime, but that seems to have been used so far only in combination with gypsom. In the ordinary structures, the walls were vertical both inside and out. Large buildings with heavier walls show a batter on the outer side of varying degrees of declination. The inner surface of the walls seems to have been coated with plaster, either by mud or by mud and straw combined. Walls were also left open with brick facing. Only they were finished by rubbing down the bricks, as it has sometimes been done in mediaeval and modern Hindu buildings. The walls seem to be more massive than was actually required, which may have been due to the danger from floods. Floors were paved with brick, and laid flat wherever there was not much chance of great wear. In exposed parts however they were laid on edge to stand a great deal more of wear and tear, as one often finds in buildings in the delta districts of South India. In the ruins, it is only ground floor chambers that we have remains of. They give evidence of doors and windows for admitting light and air, as well as providing passages. We come across interior windows only, but usually no windows on the outer walls. Both doorways and windows seem to have been built of wood, all of which has disappeared by fire. We come across corbelled arches in the outer drains, and it is likely such were in use for passages and possibly windows as well. The real arch has not so far been found. Staircases leading upstairs are known, the steps being narrow and even steep. The ordinarily large buildings even, are provided with wells which are generally circular, though a few instances of

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oval wells have come to notice. Private houses sometimes provided even wells for public use. These are being found in a room next adjoining the street, to which access was given by separate doorways. In spite of the fact that a very large number of houses have been unearthed, no definite instances have come to light of fire-places and things corresponding thereto in any of the buildings in Mohenjo-Daro. In two or three instances where such were suspected, the examples are regarded as quite doubtful. Two special features of these houses are worth notice. The first is the provision of drains and the other bathrooms. The bathrooms are usually well paved and provided with drains connected with the street system. These drains are found both on the ground floor, and even on the upper floor wherever these existed. The horizontal drains are all of them built of brick, while the vertical ones are of terracotta pipes with closely fitted spigot and faucet joinings, these being protected by special structures of brick work or let into walls. The flues for throwing out rubbish are found built into the walls leading to the bins in the street. Public dust-bins were provided in the streets, and the street drains themselves were constructed with as much care. While there seems to have been an admirable system of drainage, both public and private, these drains were led into soak-pits, and there is nothing to show that they were carried off beyond these pits.

In regard to roofs, they seem to have been all flat, laid on stout timbers covered with planking and beaten earth, with a protective course of brick or matting or some other material, as in use in modern times even. Though flat roofs were general, it must not be taken for granted that there were no other forms of roofs. There seems to be evidence for presuming the existence of corbelled spires as otherwise the massive foundations are inexplicable. The common feature *Sikara* may have existed then, as this feature has been traced in its completeness at the earliest period to which we could carry architectural history. That perfection could not have been attained without previous experience in the building of it.

The buildings so far unearthed can be divided into three classes. The first are what may be regarded undoubtedly as dwelling houses. The second constitute larger buildings, the purpose for which they were intended being not yet quite clearly determined. The third class consist of what may have to be regarded as public baths. These may have had a religious cha-

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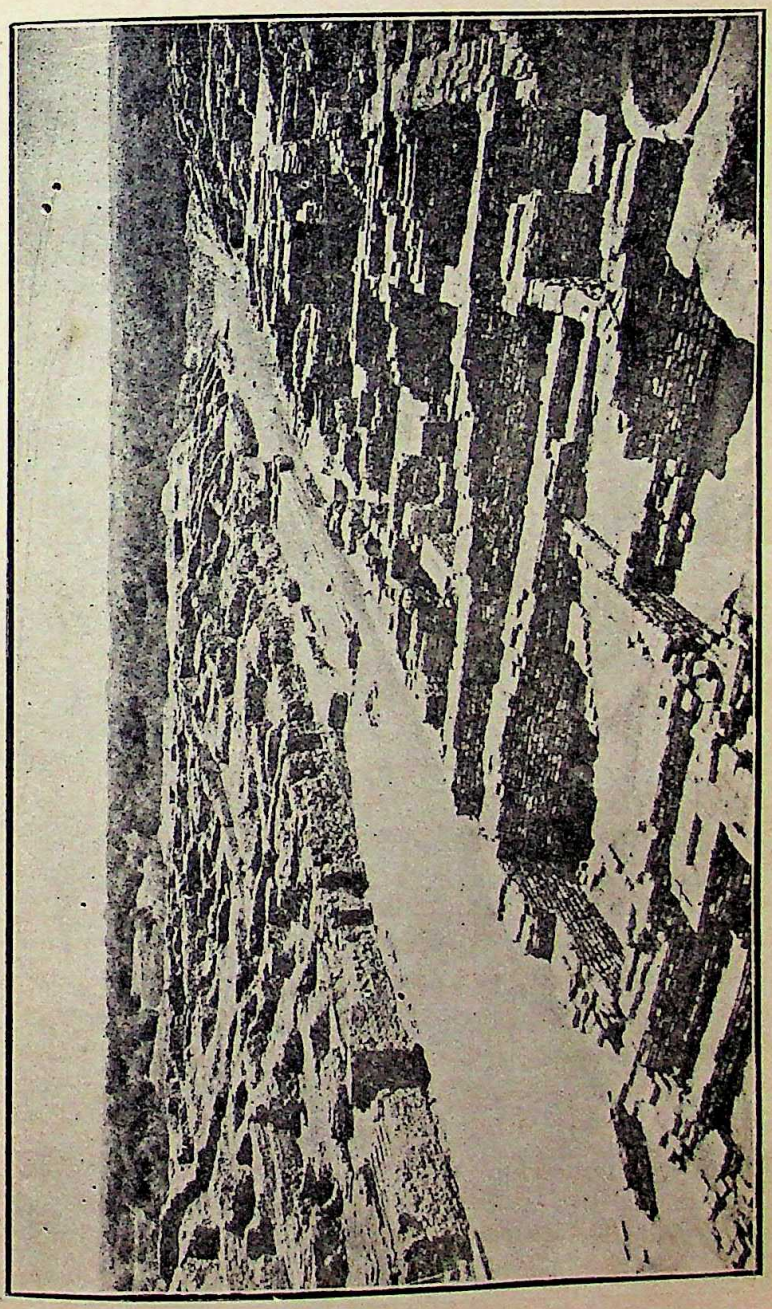

General view of excavations in Section B, from north.
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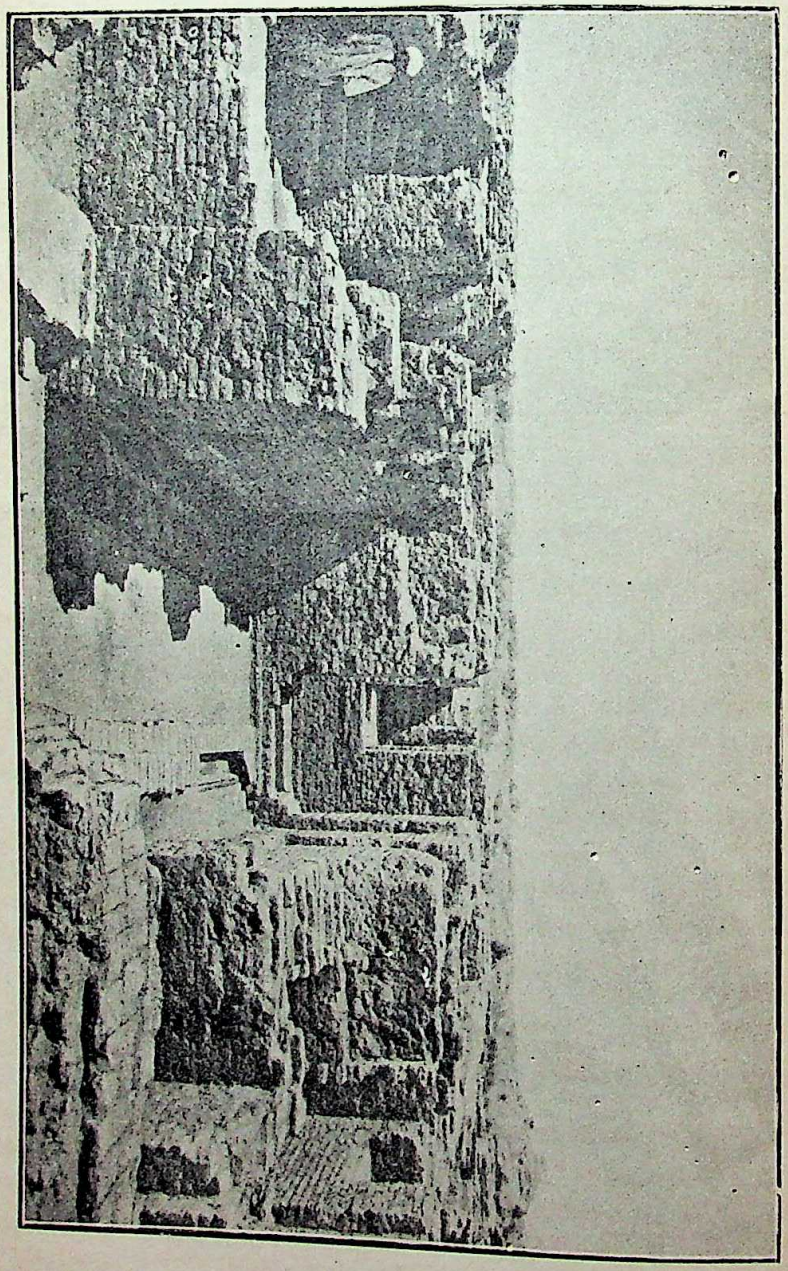

Court 69 in House XIII, looking west.

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racter, though the purpose seems secular from what appears of the details. Naturally dwelling houses, large and small, constitute the bulk of the buildings so far excavated. These houses range from those with only two rooms to those containing as many as 25 rooms. There may have been more. The report gives full details of two with plain and oblique projections as well. The general plan, however, seems to be that the houses open out into the streets with a single entrance generally, but there are those with three entrances so far known. In the ordinary buildings, the walls are vertical, but larger buildings intended to carry heavy upper floors are given a batter outside, the inclination of which is more or less according to the strength required. It is the plain walls that abut on the street. But doorways or passages from the street lead into the courtyards of varying sizes, and the chambers or rooms in the houses are ranged round these courtyards in varying sizes for the various purposes for which they were intended. The rooms are lighted as a rule by windows opening into these courtyards directly or through other intervening chambers or rooms. It is rarely that one comes across windows on the outside walls opening into the streets. Staircases go up either from the courtyards, from one or other of the vestibules into which the outer passages open. The courtyards are found paved with bricks laid flat in certain places and edgewise in others. The latter style of construction is adopted wherever there is room for doorway. The rooms upstairs seem to have been designed commodiously with bath chambers from which water could be carried by drains closed or open, and led down by means of earthernware pipes let into the walls, or brought down directly with encased brick works to the courtyard below and let into the drains there. These drains carry the water into the soak-pits in the couryard itself in the case of some houses. In the case of others they are led into the courtyard drains which carry off the sullage across the house to the street mains, or to soak pits, or soak wells that are provided in the streets.

Two larger houses are taken for detailed discussion. One of them, house numbered VIII, has a frontage of 85 feet and of a depth of 97 feet. Its surrounding walls are as much as 4 to 5 feet thick with a slight batter on the outside. The ground floor rooms seem generally intended to serve household purposes, such as the kitchen, bathrooms, store rooms, etc., with a chamber for wells in the larger house. In some of them, the wells are in a chamber close to the street from which a passage opens to the well. Such

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wells seem intended not only for the use of the house, but even for others in the street. The living and sleeping rooms were generally in the first floor. In the buildings that have been excavated, we have evidence of rearrangements by adaptation of older houses to newer purposes. Some of the rooms are filled in as a measure of protection against floods. This happens to be the case in the case of rooms on the ground floor, corresponding to the residential rooms in the first floor. In the case of these upstairs rooms again, there is the disposition round the courtyard of the house with projecting balconies, by means of which rooms could be entered. There is evidence of timber having been used largely in these constructions, and it is the burnt timber that accounts for the abundnace of charcoal discovered among the debris. That these were destroyed by fire is also borne witness to by the burnt-up walls. The interior walls in some cases were plastered over with mud about three inches thick consisting of earthern plaster mixed with straw, cut small. That is just exactly the way they prepare the mud for walls in mud-built houses even now in the delta country, even of the south. But the walls thus plastered were finished off by smoothening, or by a final coat of mud plaster. In certain cases where fire had been at work, the fire has transformed the plaster into terra-cotta. The use of timber is found in the ceilings where they are actually found as timber in some cases. The Himalayan deodar and a kind of local sisu seem to have been the ones much used. The deodar could be floated down the river, while the other one is probably exclusively local. House No. XIII is a much a larger one containing as many as 28 rooms in all. Of these there are four fair-sized courts, ten comparatively small rooms, three stair-cases, with porticos leading to a well chamber on the ground floor. Its opening is on one of the bigger streets, and has three entrances. It is in this house that we find a large number of rooms on the ground floor filled with debris to provide a solid plinth for the rooms upstairs as a protection against floods. This seems to be the general feature of the buildings now laid bare showing that these were built by the adaptation of older buildings to newer requirements, one of the more urgent of which is protection against floods.

Attention is drawn to a certain number of larger buildings—buildings larger than the one above. They are more spacious and more elaborate in structure. It is matter for doubt whether they were houses like the others, or were intended for another purpose. Of course in Mesapotamia the resemblance between palaces and

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temples is close, and residential houses and temples were like each other in plan and general arrangements. It may possibly be that it was so in the Indus valley as well. But we have no definite evidence leading to the existence of temples, and it may be that the Indus valley people had no temples for public worship, as the Minoans do not appear to have had such temples. This conclusion seems the more probable as no trace of any image or image-base has so far been discovered, though we know that the religion of these people was iconic, and the images were housed in chapels not meant for public use. There may have been rooms set apart for private use as places for worship, such as was the case in Minoan palaces, and as is the case in Hindu houses of to-day. A few pillared halls have been unearthed, one of which is as large as about 80 feet square. The hall seems to be, as in the Kanheri Durbar hall, divided into long corridors interspersed with low benches with even seats. In Buddhistic structures, they were halls for assembly, and the raised seats were for the monks to sit on, the corridors between being more or less passages for ingress and egress. The arrangements in these Mohenjo-Daro buildings seem to have been somewhat similar. One noticeable feature here is the chief seat is at right angles to these corridors, and the platforms between corridors provide only two rows of seats. The corridors were apparently paved substantially, the seats being formed by mud-plaster prepared in the same way as the wall plaster. They might even have been finished with wood. This would account for the complete disappearance of these seats while the corridors remain intact in many cases.

We next come to the great bath, which is one of the peculiar features of Mohenjo-Daro. The plan of this bath is a large quadrangle in the middle, with verandahs on all the four sides. On three out of these four sides, however, there were various gallaries and rooms built just behind the enclosing verandahs. On the south side, the verandah constitutes a long gallery with a small chamber at each corner. On the eastern side there is a single range of small chambers. On the north are a group of several halls and fair-sized rooms. In the middle of the open quadrangle is a swimming bath measuring 39 X 23 feet with a depth of 8 feet. There is a flight of steps leading to the bath on either end, and at the foot of the steps is a low platform for the convenience of bathers. The bath is connected with a well in one of the rooms adjoining, and there seems to have been arrangement for running off the waste water, through a covered drain

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near the south-west corner. This is a magnificent passage with a corbelled roof, 6 6 high. Sir John Marshall thinks that this was intended to run off the waste water. It seems rather doubtful whether the corbelled covered path 6′ 6″ was required for merely running off waste water from a tank of 39 x 23 x 8 feet. We know of a sluice of that height that was provided for a tank here in South India, the bund of which ran sixteen miles. The covered passage probably was intended to serve another purpose, and may have been utilised to run off the waste water also. There is evidence of the construction on the northern side of this tank where the buildings appear to have been transformed by reducing the lower rooms to serve as solid plinths, other rooms being built up above, to reach which a staircase had been provided. It is clear that the great bath had an upper story, and the usual appurtenances of drains descending from it. It was surrounded by a fenestrated wall which seems to have been continued on the upper floor also. The quantity of charcoal unearthed would show that a great deal of timber had gone into the structure. We can form no idea of the whole building as it looked, as nothing is left of these except the very bricks. Except for a seal from Harapa, which gives a picture of a building, probably of wood, with trellis work at the sides, etc., we have recovered nothing that would enable us to reconstruct the plan of any of these buildings. But that the buildings were not entirely bare of ornamental work is made clear to us by pieces of perforated lattices in alabaster, somewhat similar to the perforated screens of Kushan and Gupta ages. The existence of these would necessarily mean much else that went with it, and perhaps all the ornamental work may have been either structures like these, or were entirely of wood work and therefore easily destroyed.

The great bath is remarkable for the solidity of its construction. It measures north to south 180 feet, and from east to west 108. The outer walls are 7 to 8 feet in thickness, with a batter of about 6 degrees at the base. The inner walls are about half as thick. In the construction of this bath itself, the lining of the tank was made of finely traced brick laid in gypsum and mortar, three to four inches in thickness. At the back of these was a course of bitumen, an inch thick. Behind this was another wall of burnt brick. Then came a packing of crude brick finished off again with a solid rectangle of burnt brick structure with short cross walls between it and the verandah foundations to counteract outward pressure. This elaborate structure was intended to

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make the tank water-tight, and a more effective construction with the available material could hardly have been thought of. It has stood five thousand years. Adjoining this, as it were, are rooms and buildings which seem to have constituted what is nowadays called a *hammam*. As far as it has been excavated, it consists of rectangular platforms of solid brick, each of the size of a small room, about five feet in height. There is a series of vertical chases sunk in the sides. Between the platforms are narrow passages crossing each other at right angles, on the floors of which were found cinders and charcoal. These seem clearly intended as ceiled rooms with hypocanst flues formed on the edges in the sides. That this was the nature of the buildings is confirmed by another building among the ruins. The building contains a room the floor of which is supported by dwarf walls, and shows in the superstructure a vertical flue for heating the room. Whether these were actually *hammams* or no, it gives us undoubted evidence of a hypocaustic system, which takes us very near to *hammams*.

A study of the houses in these ruins shows clearly that at Mohenjo-Daro there must have been a town of a large size with a flourishing population who could indulge in the luxuries of a well-provided town, with good sanitary arrangements, and even the luxury of hot air baths in some at least of the houses, if not in the public baths. The laying out of the roads and streets, the provision of the drains, etc., would indicate a civic organisation quite modern in their character. The few halls that have so far been unearthed while they do exhibit some resemblances to the halls of the Buddhist congregation that we know of in the later Buddhist period, betray features which may make them halls of assembly for secular purposes. If they were so, these may prove to be assembly halls for the meeting of people for common purposes including even civic administration. It would be nothing surprising if further excavations on this site or elsewhere should confirm this surmise.

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SITZUNGSBERICHTE DER PREUSSISCHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN,

phil.-hit. Klasse, 1930, No. XXVI (also edited separately)

p. 557-568. (Abbreviated: SPAW).

NOTES BY

PROFESSOR OTTO STEIN OF PRAGUE,

From German and other Oriental Journals.

The sad situation of the chronology of ancient India cannot be better illustrated than by the fact, that there is no unanimous opinion on the date of the founders of Jainism and Buddhism. This question forms the theme of a paper by Hermann Jacobi.

According to the traditional and corrected dates of Buddha's and Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa, Buddha died some years before Mahāvīra, while the Buddhist Canon says that Mahāvīra deceased not long before Buddha's Nirvāṇa. Jacobi tries to remove this contradiction by starting from the traditional date 543 B.C. for Buddha's, and 526 B.C. for Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa. The Buddhists believe, that Chandragupta ascended the throne 162 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇa, so that the latter event would be dated 484 B.C., assuming the 'earliest possible' date for Chandraguptą's accession to the throne 322 B.C. $(322 + 162 = 484)$. According to Vikramasinghe (see Geiger's transl. of the Mahāvamsa p. XXVIIIff.) there existed in Ceylon about the year 1015 A.D. an era, beginning with 483 B.C., while in the middle of the 11th century A.D. the traditional era, beginning with 543 B.C., can be proved in use. The common Jain tradition puts Chandragupta's accession to the throne 215 years A.V. (Hemachandra, Pariśiṣṭaparvan VIII, 339); and two or three generations earlier, the Kahāvalī by Bhadreśvara (preserved in a single manuscript only) ascribes the event to 155 years after Mahāvīra's death, so that Mahāvīra died 477 B.C. In the Sāmagama Sutta (Majjh. Nik. II, 1, p. 243ff), Pāṣādika S. (Dīgha N. II, p. 117ff.) and in the Saṅgīti S. (ibid. 209ff.) we are told that Mahāvīra died in Pāvā shortly before Buddha came from Pāvā to Kusinārā. There exist, however, some differences about the persons and the contents of the speech held by the Buddha; but greater

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importance must be attributed to the Mahāparin S., where the Buddha does not refer to the schism among the Jain community as he does in the sources mentioned just before. As the Mahāparin S. is the earliest source on the last year of Buddha's life, the three other versions must be dated in a later period. At a time, when they had been added to the Canon, the Canon came to be fixed for the first time; that means, when about 150 years had elapsed since the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, the Canon came to be fixed. In the Jain tradition we hear about schisms, but there has been none after the death of Mahāvīra; the alleged schism after his decease is rather an invention of the Buddhists. As J. Charpentier (Ind. Ant. XLIII, 1914, p. 128) has seen, Mahāvīra died in Majjhamā Pāvā, the Pavapuri of to-day; the Buddhists believed that place identical with Pāvā in the Sakya-country; their account is apocryphical, and therefore the dates 484 B.C. for Buddha's, and 477 B.C. for Mahāvīra's death are the base for the following enquiry.

In the Mahāparin S. we are told that Ajātaśatru, whose capital was Rājagṛha, wanted to attack the Vṛjis, and for that he founded, as a base for the operations, Pāṭaligrāma, which, however, is called a *nagara*, a proof for the late origin of the story. Ajātaśatru sent his minister Vassakāra to the Buddha, who was staying in Rājagṛha, to ascertain from the Buddha his views about the Vṛjis, with whom he knew him to be on friendly terms. The Buddha did not reply in a direct form; from the questions to his favourite pupil Ānanda and from the latter's answers on the seven virtues of the Vṛjis, the minister Vassakāra came to know that their state was in good order and that the Buddha did not believe a war against them would be successful. The further account of the Mahāparin S. does not allude to the political affairs between Ajātaśatru and the Vṛjis, dealing only with the last journey of the Buddha to Vaiśālī, the capital of the Vṛjis, and with the death of the Lord, which must have happened in Vaisākha.

In the Jain Canon the war of Ajātaśatru against the Vṛjis, with whom the nine Mallas and nine Licchavis were confederated, was successful, the capital Vaiśālī, however, not having been conquered. The latter event is told in the Nirayāvaḷī Sūtra in the following form: Vehalla, one of the eleven brothers of Ajātaśatru, and possessing the *gandhahastin* and the necklace as the royal insignia, took refuge in Vaiśālī with king Chetaka, because he did not want to give those insignia to his brother Ajātaśatru unless he

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was given in exchange the half of the realm. Chetaka, siding with Vehalla, declared war, in which all the ten brothers of Ajātaśatru were killed. The last part of the war is not related in that Sūtra; but in the Āvaśyaka Kathānakas, the legend of Kūlavalaya (cf. Abhidhānarājendrakośa s. v. Kūlavālaya) states that the conquering of the town of Vaiśālī was announced to be dependent on the love of the monk Kūlavālaya with the *gaṇikā* of Magadha.

This view of Jacobi has been endorsed by the remarks of W. Schubring,[1] who underlines that the Viyāhapaññati (being the older name of the Bhagavatī) and the Nirāyavalī Sūtra give relations of different phases of the same event, namely of the conquering of Vaiśālī. On the other hand, the results at which Jacobi has arrived were doubted and refused by A. B. Keith.[2] He shows that the date of Chandragupta's accession to the throne is placed according to the Jain tradition 255 years before the Vikrama era, i.e., in 313 or 312 B.C., while Jacobi took 322 B.C. as the earliest possible year. The scepticism in discrediting the Buddhist accounts, that Buddha died after Mahāvīra, 'is quite inconsistent with the faith placed by Professor Jacobi in the tradition as to the dates of the Nirvāṇas . . . .' The differences between the Suttantas show only the different handing down of the same tradition; nor is it proved that the Mahāparin S. is the oldest and more trustworthy source, the less, as Jacobi himself (p. 562 = 8 of the reprint) attributes to the Mahāparin S. a much later origin than the time of the war between Ajātaśatru and the Vṛjis; further, there is no proof that the news of Mahāvīra's death reached the Buddha before his own Nirvāṇa. The three Suttantas agree with the Mahāparin S. in that respect that the Buddha believed his doctrine fit to prevent schism in his community. That there was no schism in the Jain community is contradicted by the rivalry of Gośāla, by the opposition raised by his son-in-law Jamāli, and by the opposition of Tīsaputta. The confusion of the two Pāvās in Buddhist tradition is not only independent from the time of Mahāvīra's death, but it has not been proved at all that the Jain tradition is earlier, though Jacobi dates the three Suttantas to be incorporated into the Canon in the 2nd or 3rd century after Buddha's Nirvāṇa. Nowhere does the Jain tradition contradict the Buddhist by asserting that Mahāvīra died after the Buddha. 'Professor Jacobi has endeavoured on the basis of the Jain and Buddhist traditions to

1. Orientalistische Literaturzeitung 1932, col. 143|45.
2. Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies VI, 4, 1932, 859|66.

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throw some light on the political development of Magadha in the time of the great teachers, but it may seriously be doubted if we can make anything very satisfactory out of these confused and obviously biassed records.'

In 1922 Heinrich Lüders[3] published some manuscript leaves, found in Eastern Turkistan, which brought some interesting results for the history and geography of that country. So he found the name of a king Vasuyaśas of the 6th century A.D. probably, of Suvarṇapuṣpa of the 7th century A.D., of Suvarṇadeva of Kuci.[4] That was the first occurrence of the name of the country, which is found in many other manuscripts, deciphered now by Prof. Lüders; unsettled is the time of king Artep. Besides that, those leaves threw many gleams of light on the geography, literature, religion of Turkestan and its connection with Indian culture. In his new contribution Lüders[5] enriches our knowledge of the literary activities in the basin of the Tarim. The main contents of the paper-manuscripts, which were found at Qyzil and can be dated on palaeographical grounds in the late 6th or beginning of 7th century A.D., are Buddhist Stotras, written in Sanskrit and classical metres. From letters of semi-official characters we get information about the kings and other persons as well as cultural conditions. There is an invitation of the *samgha* of the *śrāvaka* to a banquet of sweets by the Kucīśvara or Kucimahārāja Tottika and his queen Svayamprabhā. This hitherto unknown king belongs probably to the 7th century A.D. As in a second group of leaves, the script of which must be earlier than the 7th century A.D., there occurs a king Suvarṇapuṣpa, Lüders points out in connection with a story told by Hüan-Tsang, that this Suvarṇapuṣpa must be an earlier king than the father of Suvarṇadeva, his namesake of the 7th century (see above). In the leaves, published 1922, there were found the names of three countries on the Northern border of the Tarim basin, (in the order from West to East): Hecyuka (see above note 3), Bharuka, Kuci; according to the new materials the next country in the East was Agni, i.e., A-k'i-ni, U-k'-i, in the historical Chinese literature Yen-k'i, the Qaraśahr of modern times. Bharuka reminds the reader of

3. Zur Geschichte and Geographie Ostturkestans. SPAW 1922, 243 ff.

4. Cf. P. Pelliot, T'oung pao XXII, 126 ff., who identified Hecyuka with the modern Uc-Turfan. Suvarṇapuṣpa was the father of Suvarṇadeva, who came to reign between 618 and 630 A.D., cf. SPAW 1930, 25.

5. Weitere Beitraege zur Geschichte und Geographie von Ostturkestan, SPAW 1930, 7-64 (also separately published).

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Bharukacchā, of which it has been probably a colony, mentioned not only by the Chinese pilgrim Hüan-Tsang, but, according to Sir Aurel Stein, existing among the people up to this day. From a comparison of kindred stories in Jain and Buddhist literature Prof. Lüders gives a survey of the wandering and alterations of a story on the one, and the convincing proof of the identity of Ho-lao-lo-kia with Roruka or Rauruka of the Sauvīra on the other hand. The original story is to be placed in Western India, and was in India already intermingled; so the hero of the Rudrāyaṇa-avadāna (Divyāvad. XXXVII, p. 544ff.) was changed by mistake with Udāyana, but his correct name has to be Udrāyaṇa.

Further to the East of the Tarim basin the results of the second expedition of Sven Hedin (1899-1902) carry us to Loulan, in Kharoṣṭhī-documents called Kroraimna or Kroraina, in Khotanese Raurata. This state was, as we are told in a new publication by Albert Herrmann,[6] independent till 77 B.C.; since that time it had been a Chinese military station till 330 A.D. It is situated eastwards from Agni (see above), on the cross-point of 90° E.L., and 40° N.L. In the neighbourhood lays the Lobnor, to-day a salt-marsh. The researches by Sven Hedin, Sir Aurel Stein (1906, 1915-16), by the Buddhist priest Tatshibana (1910) have brought to light much information on geology, hydrography, geography, history and the culture of that province. With the spreading of the Buddhism over Turkistan since the Kuṣāṇa-period, Indian culture, of course of Buddhist make, was introduced in Loulan. The testimonies speak in very clear language. There are wooden tablets—in Kharoṣṭhī script, known already from Niya, eleven manuscripts on paper, two on silk. And as the country from the Niya river up to the Lobnor was under the rule of the same king of Loulan, in his capital of Yü-ni, the modern Tsharhlik, there occur in the documents of both the sites the same titles, the same regnal years, the same names of kings. The contents of the documents show again in their majority Buddhist religious texts; two of the manuscripts on paper are written by a Buddhist, one in Sanskrit language, the other, in Tocharean language, uses Brahmi characters. About 260 A.D. the Chinese general So Man founded a colony of soldiers and agriculturists, which is to be identified with the ruins on the Kurukdarya-canal. Here Sven Hedin saw a watch-tower, which was really a Stūpa, to-day reduced by wind-erosion to a height of some 40 feet; once, however, rising to 56 feet. From this main Stūpa, in a West-North-West direction, are to be found many smaller Stūpas, and

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at a distance of about 8¾ miles Sven Hedin's servant Oerdek detected eight houses, the main building of which is a small Buddhist sanctuary, a square of 22-23 feet.

The rich carvings show the influence of the Gandhāra art, represented by Buddha figures, Hellenistic ornaments, and an Indo-Hellenistic capital. As the residence of the king has not yet been unearthed, future excavations promise further links between India and this remote colony of Indian culture.

From a literary point of view as well as from that of historical trustworthiness the question of the Purānas forms an unsolved riddle. The difficulty in settling this important question lay not the least in the huge mass which is to be mastered for scientific research. Indologists owe great obligation to Professor W. Kirfel,[7] of the University of Bonn, for his self-sacrificing work by which he has done the first[8] pushing forward into that ticket of Purāṇa-studies. His book 'Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa' (Bonn 1927), confining itself to the five constituents of a Purāṇa, has shown that already the *pañcalakṣaṇa* go back to an earlier collection of different texts, so that each Purāṇa inserted in its corpus a story once or twice, in a shorter or longer form. One of the most interesting and important parts of the Purāṇas, the geographical description of India, is the object of the philological critic in Prof. Kirfel's latest contribution.

Among the Purāṇas there exist two main groups: in the first, the geographical part is given in a shorter form, in the second, in a more detailed one. The former group of Purāṇas is to be

7. Bhāratavarṣa (Indien). Textgeschichtliche Darstellung zweier geographischen Purāṇa-Texte nebst Uebersetzung. Stuttgart 1931 (= Beitraege zur indischen Sprachwissenschaft und Religionsgeschichte, herausgegeben von J. W. Hauer, Heft 6.).

8. It would be unjust to forget the service done by the late F. E. Pargiter in his "Dynasties of the Kali Age" (Oxford 1913), in so many papers, condensed and systematically represented in his book "Ancient Indian Historical Tradition" (London 1922). But the strict philological base of Prof. Kirfels researches, putting aside every biassed theory, was missing in former research-work. In 1920 Kirfel published already "Die Kosmographie der Inder", dealing with the entire Indian literature from a cosmographical point of view. The late Pargiter has done valuable service in elucidating geographical identifications in his English translation of the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa (Bibl. Ind. 1888-1905).

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divided into two sub-groups again: the Garuḍa-, Śiva (Dharma-samhitā)-, and Śiva (Umāsamhitā)-Purāṇa, which represent an earlier recension against the Agni-, Brahma-, Kūrma-, and Viṣṇu-Purāṇa. For the chronological side the occurrence of the Hūṇa in the list of peoples cannot be counted as the word is found in a later interpolated passage.

Among the Purāṇas giving a longer text of India's description, there exist sub-groups again: either the text has no connection at all or at least no direct connection with the surrounding part; or the geographical description has its place in a bigger cosmographical chapter. To the former group belong: the Brahma (adhy. 2F)-, Mārkaṇḍeya-, Vāmana-Purāṇa, to the latter the Brahmāṇḍa-, Matsya- and Vāyu-Purāṇa.

The comparison of the geographical text and its surroundings carry us to the conclusion that the text had once its independent existence, however, in two recensions, before being incorporated into the Purāṇas. From the two groups, the shorter one seems to be the earlier, beginning with śloka 5 extending up to the end of the river-list; the list of peoples appears to be a later addition. The more detailed text, reaching up to the peoples-list, is very likely an enlargement of the shorter version; that is apparent from the formations of compounds, different from the other version, from the names occurring here, and from the interpolated half-śloka 3b, showing a world-conception, distinct from that in the shorter text. This more extensive version formed the base for a third one again, which appears in the Padma-Purāṇa and in the Mahābhārata. Prof. Kirfel believes in the possibility of suggesting a date for the longer text-form. For, the śloka 32 a, b, found in five Purāṇas with slight variations:

Sahasya cottare yas tu yatra Godāvarī nadī |
pṛthivyām api kṛtsnāyām sa pradeśo manoramaḥ ||

occurs in Rājaśekhara's Kāvyamīmāmsā in the form:

Sahyadrer uttare bhāga yatra Godavarī nadī |
pṛthivyām iha kṛtsnāyām sa pradeśo manoramaḥ ||

and can be traced in the commentaries of Īśvarakṛṣṇa's Sāmkhya-kārikā by Gauḍapāda and Māṭhara (but not yet with Paramārtha)[9] as follows:

9. Cf. Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Ext-r'eme-Orient 4, 1904, 8 f., 984.

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Dakṣiṇena tu Vindhyasya Sahyasya tu yad uttaram |
pṛthivyām āsamudrāyā sa pradeśo manoramaḥ ||

As long as there is no proof that the verse belongs to any other source or that it was a common-place, a terminus ante quem, i.e., the 9th/10th century A.D., may be suggested, and the verse would have existed in the 6th or 7th century A.D.

This introduction, giving the reasons for the classification of the Purāṇas, is followed by a transcribed text, arranged in the same way as in the previous work by Prof. Kirfel, the Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa. A German translation and copious notes, giving the identifications, as far as proposed by other writers on that subject, will prove very useful for quick reference being a reference-text for the Geography of India, as treated in the Purāṇic literature. All that is founded on sound philological work; though, the reader may not be confident in the reconstruction of the development of the Purāṇas, this critical cleaning of the text-book alone will carry us to some reliable results.

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Reviews

THE PROBLEM OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER, 1890-1908 WITH A SURVEY OF POLICIES SINCE 1849

By

C. C. Davies,

(Cambridge University Press; 12 s. 6d. nett.)

The frontier problem which means no more than the problem of the North-West frontier, is an absorbing question in Indian History. It is the north-west that opened the flood-gates which let into India populations from the outside ever since the dawn of history. A natural frontier, or a scientific frontier, on this side would take us much beyond the boundaries of India of to-day. While all through Indian History the question of the north-west frontier was there, it was not a question of the same character at different periods of Indian History. In Hindu India, we might take it broadly that the frontier problem was no more than the question of a powerful kingdom or kingdoms in the north-west whose loyalty or the want of it either kept the enemy out or let him in. That was perhaps about as far as they could have gone in those days. We could understand something of it from a study of Alexander's invasion, or from the history of the Hindu Shahi dynasty that held rule over Afghanistan. In the days of the Muhammadan empire, the problem was of a different character, and this frontier was not without its anxieties as we know only too well from the repeated Mongol invasions, and later on, in the difficulty of maintaining viceroys loyal to the Mughal empire in India. As the British frontier gradually advanced to the line of the Sutlej, early British efforts were directed towards the maintenance of powerful frontier states, such as the Sikh state of the Punjab and the Mussalman chieftaincies of Sindh and Baluchistan. It is the annihilation of the one and the absorption of the other into British territory that makes the frontier problem one of the first magnitude in British Indian History. It is this question of the north-west frontier in British India that the work attempts to treat.

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The problem naturally resolves itself into a question of deciding upon a frontier up to which the authority of the Indian Government might be extended, and the arrangements to be made with the states and peoples beyond for the safety of the frontier. There have been various theories as to the proper frontier of India, and four such have figured prominently in the discussions upon the question. The nearest of course is the so-called Indus frontier, which whatever it might have been in earlier times has ceased to be worth the name as a frontier, a river frontier being regarded as not offering any advantage as a frontier. The next one takes us a stage beyond. It takes in into the territory of India the strip of country between the river and the hills extending all along the whole length from the northern limits of Kashmir to the Arabian Sea at the mouth of the Indus. The advantage of this consists in the hills that skirt the frontier and offer obstructions to a possible invader from the north-west. But, as in the case of the river frontier, the Indus, so in the case of these hills, the question really is which side has command of the other bank. So in the case of these hills, a similar consideration obtains. The holding of the eastern side of these hills thus becomes impossible if the enemy were allowed to cross the hills unopposed. The necessity therefore arises of either fortifying hill tops, or taking possession of, and guarding, the other side of the passes across the hills. This naturally would bring the Government of India into relations with the tribes inhabiting the belt of country between the mountains on the frontier of India and the borders of Afghanistan whatever they be. It is with a view to this problem that the Durand Mission marked the frontier some way to the westward of the foothills, and passing through the whole length of the tribal country in an irregular line. This naturally introduces a new problem. Even such physical demarcation as the river or the hills afforded ceases. Anything like an ethnical division of allotting particular tribes to Afghan protection and other tribes to the protection of the Government of India has not been either consistently attempted or carried out by the Durand Mission. The tribal question therefore has really become a little more acute, and much more difficult to tackle, than previously. But the frontier which statesmen regarded as scientific and which perhaps may be described as providing a natural frontier is the line of the Afghan mountains stretching across the whole length, and having along it the important towns of Kabul, Ghazni, and Kandahar; that means practically all

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Eastern Afghanistan, and, if the protection of the mountains involves fortifications on top, or the possession of the posts on the other side, that will mean practically the inclusion of all Afghanistan except Herat and Seistan into the Indian Empire. The Sutlej frontier has been extended to the foothills of Baluchistan by the annexation of Sindh in 1843, and by the subsequent relations with the Amirs of Baloch territory through considerable parts of Baluchistan also. The annexation of the Punjab in 1849 completed the expansion on the side of the Punjab, and brought that problem of the frontier to a condition of emergency. Since then there have been constant efforts on the part of the Government of India to settle this question satisfactorily. Various policies have been tried, the changes being necessitated by the condition of Afghanistan for one thing, and the progress of the Russian power across the middle of Asia towards the Afghan frontier. This naturally involves relations with Persia and the territory of the Turkish empire in Asia. Changes of any importance in any one of these spheres necessitates a corresponding change in the policy of the British Government along the north-western frontier. The whole problem may be set down in two divisions: (1) the securing of a maintainable frontier capable of defence easily and of definition with a view to the maintenance of peaceful relations with other immediate neighbours. It was therefore a question of where we should stop in our actual possession, and to what extent fortifications and road-building and such other accessory works for the efficient defence of the frontier could be caried out. (2) How best to maintain Afghanistan as a friendly power. The securing of the frontier of Afghanistan dominated the policy till successive disasters that befell the British arms in their attempt to bring Afghanistan under British influence, led to concentration of effort on the other question. The resulting policy on the frontier culminated in the creation of the North-west Frontier Province, and the work of the Durand Boundary Commission. This was further followed by removing the anxieties on this side by a definite agreement with the advancing power of Russia, which in fact was the determining factor in the settlement of the problem. The settlement of the boundary between Afghanistan and Russia was successfully carried through, and the Russian Treaty marked definitely the sphere of Russian activities in Central Asia.

The question is a very complicated one, and the material for arriving at correct conclusions in regard to the problem lies buried

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in unpublished and confidential records of the India and Foreign Offices. The author of this work was given access to these and has undertaken the writing of the work on the basis of his study extending over years of these records. He has also had the benefit of a few years' residence on the frontier as a military officer in the service of the Government of India, and has brought his own personal knowledge to bear upon the question. While we may say that this new study of the problem advances definite knowledge on the question to a very considerable extent, it may perhaps be too optimistic to assert that it has yet come to the last word on the subject. We welcome the book as a contribution to the study of this difficult problem.

THE LIFE OF THE ICELANDER JON OLAFSSON, VOL. II

Published by the Hakluyt Society, 1931.

This is a continuation of the first volume already published, and is a translation from the Icelandic edition of Dr. Sigfus Blondal, edited for the Society by the late Sir Richard Temple and Miss L.. M. Anstey. The work deals with the life of the Icelander ever since he came to Denmark, and deals with the part of his life beginning with his arrival in Denmark, and his entering the service of the Danish Government as a gunner, and takes the account through the adventurous voyage of a Danish expedition for purposes of trade to India, and the dangerous return voyage, which culminated in 1626. There is also a part added at the end, which continues the life of Jon to his death in 1679. So the adventures of this Icelander includes the voyage out to India, the founding of the Danish settlement at Tranqubar, and their early relations with the Nayak of Tanjore, of which we get a certain amount of valuable information from the writer. Although the work suffers by its having been written late in his life and from memory, which may have suffered from the serious accident and the consequent illness, it still leaves much of substantial information—which perhaps could be confirmed from other sources—that relates to India. It is hardly possible to find better editors for a work like this than the late lamented Sir Richard Temple, and his collaborator for a long series of years, Miss Anstey. The work is published by the Hakluyt Society, which is itself a guarantee for accuracy in the editing as well as in the printer's part of it

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generally, though in this latter particular, we have noticed some few errors of the printer, such as the one on page 273, where in item No. 5, among the list of works, the word *Vatesa* occurs for *Natesa*. Just a few more like that we come across with in the work, which perhaps are not worth mentioning, excepting one to which we should draw attention. The edition of the book of Barbosa is ascribed in one note to Crookes, although it is referred to in other places correctly as that of Longworth Dames. That again we fear is a mere slip.

In note 2 on page 102, the latter monsoon is called the north-west monsoon from about October to April. We fear it is generally spoken of as the North-East Monsoon from the point of view of India, and it may not be correct to say North-West. Olafsson's information is not without value, though as was said before his narrative is sometimes inaccurate owing to lapses of memory, sometimes due to misunderstanding, sometimes simply due to wrong hearing of the sound. The notes generally are valuable, and, covering a range of authorities really extensive, may be regarded as impossibly extensive, but for the fact it is Sir Richard Temple that is responsible for the collection. Unfortunately these notes taken from a variety of sources sometimes tend to make Olafsson's confusion worse confounded, although in certain places we might even say the advantage lay with Olafsson himself.

Without taking too much of space, we may point out that in regard to the word *Bital Arech* or *Bitala Paga*, for the separate words Arech or Paga, the note 3 on page 115 makes Olafsson really better. Arech or Paga stand for two Tamil words Aḍaikkāi or Pākku, whereas the note here, while it interprets it correctly gives the Tamil form of the word *Pukka*, and is explained as the Tamil form of the word *Pan*. The word really is *Pākku*, and is the equivalent not of *Pan* but of *Supāri*, the familiar Hindustani term. *Pan* is the leaf and *Supari* is the nut, *Pansupari* being a Hindustani term ordinarily used for both in combination. In regard to *Arreck*, it is a matter of interest that Olafsson should have heard it. *Arreck* is Aḍikkē in Kanarese, may be even Tuḷu or Coorg, and is a term that could have been heard in the West Coast in the seventeenth century, although the classical Tamil *Aḍaikkāy* is used by the Tamils even now. It is only by one section of them, the Srivaishṇavas in their semi-sacredotal brogue. But Aḍaikkāy for nut is a term of Tamil, used in the Tamil inscriptions of

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the period A.D. 879 to A.D. 1500. Betelerick will then be really Bital-Arreck or *Vettilai-Aḍaikkāy,* and Biṭṭal-Pāga would be *Vettilai-Pākku.*

On page 120, Olafsson describes, in a very confussed fashion, what he saw in a temple perhaps in the town of Poraiyār about two miles from Tranquebar. The first name given is *Suami,* and the description that he gives there would answer to the elephant-headed god Gaṇēśa, which he might well have seen in that great Śiva temple of the locality. The next one that he calls *Rami,* he describes as though it were the bird Garuḍa, the vehicle of Vishṇu, which certainly would be found prominently in Vishṇu temples. The third which he calls Tamēran is said to be like the second. Olafsson obviously here is confounding, his memory may be more responsible for the errors than his capacity for observation. It was not likely he would have been allowed near enough to the sanctum for him to have seen what it contained inside, and possibly he is describing images that he could see from a distance at the outside. The three figures may be the figure of a Gaṇēśa, and two other figures which may be attendant deities, or even the various vehicles on which even Śiva could be carried out in procession on festival days. There are two or three notes which attempt to explain these as representing the Hindu triad or Tṛmūrti, Brahma, Vishṇu, Śiva or Rudra, for which there is neither warrant in Olafsson's names, or his descriptions. The first word Suami would simply mean Lord and may be applied to any God, and by an ignorant guide Gaṇēśa may be called the Suami if he saw the figure in a shrine set apart for it. It is not part of the name of the Tṛmūrti in any case. Vishṇu as one of the Tṛmūrti is never called Rām, Rami as Olafsson transcribes it, and the description given will not answer to either Rāma or to Vishṇu. It may be the image of a Garuḍa in a Vishṇu temple. It can also be found in a Śiva temple in some one place or other, or it can be one of the Gaṇas (attendant deities) of Śiva serving as a vehicle, the Bhūtavāhana in certain Śiva temples. Olafsson's Tameran which is said to be like the second need not be a Malayāḷam word, which in fact is derived from the Tamil word Tambirān from *Tam,* Our and *Pirān,* Lord. But that has nothing whatever to do with Śiva, much less Śiva as one of the trinity. That it could have nothing to do with Tṛmūrty is in evidence on the next page where Olafsson describes the sacrifices of two full-grown goats in front of the house of *Almarich.* No goats can be sacrificed to any of the Tṛmūrty for one thing. This makes it

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certain that it is the carrying out in procession of village deities, which may be of the forms described, and with even an approach to the names suggested, that Olafsson actually describes. In such a case it could not even include Gaṇēśa. The Almarich whose name figures in that connection could be no other than the Nayak or governor of the town. The first part of the name may be a corruption of Araṇmanai (vulgo *aramanai*) the whole term standing for Araṇmanai-Kāran standing for the agent of the Palace, that is the town-governor. Chapter 21 contains a number of Tamil words, which Olafsson gives as near as he heard them. The explanations given are not all of them satisfactory, but we hardly believe this is the place where the corrections should be made. On page 141, note 6, there is a statement that cotton grows on a bush, and not on a tree. There is a cotton tree, the cotton of which is much valued as downy soft, and Olafsson's description would answer to that.

In regard to what is said of the Nayak of Tanjore, at the time Raghunātha, much of what he says is perhaps not wrong; and there is one date, the date of his death, which we think is taken by Dr. Blundel from Stager Schlegal. Raghunātha is said to have died in 1626; while that date seems possible, it seems hardly acceptable from what is known of Raghunātha and his reign, and of the reign of his son Vijayaraghava from other sources. We shall not discuss that at present. The work, the second part of Olafsson's, is a valuable addition to the literature of the period and throws some welcome light from an altogether independent source for the history of a comparatively dark period. The publication of the Hakluyt Society completing the work, is therefore matter for satisfaction.

SIAMESE STATE CEREMONIES: THEIR HISTORY AND FUNCTION

By

H. G. Quaritch Wales, M.A., Ph.D.

Published by Messrs. Bernard Quaritch, Ltd.,

This work constitutes an important contribution to the history of Indian culture. It has reference to a department of this history, which, at any rate, so far as India is concerned, needs

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working up with a view to a fuller understanding of the outspread of Indian culture, its character, and the extent and intensity of its prevalence in countries beyond the borders of India. It is commonly understood, though but vaguely, that Indian influence extended across the Bay of Bengal into the islands of the Archipelago on the one side, and the vast congeries of countries known as the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. But notwithstanding the very valuable work done by the French School at Hanoi and the Dutch in Java, and the work of several individual scholars, some of them even officially connected with Siam, it cannot be said that the subject has been worked up adequately to give an idea of the character of the pervasive influence of Indian culture in these distant lands. The work therefore is quite welcome, as it throws important, much-needed light upon one of the more obscure parts of the subject, and gives us an idea of the thoroughness with which Indian culture has entered into the life of the people of Siam. The book under review undertakes to discuss, from the point of view of social anthropology, the ceremonies and ceremonial functions associated with royalty in Siam. It is a department of study for the understanding of which high qualifications and uncommon opportunities are needed. The author, a cultured European, who held a position in the Lord Chamberlain's Department of the court of Siam in recent years, is certainly well qualified for the task. He has gone into the subject with sympathy, and an earnestness born of his devotion to the subject.

The population of Siam contains many ethnical elements and has been subjected from time to time to various influences of civilization that a study of its culture would be a very complicated subject. But its rulers are perhaps Chinese in origin, and to some extent, we suppose, even association; but they have drawn very largely from India in all departments of culture. While it would be difficult actually to pick out what may be due to Chinese influence, royal ceremonies are run through and through with the corresponding institutions of India, Brahmanical essentially, and Buddhistic to some extent. A full understanding therefore of these ceremonies involves, as a necessary prerequisite, a complete and detailed knowledge of the corresponding ceremonies in India, which it may be said without any fear of contradiction, has not yet been done for India itself. Without a detailed knowledge of this subject, the value of the work would be difficult to appreciate. We welcome therefore the work as a very important contribution to a subject which required elucidation, and give the author full

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credit for having attacked the subject with so much sympathy, and presented it to the public in such fulness and with a sympathetic understanding.

The book falls into six parts; and the first provides an introduction indicating the scope of the subject and the sources, giving a mere cursory account of Siamese cultural history and social organisation. The next part is devoted to a study of the ceremonial, in which it is pointed out that the two factors of the utmost importance are the kingship itself and the existence of the court Brahmans. The third part gives a somewhat detailed description of the installation ceremonies. Part four deals with other ceremonies which though not pertaining to installation are still closely associated with royalty. Part five deals with a number of festivals and institutions relating to the popular life of Siam, in which royalty has to bear its own part. Part six is devoted to miscellaneous matter, such as the White Elephant as an institution in Siam, the feasts of the lamps and other Brahmanical ceremonies of a minor character, with two chapters on the propitiation of spirits and the ways in which their expulsion is attempted. The author combines in the treatment of the subject the methods of history and archæology on the one side, and the functional method of sociology on the other. He finds that the Siamese borrowed their culture mainly from India, though penetrating deep under the surface one can find Chinese and other influences. His study so far lends support to the diffusionist theory of culture, and does not find much to support a theory of independent origins. The author notes, at the outset, that Siam to-day is passing through a critical period, and is, as Asiatic countries are as a whole, under the full blaze of Western civilization. The author notes, however, that the influence of the West "is entirely on the side of the profane. She (Siam) is indebted to Western culture for much that has added to her material well being; but here, as elsewhere in the East, Western religion has failed to make an appeal." He notes carefully what others failed to see in dealing with old societies that "while it is good for Siam to make material improvements and break down old abuses, it is on the contrary suicidal for her to interfere with her religion and cultural inheritance." He says that for the maintenance of social integrity, the Siamese would be wise in "keeping that which is of lasting good in each ceremony, and steadfastly setting their faces against complete abolition, which is almost always both undesirable and unjustifiable".

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Passing on to the history of Siam, he notes that the earliest inhabitants were of two sections (1) the Lava who are still found in the northern hill ranges, and (2) Mon-Khmer, who stretch across from Cambodia through the whole of the Menam valley and the Malaya country to as far as Pegu. The first foreigners to disturb them in their sequestered corner were the Indians, probably traders at the commencement, who penetrated further forward from Pegu, in the early ages of Buddhism. Asoka's conquest of Kalinga set up an emigration from the Kalinga country, and possibly gave the large colonies occupying the land round the Gulf of Siam. He notes also the mission or the missionary activities of Asoka. He describes the first advent of Hīnayānism, to Asoka's mission under Sona and Uttara. Some of the oldest remains of the Buddhists in Siam are the *cetiya* and *cakra* wheels which have to-day been found over the images of the Buddha. With the advent of Mahāyānism, Buddhist influence went further forward. But most of the evidence relating to Mahāyānism seems to indicate the outspread of this form of Buddhism from the kingdom of Śrī-Vijaya in Sumatra. This he ascribes to the period extending from the early centuries of the Christian era to the twelfth century. He notes that Brahmanism regained its ascendency afterwards. Notwithstanding this fact, there were still Buddhist monarchs in Siam. He does not note, however, the observation of Fa. Hein, though it does not apply exactly to Siam, that among the people of India whom he found in colonies along the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal, he found no Buddhists, most of them being Hindus. With the advent of colonies of the worshippers of Vishṇu and Śiva, the author notes the colonisation of the interior. The Brahman state of Cambodia extended further west over the Lao country and Svarnabhumi, but it must be noted here that Brahman migration as early as the fourth century is in evidence as far east as Borneo, in the eastern part of the island, in the inscription of Mūlavarman, detailing the celebration of a Hindu sacrificial ceremony. We have a Vaishṇava inscription of the eighth century on the coast of the Malaya Peninsula, which makes a clear reference to a Vishṇu temple and colonies of people from the west coast of India. The author then refers to the coming in of the Thai, the ancestors of the modern Siamese and the Laos. They began to stir from Southern China about 100 B.C., set themselves up in independence in the Seventh century, and they moved southwards and occupied the country of Siam. The first important dynasty of the Thai established themselves at Sukhodaya in A.D. 1237. Under two great rulers at the end of

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the 13th century and the middle of the 14th, the Thais made great advance. About the middle of the 14th century, however, this dynasty of the Thais was overthrown by the prince of Udon, who founded the kingdom of Ayūdhya. This laid the foundations of the present kingdom of Siam. There were seven kings of Ayūdhya, and the dynasty lasted from 1350 to 1762. The Burmese had grown to power in the 13th century and in the 14th, attacked Siam in 1569, and Siam was overrun by them for a short period. Two centuries after, Ayūdhya was laid siege to and destroyed by the Burmese. But the Burmese were dislodged by a man of humble birth and of Chinese extraction, under the name Brahya Tak. He established a new capital of the kingdom at Dhanapuri on the opposite bank of the river Menam to Bangkok, the later capital. His insanity in 1782 led to his deposition by one of his generals. This general Cau Brahya Cakri became the founder of a new dynasty. This dynasty established its capital in Bangkok, and the dynasty thus founded is called the Cakri-Dynasty from the name of its founder. The first six rulers have been named Rama I to Rama VI, the last of whom died in 1925, and was succeeded by the present ruler Prajadhipok. Thus it is clear that the foundation for the culture of the Siamese is the primitive culture of the Thai nomads of southern China. Ever since its movement to the south, it was exposed to foreign influences, and all these influences were passed on to the next second Thai kingdom of Ayūdhya, and after the destruction of that capital, the earlier rulers of the Chakri dynasty made efforts to collect together and restore the culture of Ayūdhya. It will thus be seen that the two dominant cultural influences of Siam are those of the Chinese and the Indian. Chinese culture was native to the founders of the Thai rule. This was improved by intercourse with China in the period of their rule at Sukhodaya, and this influence continued in the period of their rule at Ayūdhya also. Later immigration of Chinese did not affect their culture very much. On the contrary, Indian culture came from India to some extent, but the far greater influence of Indian culture was derived from the Indian kingdoms such as Dvāravati, Śrī-Vijaya and Cambodia.

Four systems of Indian influence are noteworthy:—

1. The Mahāyānist influence beginning with the Christian era continued well on into the seventh century.

2. Vaishṇava Brahmans seem to have reached Cambodia in the early centuries of the Christian era also. While the Thai

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rulers of Sukhōdaya imported Vaishṇava Brahmans from Cambodia, they retained their influence in court ceremonial.

3. The Śaiva Brahmans seem to have come in later, and other streams of Indian settlers followed. They were imported during the Ayūdhya period, that is, from 1350 to 1762, directly from India. When the capital Ayūdhya was destroyed by the Burmese in 1767, the Brahmans that escaped from there were invited to settle down in Bangkok, and their influence continued.

4. The last was the influence of Hinayānistic Buddhism which came from Ceylon. That was due to the great efforts at Buddhist revival of Prakrama Bahu, king of Ceylon, when missions were despatched to various countries by him, such as China. All these influences are found in the institutions of the Siamese. But one noticeable feature is the clear absence of Burmese influence. That is due perhaps to the hostility between the Burmese and the Siamese on the one side, and the comparative want of intercourse owing to the dividing mountains between the two countries, on the other.

Then begins part 3 and the following parts dealing with the details of the ritual. So far as the performance of the various ceremonies as such of the Siamese is concerned, the book gives a fairly complete and correct account in full detail. The account is interspersed here and there with analogies drawn from similar ancient ceremonies of India, such as the Mahābhishēka of Indra and the Rājasūya described in detail in the Brahmanas. He also discusses their sociological value, and considers these ceremonies in the light of an anthopologist in regard to their origin and significance. In respect of the analogies drawn, the details are not always quite correctly chosen, and the effort at discovering their significance sometimes misleads. In regard to the symbolic fray or sham fight, fight as he calls it, of the Rājasūya, it must be remembered that the Rājasūya is a ceremony of the coronation of one who has already established his overlordship by a series of conquests, or by acknowledgment of his overlordship, so that the representation of a fight is quite in place. The idea is absent in the description of the Mahābishēka of Indra. It is recognised that the actual details of the ceremony of coronation as practised in Siam now, while based generally upon the Indian ritual as a whole, is run through here and there with details borrowed from other sources Indian and other than Indian. Buddhism and Buddhistic ritual have been introduced within recent times when the kings

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adopted Buddhism as their religion for one thing. There have been introduced into it also other Indian features not connected with ancient Vedic coronation ceremonies, such as for instance, the author mentions, as the Tamil Mantra signifying 'opening the portals of the Kailasa'. This probably is the poem Tirupaḷḷi Eḻuchchi of Māṇikkavāśakar, or a poem of similar import. That could only have gone from South India, and it would be interesting to trace how and when it actually did go there, and whether it is this poem, or what else, it indicates. Speaking of this Tamil introduction, we may mention here two other poems that are under advertance in similar connections, though not exactly in connection with the coronation. There are two works referred to in the book as *Traiyām-bāvay* and *Tirupavay*. These two are well-known poems, Tiruvempāvai of Māṇikkavāśakar and Tiruppāvai, the Vaishṇava hymn of Āṇḍāḷ, both of them of similar import, sung usually early in the morning in the respective shrines of Śiva and Vishṇu, in Mārgaśīrsha, the first month of the year of Vishṇu.

Another feature of importance worth noticing is the list of works bearing on the Brahmanical ceremonies in the National Library at Bangkok. The list is given on page 63 of the work. This list is not a list of separate books exactly as the author takes it. It seems to be merely the chapter headings of one of the well-known Āgamas of South India for certain. But as it is given in the imperfect form, and with the imperfect knowledge of Āgama, that we have at present, it would be difficult to identify which Āgama it is that is thus actually referred to. That it is one of the Āgamas of authority in the Tamil country, is indubitably in evidence in the name given to the second section of what is called Volume D in the work. The term is *'Pūja Muṛai'*, which obviously is a Tamil term and cannot be Sanskrit. It seems therefore clear that it is not only the early Vaidic ceremony of the coronation that is in evidence. It is equally obvious that the later Āgamaic influence has also had its full share in the ceremonies of the coronations as practised in Siam.

There is one point in connection with this on page 100 in regard to the sceptre. The author speaks of there being no specific mention in ancient Indian literature of the sceptre. If the sceptre as sceptre is not referred to, we have the Daṇḍa as a rod of punishment, which symbolises the sceptre, which is under reference in Sanskrit literature. But even the sceptre itself is under reference in ancient Tamil literature, the term used being translated proper-

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ly 'as the rod of righteousness'. It would not be correct therefore to say that this did not play as important a part as in Europe.

Speaking of royal ceremonies other than the coronation ceremony, the author describes Indrābhishēka as practised in Siam taking the account from one of the Siamese authorities he relies on. There is a remark that he makes at the end of it; 'at first sight, however, one might fail to appreciate the connection between this (the churning of the ocean) and the idea of the Indrābhishēka.' The connection is intimate. Indrābhishēka is a ceremony symbolising the re-installation of Indra in his position after having lost his wealth and position, as the result of the slaying of Vritra; and the recovering of it was after a long period of penance by the churning of the ocean of milk. A number of other such details are found in the book, but it is hardly necessary to refer to any more of them and run the risk of being called hypercritical. But these typical instances are given here merely to show that the ceremony requires a closer study, with far more thorough preparation on the Indian features of it to be fully understood. We are grateful to the author for having presented the Siamese side so thoroughly, so that we have the material before us for the detailed comparison, which is necessary from the Indian point of view. We welcome the publication as a very important contribution to a rather recondite subject.

Before closing, however, we may take the opportunity to point out that the royal names associated with the image of Śiva and Vishṇu in Cambodya need not be taken, as the author actually does, as representing the apotheosis of the monarchs who built them. This is under reference on page 169-ff where he points out this kind of a special cult drawing for example from the famous temple, Ankor Vat, followed up by the statement, 'This deified monarch to whom this Vishṇu temple was dedicated was Udayāditta Varman II (1048-1079) or Sūryavarman II (1112-1165).' Naming gods consecrated in temples after the name of the pious builder, without any idea whatsoever of making the builder the object of worship, is a very common Indian practice. The Rājarājēsvara and Gangaikoṇḍacholēsvara in Tanjore and innumerable temples in South India are instances in point. If Ankor Vat was built to the spirit of the dead kings, it will have to be proved on other evidence than the one that is offered.

There is another interesting point which establishes the indebtedness of Siam for the very fundamentals of its culture to India. The year begins with Mārgaśīrsha, coming somewhat about

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the middle of December nowadays. Of course, that is the ceremonial first month of the year of the Gods, and there are ceremonies connected with it as such, which get to be celebrated. This is based on the tradition that Vishṇu wakes up from his long sleep about that time, and his waking up marks the beginning of the year. The Siamese year begins with that. We do not believe as far as we know at present that any of the eras prevalent in India began with that month. It certainly is very interesting to note that the idea is found in Siam, and that may give us a notion of the actual period of the introduction of this in Siam. Details of time are marked on this basis, and the author is somewhat confused in regard to two or three festivals that he describes by not having noted carefully this fact. The Dipāvaḷi (vulgo Divali) is a festival, which does not come in the last month, but in the month before, and it is a celebration which symbolises the victory of Krishna over Narakāsura, whereas the Krittikā festival, which is also celebrated in Siam, represents Vishṇu's victory over Bali. What the author calls Mahā Sankarānti is Makara Sankarānti (the Pongal, a South Indian agricultural festival). There could be no mistaking these if the time of the year to which they refer is noted from the starting point of the first month as given above. These details will be found in chapter 24 of the work. We have said enough to show our great appreciation of the work of the author, and shall conclude by stating that it deserves very careful study by those interested in the outspread of Indian culture, and the existence of corresponding details in India itself.

SHIVAJI THE GREAT

By

Dr. Balakrishna, M.A., Ph.D.

Part I, Shahji.

This is part of a project for a comprehensive life of Shivaji based on all the material available to the public at this date more or less. Mahratta history generally, and the history, not to say biography, of Shivaji in particular, have so far suffered from the defect of a very partial exploitation of the sources of information available. Even the latest work of Sir Jadunath Sarkar suffers from this general drawback, not to speak of early historians of the Mahrattas. Volume I, part 1 of this projected work covers the period of the rise of Shahji to power, and deals with his achievements as a necessary preliminary to the life of Shivaji. The merit

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of this work consists in the thorough exploitation of the various records of European factories, particularly the Dutch and the English more fully. Records of the India Office have been used also. In regard to Indian sources, Dr. Balakrishna brings the light derivable from the collection of sanads, Mahratti, Persian and even some Urdu sources, as also Hindu literature, such as the Shivabharata, Radha Madhava Vilas Champu and other works of poet, Jayarama, and various other miscellaneous contemporary sources. Certainly he refers to the Bakhairs and has made a critical use of them amply for the purpose. Working on a wider range therefore of sources, Dr. Balakrishna is in a position to arrive at more acceptable conclusions than his predecessors in the effort.

The history of Shahji as presented in this volume covers 169 pages of the work not including appendices and other miscellaneous matter extending to about 45 pages without the index. We think it is for the first time that we have a connected and cogent account of the Mahratta leader, to whom must belong the credit of the foundation of the Mahratta State, which at one time was close to achieving a Mahratta empire in India. We pointed out in a contribution we made to the Shivaji Tercentenary volume that the history of the rise of the Mahratta power in the South required to be worked up more fully and brought into its real perspective by exploiting sources, which have so far not been properly exploited. We are gratified to find that this wish of ours finds its fulfilment in great part by the work before us. It establishes clearly that Shahji and Shivaji came of a family of Rajaput chiefs, and the fact of their connection with the Sisodayas, cousins of the Ranas of Udaipur, is provable on the basis of various charters. Dr. Balakrishna has worked up a successful genealogy on this basis. The Mahratta chiefs began to play an active part even from the days of the foundation of the Bahmani kingdom; nay it turns out that they bore their part in the foundation of that kingdom by Hasan Gangu Bahmani. The conferment of the jaghir of Mudhol, and the division of the family into various branches holding jaghirs in different localities of the Dakhan, are brought out clearly. The rise of Shahji, gradually to power as an officer of the Nizamshahi dynasty, his services under Malik Ambar, the transfer of his allegiance to the Mughals, his return to the service of Ahmadnagar, and the part that he played as king-maker are all brought out in what strikes one as the proper perspective in the early history of Shahji. The imperfections of the narrative in

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previous history relating to the connection between this family and that of the Jadhavs, the question of his marriage, and his activities in the Nizamshahi Dakhan are presented with many corrections based upon the genuine contemporary documents. We are then brought to the definite extinction of the Nizamshahi kingdom; and the desperate position to which Shahji himself had been reduced by his efforts to set up more or less independently is pointed out as what actually drove him into the service of Bijapur with the consent of the Mughals. Even at the beginning of his service in Bijapur, he was appointed to a position of advantage from which he could prosecute his ambition to purpose. This purpose of his life he carried out to his satisfaction, with a caution and circumspection quite worthy of the great ambitions and the character and experience of the man such as Shahaji was. He is shown in fact as the conqueror of the Bijapur Carnatic, and as its ruler all the time that he was under Bijapur. In this part of his work, he does certainly appear as having been mainly responsible for the destruction of the empire of Vijayanagar. This became inevitable to a very great extent, and Shahji's contribution may be regarded as more or less actively bringing about what would inevitably have followed. But his activities rendered one remarkable service in the preservation of Hindu culture and religion, which ran great risk of extinction by the fanatical policy pursued by Bijapur in the reign of its penultimate ruler. While yet he was alive, he had founded a vast kingdom for himself in the south, though still under the nominal rule of Bijapur, in addition to his own jaghir and possessions in the Mahratta country extending over the whole length of the Konkan with considerable parts of the Desh. This great work must necessarily have inspired Shivaji. Dr. Balakrishna makes an effort to point out that it was not merely the influence of the work of the father that inspired Shivaji, but that Shahji actually inculcated the idea and made him co-operate with him in the great work, as far as it could be taken up while yet he was alive. Having gone so far, there was the certainty that Shivaji would continue the ambitious scheme and ultimately establish the Hindvi Svarajya.

We congratulate Dr. Balakrishna upon the successful work that he has done on this difficult task and look forward to the further volumes with expectancy. As it is presented, the work shows blemishes, some of them even of a serious character. These, of course, will be removed when a revised edition becomes necessary as we hope it will soon be.

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INDIAN CULTURE THROUGH THE AGES

By

S. V. Venkateswara, M.A.,

VOL. II. PUBLIC LIFE AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

(*Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd.*) *pp. vi and* 326. (12*s.* 6*d.*)

Next in importance to the reconstruction of the politcal history of ancient India, the subject that has been engaging the attention of scholars doing research in Indian history is the evolution and growth of political institutions in India. During the last few decades a large volume of literature has been added on the subject. But none of the works that deal with it traces the growth of the institutions up to the present day. But Prof. Venkateswara, in the book under review, tries to trace the administrative systems under the various dynasties during the different periods of Indian History to the time when the Britsh took possession of the administration of India.

In the first two chapters the author described the polity in Rigvedic India and the period after that. He tries to show that the political institutions of the post-Vedic period grew out of the institutions of the Vedic period. The author differentiates rightly between the Amātyas and the Mantriparisad. The Amātyas (the Amaiachan) were the great officers of the state. They were ever by the side of the king, and gave him advice on important questions of state policy and administrative detail. But the Mantriparisad (the ministerial Council) was a large body, the members of which were selected on a caste basis "to enlist the co-operation of the representatives of the people in the special needs of the administration in times of stress."

In Chapter III. the author describes the administrative institutions under the Mauryas. Prof. Venkateswara follows Dr. Shyama Śāstri and remarks that the king was bound to act in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the council and translates the term *bhūyiṣhṭāḥ* as majority; but majority opinion and majority rule are ideas too modern to be found used in the distant past. The Kauṭalīyan use of the term *bhūyishṭāḥ* need not connote majority opinion, but seems actually to imply the considered opinion of the most learned members of the council if this word is

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taken along with the term *buddhivṛddhāh* which occurs in the same chapter. There is proof to show, as has been pointed out by Mr. V. R. R. Dikshitar in his *Hindu Administrative institutions* and the *Mauryan Polity,* that frank discussion in the council was allowed and that it was the duty of the king to gain even the minority to the majority view point. The absentee members also sent in their views to the council and the final decision lay not with the majority of the members of the council, but in the general acceptance among its members.

Chapter IV deals with constitutions under the Guptas, Śātavāhanas and the Cholas. The account is sweeping and sketchy, and lacks details. It is difficult to accept the theory propounded by the author that the Kuṛaḷ polity resembles what is contained in the Kāmandaka's *Nītisāra* rather than that in Kauṭalīya's *Arthaśāstra.* But the author does not seem to think it necessary to give arguments for this conclusion of his. In the latter half of the chapter Professor Venkateswara examines in a summary way the views on polity of the many political thinkers that have appeared in India from time to time. Lastly he examines the influences of the foreign dynasties on the Indian institutions and customs, and summarises the views on the subject of a few scholars like Drs. Spooner and Smith.

Chapter V is devoted to an examination of the governments under some five dynasties in mediaeval India—the Rajputs, Afghans, Hoysalas, the Vijayanagar kings and the Portuguese. The accounts are superficial. The author calls the governments simple types. He does not examine for instance the question whether the Vijayanagar administrative institutions were a continuation of the institutions of the Cholas with the necessary changes and modifications as were demanded by the conditions of the age, or whether they were totally different from them. Further there are in the chapter some statements which are not true at all ages and at all times. For example it is said that a *Kalam* is equal to 24 measures, *panam* to 2½ annas and one *veli* to 6 2/3 acres. It is a well known fact that in Ancient and Mediaeval times there was no one standard measure of currency in India. Caesar Frederick informs us that every provincial chief had a currency of his own. In the same way there was no one definite measure for the whole country. We wish to invite attention to another statement of the author that "instances are not wanting of king making prodigious sacrifices in order to maintain a political com-

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pact with honour like those made by the Rāja of Anagondi in his unwillingness to give up a Mussulman refugee"; but here we must note the Rāja took under his protection a rebel chief against Muhammad bin Tughlak and this act was in itself indefensible; and when he sent the fugitive to the court of Vīraballāḷadēva he could not give up the rebel. The author refers to the inhuman methods in mediaeval Indian warfare, but remarks that such exceptions prove the rule "that warfare in India was humane as contrasted with the horrors of war wrought by the foreigners in India."

Chapter VI is devoted to a description of the administrative institutions under the Mughals. There we have an excellent account of the working of the government, and the author checks and verifies the writings of the Muhammadan historians with the help of the accounts of the foreign travellers who visited the Mughal court. In the opinion of the author "the Mughal despotism was based on the command of a strong army and the possession of a well filled treasury to which engines of despotism, the Mughal sovereigns added new ones—by insisting on the prominent nobles of the country remaining in the court practically as hostages, and by an elaborate system of espionage." Professor Venkateswara rightly appreciates the efforts of Akbar to evolve a national state by taking the Hindus into his confidence and giving them encouragement.

Chapter VII examines the administrative institutions under the Mahrāṭhas, the Nāyaks and the Sikhs. The author is of opinion that the Mahrāṭha despotism may be compared to the Mughal monarchy under Akbar who became head of religion in 1581, and says that the Mahrāṭha ruler was assisted by a council of 8 ministers which had a distinctly military import, six of the 8 *pradhānis* having military duties. The author has nothing but praise for the Mahrāṭha institutions, and fails to realise that the weakness of the system lay in the fact it was not suited to an extensive empire which contributed largely for the failure of the Mahrāṭhas to establish a stable empire in India in spite of their military genius and the far-sighted statesmen whom the nation produced.

We see Professor Venkateswara at his best in the last chapter —Our Heritage. In this chapter the author examines in general terms the nature of the Indian state. He remarks that "the fundamental aim of the state was to preserve the Indian outlook on life

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and those institutions which were held necessary to perpetuate it, and that when there were political differences they were not pressed to a breaking point but were healed and set at rest by the genius for conciliation characterising the common sense of the people." He rightly points out that the weakness of the Hindu polity lay in that the governments neglected their fleets necessary for military purposes, and also did not appreciate that an Indian government has larger duties than the mere day to day administration within the boundaries of its territories. He concludes this chapter with the remark that the Hindu governments realised the fact that "it was the duty of the state with due regard to individual and communal liberty to help the many sided development of the individual as well as of those social ideas and institutions which would make this development permanent and universal".

It would have been better if the author had divided this book into two parts and tried to devote more attention to the Gupta, Śātavāhana, Rājput, Afghan, and Vijayanagar polities. There is no bibliography of the books he consulted, a serious defect in publications that lay claim to incorporate research work. The book contains a copious index which is very useful. The get up of the book leaves little to be desired.

COLONIAL POLICY.

By

Dr. A. D. A. De Kat Angelino

Abridged translation by G. J. Renier with the author's collaboration.

(2 volumes)

Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, (Holland).

This work in two volumes makes a survey of the important problem which is embraced in the expression Colonial Policy, quite a modern expression for an old idea, after a long period of development. The colonial movement in Europe is a product of the sixteenth century enterprise when the growing modernism of European governments in their economic development, sought an outlet for their energies and economic enterprise in the search for markets for purposes of trade. Of course in an age of monopoly

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lke that of the empire of Charless V and of the Tudors in England, the effort has been one to break through the monopoly claimed by the sister nations of Spain and Portugal, the most advanced colonial powers of the time having had some considerable start. At the beginning the purpose was merely the limited one of securing monopolies for trade in regions as yet unoccupied exclusively by the two prominent colonial powers of Spain and Portugal. In the political position of the times an enterprise like this would have been impossible of fruition by itself. Other factors therefore came into the struggle, particularly the religious one. As a result of the Reformation, all the Protestant powers made an effort to call into question the monopoly claimed by the chief Catholic power of Spain and along with it of course the chief commercial power, Portugal. The result has been the discovery of the south-eastern passage to India and the East. Thus was established the first contact between Europe and the East, the purpose of which was nothing more than commerce-commerce in eastern commodities, for which there was a very considerable demand in Europe. What the European countries wanted was nothing more than facilities for trade, which involved as against European powers, the freedom of the seas for navigation, and, as far as eastern powers were concerned, freedom, with the permission of the political authorities of the land, for making purchases and sales with facility, if not altogether without restriction of freedom.

Some of the European countries left the matter entirely to private enterprise as in the case of the East India Company in England, while in other countries, although the enterprise was that of companies, they had the support of the governments of their own countries in a far more ample measure than the English companies have had. Sometimes it proved to be altogether government enterprise as in the case of France in the particular periods. A common view or policy, if the view of those that understood these enterprises, could be called such, was nothing more than the facilities required for commerce and for earning the profits arising therefrom. The enterprises therefore soon took the form of an effort to secure monopoly, if necessary by even going to war. Any advantage or benefit accruing from this connection between the West and the East therefore had no higher object whatever than the economic advantages to be derived from a growing commerce.

As gradually the three or four commercial powers secured regions for this purpose, they began to exclude others from the benefits therefrom only with partial success. That necessarily led

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on to a period of struggle to determine the exclusive field for each one of these powers; when in the course of the struggle, they had come to an understandable demarcation of spheres, there began the notion that while the commercial interests actually predominated, the prime essential for the flourising of this commerce, namely, peace in the land where commerce was to go on, led these separate nations through their trading companies to establish first an influence a dominant influence, and then an exclusive influence, ultimately even the political power-over these peoples. Something like the provision of a government favourable for the fostering of commerce became one of the objects to be striven for, either directly or indirectly, by these companies and the powers behind them. When ultimately they divided the East among themselves for this purpose and established themselves more or less strongly in a dominant position, the good government of these regions began gradually to work its way into the minds of those enterprising people engaged in this commerce, more enlightened and liberal-minded than their companions, so that almost without a conscious adaptation, a feeling began to grow which ultimately developed into a recognised policy of responsibility for the good government and prosperity of the peoples who had been brought under their influence. This became an important question pretty early both in the case of the Dutch and in the case of the British in India. Both alike had to liberalise their policy and establish governments on the basis of principles of an enlightened character where the commercial interests were made to subordinate themselves to the principles of good government of the peoples brought under their rule. This was formally enunciated under the government of Lord William Bentinck in India, although we cannot deny the prevalence of such notions of good government even under Clive and Warren Hastings. Similar notions could be traced among the Company's agents in the Dutch East Indies pretty early in their history.

The growth of this idea synchronises with the liberalising movements of the nineteenth century and received a stimulus such as it had not before. Matters relating to the government of the colonies were coming more and more to the front and constituted one of the factors in the international politics of the times. The Great War naturally gave additional importance to the question, and the peace that followed the world struggle naturally gave to the problem a wider, more sympathetic and a somewhat altered outlook on the part of the nations taking part in the Geneva Con-

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ference. The dawning of the idea of world peace naturally emphasises the position of colonial powers in respect of their responsibilities to the territories that they hold in charge. This received recognition in article 22 of the Covenant, where states in contact with European nationalities which were not able, in the opinion of the Conference, to stand independently on their own legs were to be held in trust by the powers which were associated with them before in that way, but were hereafter to hold them actually as trusts for the administration of which they were accountable to the Conference as a whole. This is the idea that is known as the Mandatory system. Asiatic and African states had been put under mandate with various European countries with the specific direction that they were to exercise their mandatory power with the definite object of fitting them for taking charge of their own affairs themselves, and perhaps even playing their part in the League of Nations as a world power. The problem therefore is clear that whatever European power held possessions in the East or Africa, held those possessions not in their own interests, but in the interests of their charges. The problem therefore is, from the point of view of this altered position, how exactly these colonial powers should carry on their governments with the specific object of fitting their charges to become responsible powers themselves. The work under review studies this problem historically, and politically as a problem for the future. In the first volume the position is considered generally. The condition of these countries is examined historically first of all to analyse and discover the ideas and institutions of these countries which are capable of development for this purpose. This necessarily involves the understanding of their nature, the analysis necessary for the discovery of such features as there may be, that give them a common ground for a higher development than they had so far shown, and how exactly these, perhaps as yet undeveloped powers, could be harnessed to the actual purpose of their future. Secondly there is a consideration of the responsibility of the mandatories to understand their position, guide them sympathetically with a view to enable their perfecting themselves so far as to take over the position of responsibility from the mandatory powers. These questions are dealt with with sufficient elaboration and learning to give a clear lead in respect of the solution of the problem calling for solution by the responsible powers. There is an admirable wealth of detail, clear and careful analysis and presentation of the features worth developing, and an equally indubitable indication of the lines along which colonial power must proceed with

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a view to achievement of this ultimate object. The second volume is devoted to a consideration in detail of what the Dûtch have been able to do in their possessions in the East. We shall reserve that for the next issue of the journal.

The work as a whole is an important contribution to the solution of the problem that confronts the world now. The whole of the East is in a ferment. The adjustment of the relations between the West and the East is becoming one of very great complexity and delicacy. It is impossible to arrive at a satisfactory solution whether the Eastern states concerned be under the mandatory system historically or by agreement, or whether they be under national governments of their own. The problem is of the same character for both, and the ultimate solution will have to be similar if the character of the guiding power does make, as it should, an essential difference in the actual character of the solution adopted. We welcome therefore this elaborate study of the subject as a timely contribution of the utmost current importance.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF MYSORE UNDER SIR MARK CUBBON,

1834—1861.

By

DR. K. N. VENKATASUBBA SASTRI, M.A., PH.D.,

(George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.)

This is the work done by the author as the Sir William Meyer Student in the University of London during the period 1929-1931. The work covers that period of the British administration of Mysore covered by the Commissionership of Sir Mark Cubbon, which came to an end in 1861, the British administration continuing for twenty-two years afterwards before the state was restored to the late Maharaja of Mysore under the viceroyalty of Lord Ripon. It is a well known historical fact that Lord William Bentick as Governor-General found that the administration of Mysore under the Treaty of Srirangapatam did not fulfil expectations, and that matters were allowed to become bad enough to warrant the East India's Company's government assuming the responsibilities of the

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administration instead of the Maharaja. In the words of Bentinck himself "it is clear that the territory of Mysore was made over to the Raja in trust to be managed as a dependency of the British Empire in India and under the responsibility of the British nation to the people of the tract so assigned that it should be well governed. It is in the discharge of this responsibility of the British Governor-General that the Governor-General assumed authority and put the whole of the administration under a British commission to carry on the administration in a way to fulfil the responsibilities of the British Government.* This, however, involved the additional responsibility of the administration being carried on agreeably to the feelings of the Maharaja, whose authority to that extent had been superseded. The responsibility, therefore vested with the Government of India to choose a Commissioner, whose qualifications were such as would enable him to discharge these delicate responsibilities satisfactorily. The choice of the Governor-General fell on Sir Mark Cubbon. His first task lay in the restoration of peace, law and order. Then he was to gradually reform the administration so as to ensure an efficiently stable and orderly government to the people. This involved naturally his taking steps to assure the material and moral progress of the people so as to enable them to take their share in the growth of the general prosperity of India. Cubbon came into office and, as soon as he was able to look about himself and feel certain of his way, he began conservatively to proceed with the administration continuing the system organised by Purnayya and continued under the Maharaja after the termination of his regency. He adopted deliberately a conservative policy and slowly led the administration change its character from that, under the individual rule of the Maharaja, to that of a system—a system assimilable to that of the British administration of the rest of the country. He was able to do it with so much success that when the time had come, he had practically succeeded in transforming the administration into something like a regular British administration of the surrounding provinces. People of Mysore that are old enough to remember something of this administration speak in unqualified praise of the Administration of Sir Mark Cubbon, whose statue now adorns the Cubbon Park in Bangalore and is placed in front of the public offices, popu-

* "Lord William Bentinck afterwards came to believe that he had been to some extent misled by exaggerated reports of oppression in Mysore, but the Company declined to reverse the sequestration."
F. E. Roberts: The History of British India, p. 468. See also p. 305.

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larly known as the Aṭāra Katchēri, the eighteen offices, an old name for a new institution.

Dr. Venkatasubba Sastri has carried out this work of transformation of the old into the new system by a careful study of the documents bearing upon the period. The bibliography covers six pages and carries us through original documents including confidential and other correspondence in the Political and Foreign Departments of the India Office and corresponding Record Offices in India, and brings it down to such recent authorities as the Gazetteer of Mysore by Rice, The Ten Years Native Rule in Mysore of Mr. Shama Rao, and even a work like that of Mr. Yegnanarayana Aiyar's "A Century and a Quarter of Mysore Agriculture." He has adopted more or less the principle of letting his authorities speak, and has brought to bear on it practically all the documents of value. He has so arranged them as to provide interesting reading, and give the impression to the reader of a continuous account—a creditable achievement from the historian's point of view. Every statement is supported by authorities, and precise references are given to the authorities. The account which covers 237 pages is followed by the bibliography referred to already, and eight appendices, A to H, bearing on the most important vital topics. The author set before himself the following three objects: (1) the continuation of Wilks' History of Mysore by including in it this period; (2) to set in relief the character of the persons responsible for this administration as an illustrious example of the Munro type of Indian administrator; and (3) thereby exhibiting the contribution of a Manxman for securing the welfare of a part of the Indian population. The publication was made possible by financial assistance given by the University of London, the Mysore Government and the Mysore University and by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. The publication does credit to the author. The well known publishers share the credit in bringing it out in such a good form.

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THE CAMPAIGNS OF ALĀ'U'D-DIN KHILJI BEING THE KHAZĀ' INUL FUTUH (TREASURES OF VICTORY) OF HAZRAT AMIR KHUSRAU OF DELHI

translated into English with notes and parallel passages from other Persian writers.

By

Muhammad Habib, Professor of History,

Muslim University, Aligarh,

and with an Historical Introduction by

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Madras.

(*Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay*—pp. XXXIX & 131.)

Amir Khusrau of Delhi was one of the greatest figures in the reign of Sultan Alā'u'd-din Khilji, who was, in the words of the contemporary historian, Ziauddin Barni, "unequalled for the volume of his writings and the originality of his ideals and conspicuous in every department of letters." The great Indo-Muslim scholar of recent times, Maulana Shibli Nomani, has been very generous in his estimate of the poet. Amir Khusrau was Indian-born; and his literary output in Hindi was deemed to have been as extensive as his work in Persian. He was a courtier as well as an army officer; and his experience as a captive of the Mongols, short as it was, has given us one of the finest pen-pictures of those invaders. The author who has given us a readable account of the poet's life and works in another publication of his—*Hazrat Amir Khusrau of Delhi*—says that the poet was active from the reign of Balban; but the twenty years of Alā'u'd-din Khilji's reign formed the most productive period of his life. His literary activity lasted to the close of the reign of the first Tughlak sovereign. The poet died in 1325 A.D., a few months after the demise of his good counsellor and friend, Shaikh Nizamuddin, one of the best known of Indo-Muslim mystics, whose tomb, besides which the poet himself lies buried, has survived the political and military

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shocks of six centuries and more, and is still frequented by Hindus and Mussalmans alike.

Amir Khusrau's voluminous works are divided into five groups, of which his historical *masnavis* may be noticed in this place. One has for its theme the meeting of Sultan Muizzu'ddin Kaikobad with his father; another deals with the campaigns of Sultan Jalaluddin. The *Khazā'inu'l Futuh* is an official history of Alā'u'd-din's campaigns and is deemed by competent judges to illustrate very well the general character of the author's prose. The work contains much useful information, particularly as to the mode of warfare of the period and treats of the Sultan's campaigns in Warangal and Ma'bar regions with some disproportionate detail, relatively to the other measures of the reign. The style of the book is difficult, and each paragraph is devoted to a selection of words connected with one particular subject: one is composed of words derived from architecture; another is based on words descriptive of the powers and anatomy of the hand. The reader has to critically separate the element of fact from the colouring imparted to it by the author in order to bring in the inevitable allusions.

Amir Khusrau's book was, according to our author, a challenge to the *Fath-i-Namah* of Kabir'u'd-din, the court chronicler of the time whose work was very voluminous, but is not available now. Perhaps it had been intentionally destroyed during Timur's invasion, or under the early Mughal emperors, as it must have been full of contempt and hatred towards the Mongol barbarians. It is surmised by Professor Habib that Amir Khusrau completed perhaps Kabir'u'd-din's work which must have been left incomplete. Hence he devotes a disproportionate length of the work under review to the Deccan campaigns and makes it essentially a history of the Deccan invasions. The work is also a panegyric of the Sultan, and shows all the merits and defects of a government publication of the day. Allowing for its puerility and exaggeration, the work has the merit of being accurate in details and dates, and gives us a good idea of the art of war in the early middle ages. It presents a fairly accurate picture of 'jingoistic militarism of the first Muhammadan empire at its worst, Professor Habib suggests that Amir Khusrau had no liking for the vandalism of the Deccan Campaigns, nor for their commander, Malik Naib Kafur-i-Sultani'. He sees in the narrative that the poet plainly indicates that greed of gain, and not zeal for religion, was the inspiring motive of the invaders.

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Amir Khusrau's work may be said to be a historical supplement to Barani who did not dilate upon the wars and conquests of the Khilji Sultan. As Dr. S. K. Iyengar points out in his valuable and exhaustive introduction, the narrative of the Warangal and Ma'bar campaigns by the poet, provides a satisfactory scheme of chronology without which those expeditions could hardly be understood. The Warangal campaign began in October 1309; and the army returned to Delhi after securing the submission of Pratapa Rudra Deva, in June of the following year. Amir Khusrau gives a lead to the determination of the topography and chronology of the campaign. The introduction marks out the route taken by the army on its forward march; it seems to have run very much as the railway road of to-day, with a probable diversion to the neighbourhood of Chanderi, and thence on to the Narmada and beyond. It points out how Amir Khusrau and Barani say that the army only touched the Devagiri frontier and did not reach the capital as is actually stated in Ferishta's account. The army took a more westerly route on its return march and probably passed through Ram Deva's capital. The second or Ma'bar campaign began in November, 1310. Devagiri was reached in the succeeding February, and Kharābābād of Paras Deo Dalvi (which was probably Pandarpur) was the place from which Malik Kafur made a dash on Dvāra Samudra, from which five marches took the invader to the frontier of Ma'bar, across two passes called Tarmali and Tabar and a river, Kanauri (Kaveri). Amir Khusrau plays upon the word Bir, (evidently Vira Pandya) whom the invader forced to flee from Birdhul to Kandur and thence to Jāt Kūta. The Mussalmans plundered the town of Brahmastpuri which was destroyed completely and, entering the Pāṇḍya country, set fire to the temple and palace of Madura. The introduction of Dr. Iyengar determines the probable route taken by the invaders to Dvāra Samudra and thence to the Chola country, Birdhul of Bir was evidently Jayamkonda-Chōlapuram whose importance was great in that period; and Kandur was undoubtedly Kaṇṇanūr on the northern bank of the Coleroon near Srirangam, important in Hoysala history. Jātkūta was perhaps Jālkōta, as Elliot read it; and the place could be identified with Tīvucotta at the mouth of the Coleroon which, in the days of the Cholas used to be called Jayamkoṇḍapattinam. Brahmastpuri was evidently Brahmapuri—Chidambaram, from which the army passed across Kam to Madura. From thence the Malik might have carried on a raid to Rameswaram; but it was unlikely that he built a mosque there. The note explaining all these identifications is valuable as a help to our

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study of the first Mussalman invasions of South India. Professor Habib has given at the end translations from other writings bearing on the Deccan expeditions of Ala'u'd-din, an account of the Mughal invasions omitted by Amir Khusrau, and a chronology of the important expeditions of the Sultan. He has made available to students, an important contemporary narrative which enables a proper construction of the perspective and details of the first Mussalman campaigns in the South.

C. S. S.

MAHARANA PRATAP

By

Sri Ram Sharma,

(D. A. V. College Historical Monographs, No. 1.)

with a Foreword by A. C. Woolner.

(Published by the D. A. V. College Managing Committee, Lahore—pp. IX & 151.)

Pratap Singh of Mewar who defied Akbar has been described, in his career and achievements, by Colonel Tod in Chapter XI of his *Annals of Mewar*, written more than a century ago; and by Pandit G. H. Ojha in his monumental '*History of Rajputana*'. Professor Sharma began this sketch before Pandit Ojha's volume dealing with Pratap Singh was published; but he has had the benefit of his corrections and suggestions. He begins with a brief account of the early history of Mewar. The bitter strife of Mewari Rajaputs with the Mussalmans began in 1296 and has been sustained by such heroes as Hamir, Kumbha and Sangram. Uadai Singh's reign was an unfortunate interlude in the glorious life of Mewar. Pratap had to succeed to his rightful inheritance only by a *coup*, setting aside his younger brother, Jagma, who had been nominated by his father. By patriotic severity, Pratap rendered the plains of his kingdom of no value to Akbar, and rejected his proferred friendship conveyed through the astute Raja Man Singh. Professor Sharma relies more on Rajput accounts than on the partial Mughal historians for the material for the narrative of the meeting between the Maharana and Man Singh. The failure

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of this mission hastened the first of those sanguinary battles which have immortalised the name of Pratap. The battle of Haldighat is claimed as a victory for the Rajaputs by the Hindu accounts and by an inscription in the Jagadish Temple at Udaipur, dated 1652, two verses of which describe the struggle. The following struggles lasted till 1587; but they were fruitless in so far as they failed to rein in Pratap's fiery opposition even in the midst of the greatest distress. The brave Rajput died in 1597, unbroken yet by Mughal hostility, but anxious as to the heritage of independence which he had to bequeath to unworthy successors.

According to Professor Sharma, it was Pratap that made guerilla warfare the backbone of resistance to the Mughals. He should be given a higher place than Rana Sanga, as he taught the Rajputs the lesson of unity in which they so much lacked. He taught them the supreme art of protracting resistance, so as to have the chance of succeeding ultimately. The work under review also pays high tribute to the hero's sense of humanity, and his great capacity for organisation which, supplemented by the appeal he made to religion, turned to assure liberty to Rajputana. The style is pleasing and continuous; though the documentation is not as satisfactory as it might have been. The errata could well have been smaller.

C. S. S.

THE KADAMBA KULA, A HISTORY OF ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL KARNATAKA

By

George M. Moraes, M.A.,

with a preface by the Rev. H. Heras, S.J.

Bombay, B. X. Furtado and Sons, 1931—pp. xiii and 504.

This volume is the fifth of the series of Studies in Indian History of the Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay and forms the thesis submitted to the University of Bombay for the degree of Master of Arts. Mr. Moraes secured the Chancellor's Medal for this thesis; he is one of the prominent research scholars working under Father Heras and brought out some years ago a

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small brochure on the history of Mangalore in which he outlined the fortunes of that ancient place from the time of the monk, Cosmas Indicopleustes, down to the fall of Tipu Sultan. Now the subject of this work is the history of the Kadamba dynasty which played an important part in South India for a number of centuries, supplemented by an account of the minor branches of the line, and a survey, cultural and geographical, of Western Karnataka. The historical methodology followed is elaborate and accurate, and is marked by careful and adequate documentation and fairly cautious interpretation. The author first concerns himself with the pre-Kadamba history of Kuntala, *i.e.* western Deccan and the northern frontier of Mysore, from the times before the Christian era to the Chūṭu-Śātavāhanas. The beginnings of the Kadamba line are mixed up with various legends; and the bulk of scholarly opinion will make the dynasty an indigenous one, which was, later on, admitted to Brahmanical status. According to Mr. Moræs the pretension of northern descent for the line was for the first time put forward in two grants of Harikēsari Deva of 1053 and 1055 A.D., when the Kadambas had re-established their power after an eclipse of over three hundred years. The well-known Taḷgunḍa inscription probably gives an historical account of the origin of the dynasty with Mayūraśarma who was anointed to the throne by Ṣhaḍānana, after meditating on Senāpati and the Mothers. He would hold that the tradition of the emigration of the Brahmans from the north, as related in the Halsi plates of Kākustha, Mayūrasarmma's great-grandson, is lacking in sound historical basis, as it directly contradicts the evidence of the Taḷgunḍa record that the Kadambas were a Brahman family.

The Kadamba line continued independent till the 6th century and during this period they claimed to have performed many *aśvamēdhas*. It was united by marriage to other prominent ruling families. Mr. Moræs explains the alliances with the Vākātakas and the Guptas that the Kadambas entered into. He would support Rice's date for Kākusthavarmma (end of the 4th century) and also the contemporaneity of Durvinīta, the son of Avinīta, Pulikesi Chalukya and Bhogivarmma Kadamba; and that Avinīta Ganga was at least partly a contemporary of Ajavarmma, the son of Krishnavarmma II. Of course he is cautious enough to note that the period of rule assigned to kings before Śāntivarmma is largely suppositional based on the assumption that Mayūravarmma ruled about 345 A.D., about the time of the southern expedition of Samudra Gupta and that about 80 years elapsed between the

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foundation of Kadamba rule and the accession of Kākusthavarma whose grant issued from Palāśika is dated in the 80th victorious year.

The succeeding part of the book deals with Banavasi under foreign domination that lasted for over two centuries and a half, till the Hangal Kadamba line was founded by Irivabēḍanga and by his son Chaṭṭa-deva. The Hangal rulers soon made themselves independent of their Chalukya overlords; and by the end of the 11th century they had become masters of the Banavasi territory as well. They resisted the overwhelming power of Vishnuvardhana Hoysala, became involved in the Kāḷachurya usurpation and struggled continuously with the successors of Vishnuvardhana. But the Kadamba power was finally shaken by the invasion of Malik Kafur; and though it survived for a number of years after this, its end was not far removed from that of the Hoysalas.

The rule of the Goa Kadambas began also in the latter part of the 10th century. Chandrapura (the modern Chandur) was their first capital. They soon became masters of the whole of the Konkan, taking advantage of the dissensions between the two branches of the Śilāhāra dynasty. They cherished the town of Goa which had Muhammadan traders living in it even in the 11th century A.D. and which was made the capital in the time of Jayakēsi I. From some Kadamba inscriptions we get an idea of the splendour of Goa, "the abundant happiness of which surpasses the paradise of India." Malik Kafur is interpreted by Mr. Moraes as having overrun the whole of the sea-coast of the Konkan, as far as Rameśvar, *i.e.* Cabo de Rama south of Goa, where he caused a mosque to be constructed. According to Ferishta, Malik Kafur built a mosque in the country of the Karnatak, "at the port of Dhur Samandar on the shore of the sea of Ummam"; and it is likely that he made a raid to the west coast from the capital of the Hoysalas. Ferishta's "Prince of Ma'abir" is equated with the Kadamba ruler who concluded a defensive alliance with Ballala Deva III, Hoysala. Chandrapura was sacked by the Muhammadans under Muhammad Tughlaq; and the Sindabur of Ibn Batuta which was obviously Chandrapura, was finally stormed by the Muhammadan troops of Honowar, thus ending Kadamba rule over the Konkan which had lasted well-nigh three centuries.

Mr. Moraes next traces the fortunes of the minor Kadamba branches of Bayalnad, Belur, Bankapur and Nagarkhand, and also

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of another stock of rulers with the cognomen Khedi who ruled as feudatories in distant Kalinga, where their fief of Panchavishaya can be equated with a part of the present Mandasa Zamindari in the Ganjam District. A large amount of space is also devoted to the culture of the Kadambas and their country. Mr. Moraes is emphatic about the non-Aryan origin of the phallic cult which originally prevailed in the land along with the worship of the Nāga. The later rivalry of Śaivism and Jainism is traced; and the beginnings of the Vīra-Śaiva movement are also just mentioned. Epigraphic evidence of administrative features is largely made use of, particularly as regards the sources of revenue, the powers of the feudatories and the organisation of the royal secretariat. We have also a picture of the system of military organisation that prevailed and of the details of educational and charitable endowments, like *agrahāras* and *mutts*. The treatment of the art of warfare is too general to be of strictly local application in many respects. The utilisation of sculpture reliefs and friezes of war-scenes is supposed to be based on the manner in which the battles were fought in the sculptors' own days. Details are given of the walls of the fortresses and of their ramparts and bars. Many of the *agrahāras* seem to have been state foundations; and of these the most important was that of Sthānakunḍūr (Taḷgunḍa) whose origin is associated with Mukkaṇṇa and thirty-two Brahman families from Ahichchatra that he invited to settle therein. The actual work of administration of the *agrahāra* devolved on the assembly of the *Mahājanas* presided over by an officer and controlling all the properties that were attached to it. The *agrahāras* sometimes contained *maṭhas* of Jainas and Bauddhas. A peculiar institution was the *Brahmapuri*, a settlement of learned Brahmans in a town, which had not the corporate organisation possessed by an *agrahāra*. What Mr. Moraes would deem to be the Kadamba style of architecture is the earliest style of which specimens are known in Karnātaka and which has few things in common either with the Chalukya or with the Pallava styles. The early Kadamba temple was naturally derived from the primitive structures of the Āndhrabhrityas. The style is shown to have evolved from the primitive *basti* at Halsi, through the Śaiva temple at Taḷgunḍa and other "intermediary" fanes, to the finished Kamala-Nārāyaṇa Temple at Degamue. Hoysala temples were influenced by the Kadamba style. The school of sculpture developed in Southern Konkan under the Goa Kadambas deserves mention, as having influenced Hoysala sculptors.

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A very good feature of the book is that in Part VIII which furnishes an exhaustive table of towns, places and their importance mentioned in the epigraphical records comprehended in the Kadamba kingdom, supplemented by a note on its extent during the different periods of Kadamba rule. Stress is laid on the significance of the Kadamba coinage which is supposed to mark a definite step from punch-marked pieces to coins with different designs on the obverse and the reverse. Some unpublished inscriptions utilised by the author are given with their English translations, as an appendix. The treatment is more elaborate than the one ordinarily found in similar monographs; and the conclusions, though expressed in a few cases with over-emphasis, are generally cautious and sound.

C. S. S.

PUNJAB GOVERNMENT RECORD OFFICE PUBLICATIONS

Sita Ram Kohli,

Monograph No. 12. The Building of the Jammu and Kashmir State—Being the Achievement of Maharaja Gulab Singh

By

Arjun Nath Sapru, M.A.

Monograph No. 14. Trial of Diwan Mul Raj (Governor of Multan), edited with notes and introduction

By

Deputy Keeper of the Records of the Punjab Government and Lecturer in History, Government College, Lahore.

General Editor,

H. L. O. Garrett, I.E.S.,

Keeper of the Records of the Punjab Government.

The several monographs published by the Punjab Record Office embrace subjects of historical and administrative interest like the commissionership of John Lawrence in the Jullunder Doab, the development of the Judiciary in the Province from the date of its annexation and the building up of the Jammu and Kashmir State. The Trial of Diwan Mul Raj is possessed of con-

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siderable historical interest, as setting forth the circumstances under which the outbreak at Multan developed into the beginning of the Second Sikh War.

The life of Maharaja Gulab Singh filled a large place in the history of Northern India in the 19th century, and his title to fame was established firmly some years before he became the ruler of Kashmir. The thesis of Mr. Arjun Nath Sapru traces in outline the history of the chief principalities which comprise the present Kashmir State and to preface it with the biographical sketch of the hero of the achievement. J. D. Cunningham and other earlier writers showed an unreasonable hatred of Raja Gulab Singh whom they deemed to be the chief cause of the ruin of the Sikh State. The acquisition of the Jammu Raj by Gulab Singh by formal grant of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was in 1822; and it was followed by the securing of Ladakh and Kashmir and the conquest of other small adjacent territories. Mr. Sapru traces in outline the history of the Jammu Raj, from the time of Ranjit Dev, on through the period of Sikh occupation, and follows it up with a sketch of the process of expansion carried into effect by Gulab Singh till 1846 when the Treaty of Amritsar was signed. Gulab Singh achieved his aims by the exercise of much cruelty and unscrupulous guile for which he was notorious. After the First Sikh War, Gulab Singh cherished hopes of securing for himself the Viceroyalty of Lahore; but the English offered him no support for his accession to their office. Cunningham's opinion that the English bargain with Gulab Singh "scarcely seems worthy of the British name and greatness" is met by Mr. Sapru by the plea that the circumstances of the transaction fully justified it. No one then imagined that the Punjab would become a British province in less than three years; and it was deemed a good stroke of policy to weaken the Sikh *durbar* by rewarding one who had been favourable to their own cause. "The low state of Lal Singh to get a dreaded rival out of the way, enabled the Governor-General, to appease Gulab Singh in a manner sufficiently agreeable to the Raja himself and which still further reduced the importance of the successor of Ranjit Singh."

The monograph under review then shows that the English were not ignorant of the importance of Kashmir; and their annexation of it in 1846 would have been neither politic, nor justifiable without their simultaneous annexation of the Punjab. The object, of the so-called 'Sale of Kashmir' on the British side was ex-

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pressed correctly by Sir Richard Temple when he wrote that Lord Hardinge aimed to divide the Sikh power between the Lahore Court and Gulab Singh, and, thus, effectively to weaken it. The temptation of levelling sarcastic taunts at the British Government has been, however, too much for most writers.

Gulab Singh strove very hard to consolidate his authority in Kohistan and Kashmir; but we read in the book how his enemies took advantage of every opportunity to spread venom and prejudice against him and how the Lahore Durbar could be justly convicted of complicity in the rebellion of the Governor of Kashmir. The work of demarcating the frontiers of the British Government, the Lahore Durbar and Gulab Singh has also been noticed as well as the attempt to define the frontier between Ladakh and Chinese Tartary.

The second monograph is from the facile pen of Mr. Sita Ram Kohli and treats of an episode of which, the original English record disappeared many years ago, and which has been based on a booklet containing a copy of the English proceedings of the trial and on a copy of the journal, "Indian News and Chronicle of Eastern Affairs, London," which contained verbatim reports of the proceedings of the trial. There is a good and interesting introductory notice of Diwan Mul Raj and his governorship, the difficulties that forced him to resign his office as well as of the complicated incidents that led to the attack on Messrs. Agnew and Anderson, and the subsequent outbreak. The introduction contains also a good summary of Mul Raj's trial, the charges preferred against him, the points urged in his defence, the reply of the prosecution and some observations on the trial. Diwan Mul Raj's troubles began when Raja Lal Singh was appointed prime minister at the Lahore Durbar; and he submitted his resignation of office in December 1847, though he consented to continue at his post for some time longer. When the riot at Multan developed into a rebellion, there was considerable delay in the despatching of troops from Lahore; and this was taken advantage of by Mul Raj who entered into correspondence with Amir Dost Muhammad of Kabul and some of the leading Sikh *sardars*.

During this delay, several occurrences took place, like the rebellion of Chattar Singh, the Nazim of Hazara, which exasperated the Sikh chieftains and army, and drove them into the rebellion, just when the exploits of Edwardes had made it appear almost hopeless. The final surrender of Mul Raj was made only when the last hope of defending Multan had vanished; and his

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letter of submission which was discovered by Mr. Kohli from a heap of vernacular papers is printed as Appendix F. Sir Herbert Edwardes wrote in his "A year on the Punjab Frontier" that "on Mul Raj alone rests the awful responsibility of the war which followed"; but "it must ever remain a subject of satisfaction that he was not denied the 'justice in open court' which he first sought and then refused". Mul Raj had several sympathisers; and Sir John Lawrence was convinced that he could not have had much to do with the original outbreak. The noble-minded Captain Hamilton, defence counsel in the trial, proves almost convincingly that the first disturbance was only due to a popular tumult and mutiny, and that the Diwan was not in league with the troops at all. He was of the view that there was no deeply laid scheme to rouse the people and garrison of Multan to action; and also that the Diwan was not a British subject at the time of the crime and could have been best punished only as a rebel. The Second Sikh War and the annexation of the Punjab which formed the sequel of the rebellion at Multan were purified and hallowed by the shock of battle and the smoke of roaring cannon. The *fons et origo* of the whole was the luckless Mul Raj who became the incapable conjuror, seized and devoured by the unchained spirits of revolution. Mul Raj was found guilty, sentenced to death, mercifully reprieved and transported, but died before he could be banished. Perhaps it might be said that Lord Dalhousie caused him to be tried at last, after the war had been added to his crimes and when no guarantee of a trial had been given him; and also perhaps it was judged that to offer a trial to him was superfluous and would bear the undignified appearance of an overture from a power which never fails to observe strict justice; and thus the Governor-General disapproved of any terms whatever being offered to Mul Raj.

C. S. S.

TEXT BOOK OF MODERN INDIAN HISTORY

(From 1526 to the Present Day)

By

PROFESSOR S. C. SARKAR AND MR. K. K. DUTT,

Published by the Bihar Publishing House, Patna, 1932—pp. XVI, 277 & 176.

This book, written by two experienced teachers of Indian History, is intended for the use of undergraduates in our univer-

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sities and is arranged on a plan which is commendable in some respects; the scheme of treatment is not exclusively chronological, but rational and natural, and supplies elementary data for criticism and judgment of evidence. The period surveyed in the two parts of the present volume, which will be supplemented by another, begins with the invasion of Babar and the establishment of Portuguese maritime dominion, both of which mark the advent of new conditions. It comes to a close at the end of the rule of Warren Hastings when the East India Company had become firmly established as an Indo-British power. The treatment is marked by frequent human touches like the presentation of personalities and notices of popular life and culture in their chief phases. The authorities quoted, though liable to be classified as secondary in most cases, are chosen with discrimination, and what is more to our point, such as can be read and understood by the undergraduate. Mostly books in English are quoted; and this is an additional facility for the students in the different parts of the country.

The Mughal empire is treated first with reference to the dynasty and succession to the throne, then from the point of view of imperialism and territorial expansion and of the frontiers, and lastly in relation to the various nationalities like the Marathas, the Jats and the Sikhs that reacted upon it. It must be said that, in a few places, the reviews and conclusions of the writers merely take the form of a bare summary of the views of scholars specialising on the topics. On the work of Shivaji, we have the rather indefinite conclusion that "his record is incomplete and we cannot confidently deduce his political aim from his actual achievement." This view, while being cautious, may perhaps leave no definite impression of Shivaji's personality and achievments on the mind of the reader. The space devoted to early European enterprise is very meagre and a little out of proportion with the rest of the treatment. The Anglo-French struggle seems to be also a little too compressed; but the narrative is very clear and continuous. We wish that chronological tables and bibliographical lists and maps will be added to the next edition of this volume. It would serve as a great help to the undergraduate and the teacher of the secondary classes.

C. S. S.

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GEOGRAPHY OF EARLY BUDDHISM

By

Bimala Churn Law, M.A., Ph.D.,

(with a foreword by Dr. F. W. Thomas, Oxford, Published by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., London, 1932.)

A close student of the Pali Buddhist texts, Dr. B. C. Law is an authority on the history of early Buddhism in India. In a paper sent to the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference (1930) held in Lahore, I have tried to show that there was not any appreciable difference between early Buddhism and the established religion of the land. The same view point has been examined in detail in my *Mauryan Polity* (Madras University 1932), and the conclusion has been arrived at that both Buddhism and Jainism were merely different schools of Hinduism and the theory that Asoka was a Buddhist cannot be fully accepted. In the monograph under review Dr. Law shows his acquaintance with the Buddhist literature, canonical and non-canonical. With regard to topics like the Geography of the land, the Hindu and Buddhist writers practically agreed. If there is any difference in their statements, it is due to the fact that from time to time the boundary limits of the various states changed as a result of the constant feuds between the ruling chieftains. The limits of the Madhyadēśa, for example, in the time of Asoka cannot be the same as in the age of the *Kāvyamīmāmsa* with an intervening distance of several centuries. Thus the monograph on the geography of early Buddhism is really the geography of ancient India. The learned author of this monograph is aware of this when he largely draws matter of fact statements from the Dharma Sāstras, epics and inscriptions thus pointing to the coincidences or differences in detail. The book is divided into six chapters—the Madhyadēśa or the middle country, Uttarāpatha or North India, Aparāntaka or Western India, Dakṣiṇāpatha or South India, Prāchya or the East India and lastly Ceylon, Burma and other Foreign countries. The data incorporated in the first chapter are full and detailed. The details furnished in the last three chapters of the book are meagre and sketchy. Among the Mahājanapadas the Vajji or Vrijji is important. This kingdom is mentioned by the author of the Tamil classic Śilappadikāram of the second century A.D. But the absence of references thereafter goes to prove that the Vrijjian state which existed from the time

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of Pāṇini, if not earlier, to the second century A.D. disappeared probably by the epoch of the Guptas.

In the chapter on the Dakṣiṇāpatha there are certain statements which are not correct. In p. 63 the Tamil kingdom is identified with the Malabar coast or Northern Ceylon. But really speaking it extended from the Malabar coast to Conjeeveram up to the frontiers of Nellore. In the same page again the extent of the ancient Chera kingdom is given. Here the chief division of this kingdom which comprised the modern districts of Salem and Coimbatore has been omitted. The appendix on the Chaitya is interesting and all scholars will agree that originally Chaitya meant 'any sacred spot or edifice or sanctuary for popular worship.'

This well-written and well-documented treatise will serve a useful purpose and students of ancient Indian History will find it an invaluable reference book.

V. R. R. Dikshitar.

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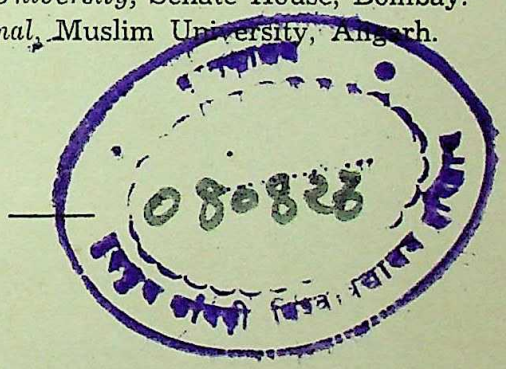

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